
The Liberation Struggle and Liberation Heritage Sites in South Africa

Report

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The Liberation Struggle and Liberation Heritage Sites in South Africa

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iii
Acronyms	iv

Introduction

1. Background and research methodology.....	3
2. Historical background and context in each province.....	9
3. Literature review.....	17

Phase 1: 1652-1910

4. Introduction.....	59
5. The wars of resistance and political opposition in the Western Cape.....	61
6. The wars of resistance and political opposition in the Eastern Cape.....	87
7. The wars of resistance and political opposition in KwaZulu-Natal.....	101
8. The wars of resistance and political opposition in the North West Province.....	115
9. The wars of resistance and political opposition in Limpopo Province.....	125

Phase 2: 1910-1960

10. Introduction.....	141
11. The formation of key organisations	143
12. The key campaigns of the period	177
13. Significant massacres/acts of resistance	195
14. Heritage sites and significant actors in the liberation struggle.....	209

Phase 3: 1960-1994

15. Introduction.....	237
16. The liberation struggle and heritage sites in the 1960s	239
17. The liberation struggle and heritage sites in the 1970s	279
18. The liberation struggle and heritage sites in the 1980s	319
19. The liberation struggle and heritage sites in the 1990-1994 period	445

Conclusion

20. Conclusion.....	489
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Appendix 1

21. Selection criteria for Grade 1 (National) Heritage Sites	495
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Appendix 2

22. Selection criteria for World Heritage Sites.....	499
--	-----

Bibliography

23. Bibliography.....	503
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Acronyms

AAC	All-African Convention
ABM	American Board of Missions
ACPC	Anti-Constitutional Proposals Committee
ADM	African Democratic Movement
AFCWU	African Food and Canning Workers Union
ANC	African National Congress
ANCWL	ANC Women's League
ANCYL	ANC Youth League
APDUSA	African People's Democratic Union of South Africa
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
APMC	Area Politico-Military Committee
APO	African Political Organisation
ARM	African Resistance Movement
ASA	African Students Association
ASUSA	African Students Union of South Africa
A-TWIU	African Textile Workers Industrial Union
AZANYU	Azanian National Youth Unity
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
AZASO	Azanian Student's Organisation
BAWU	Black Allied Workers' Union
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BCMA	Black Consciousness Movement of Azania
BECO	Bold Evangelical Christian Organisation
BEYO	Bold Evangelical Youth Organisation
BIA	British Indian Association
BMW	Bonteheuwel Military Wing
BPC	Black People's Convention
CAC	Coloured Advisory Council
CAD	Coloured Affairs Department
CAHAC	Cape Areas Housing Action Committee
CAL	Cape Action League
CATA	Cape African Teachers Association
CAVA	Cape African Voters Association
CAYCO	Cape Youth Congress
CHAC	Chatsworth Housing Committee
CMYA	Claremont Muslim Youth Association
COD	Congress of Democrats
CODESA	Conference for a Democratic South Africa
COSAG	Concerned South Africans Group

COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPA	Cape Provincial Administration
CPNA	Cape Peninsula Native Association
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
CRU	Community Research Unit
CUSA	Congress of Unions of South Africa
CWIU	Chemical Workers Industrial Union
DGSD	Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery
DM	District Municipality
DSRC	Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture
ECC	End Conscription Campaign
FCCA	Federation of Cape Civic Associations
FCWU	Food and Canning Workers Union
FEDSAW	Federation of South African Women
FOSATU	Federation of South African Trade Unions
GFWBF	General Factory Workers Benefit Fund
HAD	Hostel Dwellers Association
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
HUCA	Huhudi Civic Association
IANC	Independent African National Congress
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa
IDT	Independent Development Trust
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IIE	Institute of Industrial Education
IPRCs	Internal Political Reconstruction Committees
IWA	Industrial Workers of Africa
JORAC	Joint Rent Action Committee
KLA	KwaZulu Legislative Assembly
KWAYO	KwaMashu Youth Organisation
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
KZP	KwaZulu Police
LGC	Local General Council
LHR	Liberation Heritage Route
LVA	Langa Vigilance Association
MAWU	Metal and Allied Workers Union
MCW	military combat work
MDALI	Music, Drama, Arts, Literature Institute
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
MI	Military Intelligence
MIPSCO	Mitchells' Plain Students' Congress

MJC	Muslim Judicial Council
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions
NAYO	National Youth Organisation
NC	Native Commissioner
NDL	National Development League
NEC	National Executive Committee
NEHAWU	National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union
NEUF	Non-European United Front
NEUM	Non-European Unity Movement
NEUSA	National Education Union of South Africa
NF	National Forum
NHC	National Heritage Council
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
NISMAWU	National Iron, Steel, Metal and Allied Workers Union
NLF	National Liberation Front
NLL	National Liberation League
NMMU	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
NNC	Natal Native Congress
NOTPECO	Northern Transvaal People's Congress
NOTTU	Northern Transvaal Teachers' Union
NP	National Party
NSMS	National Security Management System
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
NUTW	National Union of Textile Workers
NWP	North West Province
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PAM	Pan Africanist Movement
PASO	Pan Africanist Student Organisation
PHRAs	Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities
PNAB	Port Natal Administration Board
PWC	Phoenix Working Committee
RC	Revolutionary Council
REC	Regional Executive Committee
SAAWU	South African Allied Workers' Union
SABTU	South African Black Theatre Union
SACHED	South African Committee for Higher Education
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACPO	South African Coloured People's Organisation
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions

SADET	South African Democracy Education Trust
SADF	South African Defence Force
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SAHRU	South African Railways and Harbours Workers' Union
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
SAIC	South African Indian Council
SAIO	South African Indian Organisation
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SAP	South African Police
SASM	South African Students' Movement
SASO	South African Students Organisation
SAYCO	South African Youth Congress
SDUs	Self-Defence Units
SEPTU	Sekhukhune Progressive Teachers Union
SEYO	Sekhukhuneland Youth Organisation
SLA	Social League of Africa
SOYA	Sons of Young Africa
SPUs	Self-Protection Units
SRC	Student Representative Council
SSC	State Security Council
STEYCO	Steelpoort Youth Congress
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
TATA	Transvaal African Teachers' Association
TAUTA	Transvaal United African Teachers' Association
TEC	Transitional Executive Council
TGWU	Transport and General Workers Union
TLSA	Teachers' League of South Africa
TWIU	Textile Workers Industrial Union
TNO	Transvaal Native Organisation
TRAC	Transvaal Action Committee
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TUACC	Trade Union Advisory and Coordinating Council
TUCSA	Trade Union Council of South Africa
UCM	University Christian Movement
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association

URC	Umbrella Rentals Committee
USA	United States of America
UWC	University of the Western Cape
UWO	United Women's Organisation
UWUSA	United Workers Union of South Africa
VCC	Venda Crisis Committee
WAP	Workers Advisory Project
WCCA	Western Cape Civic Association
WCO	Wolseley Civic Organisation
WECUSA	Western Cape United Squatters' Association
WEBTA	Western Cape Black Taxi Association
WFC	Women's Food Committee
WOSA	Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action
WPSA	Workers Party of South Africa
WPWAB	Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau
YCCC	Yu Chi Chan Club
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZBA	Zoutpansberg Balemi Association
ZCA	Zoutpansberg Cultural Association
ZTA	Zululand Territorial Authority

Introduction

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

Chapter 1

Background and methodology

The South African National Heritage Council (NHC) identified the development and management of the legacy of the liberation struggle as an important aspect of heritage preservation in the country, and initiated the Liberation Heritage Route (LHR) project as one of the initiatives in this regard. This was in consequence of the adoption of *Resolution 33C/29* by the Commission for Culture (Commission IV) of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) at the 33rd General Conference in October 2005. Liberation struggle heritage was thereby recognised as being of universal value and significance. The *raison d'être* for this resolution was premised on:

- recognising African liberation heritage as a common heritage of shared global values (human rights, freedom, democracy, etc.);
- promoting dialogue amongst nations and cultures;
- developing and promoting a culture of peace;
- contributing to the memory of the world; and
- generating data and databases that raise awareness on the African liberation heritage.

The LHR is intended to consist of a series of sites that express the key aspects of the South African liberation experience. These sites are linked together by a common historical narrative of the liberation struggle and experience, and consist of historical evidence of events and activities associated with the history of the struggle. Included among the sites of the LHR are Robben Island, the Wesleyan Church where the African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912, the Sharpeville Massacre, Lilliesleaf Farm, Johnny Makhathini's House, the Langeberg Rebellion, the Bhishe Massacre, and Victor Verster Prison. Some of these sites are well documented, while others are not. There is thus a need for research to add historical evidence of the significance of the latter sites. There is also a need to identify new sites to be added to the National Liberation Heritage Route, and to provide supporting narratives for the new sites.

The LHR, according to Advocate Sonwabile Mancotywa of the NHC: 'will be an embodiment of our collective experiences, our ideals, values and principles which unified a people who were subjected to national oppression through a repressive system. We seek to honour the freedom fighters that swelled the ranks of the liberation movement, the progressive movement, the clandestine structures, the guerrilla (military) formations [and] those who

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

carried high the banner through unprecedented international solidarity.¹ This includes identifying and recording the life histories of the large number of unsung heroes and heroines of the struggle. The identification of these heroes and heroines, as well as the recording and preservation of their life histories are significant for a number of reasons, including:

- honouring the contribution they made;
- the contribution their life stories can make to the memory of the world;
- the additional data arising from their life stories that adds to the narrative of the liberation struggle; and
- the creation of a new database that raises awareness on the African liberation heritage.

The idea of a Liberation Heritage Route – in other words, using the Eastern Cape’s unique heritage resources to leverage tourism – was first proposed in 2001 by the Eastern Cape Department of Sport, Arts and Culture under the title of *The Trail of Tears/Umzila Wenyembezi/Wars of Dispossession Development Project*. The proposal never quite caught on at the time, but was given a substantial boost in 2004 by two unrelated events:

- The Mayor of Amathole District, Councillor S. Somyo, together with assorted Councillors and Tour Operators were taken on a tour of the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Battlefields by SA Tourism, with the suggestion that they could replicate in the Eastern Cape what was already being done in KZN. Mayor Somyo was enthusiastic and availed a substantial portion of his discretionary budget to set up the ‘Amathole Heritage Initiative.’ Four routes – Sandile, Maqoma, Phalo and Makana – were defined within the Amathole District Municipality (DM) area, which appointed Heritage Officers, the first Eastern Cape Local Authority to do so.
- President Thabo Mbeki visited Nkantolo village, O.R. Tambo’s birthplace in Mbizana. Seeking some way of relieving its abject poverty, the national government espoused the idea of Liberation Heritage as an income generator. Discussions beginning in April 2006 led the NHC, the Nelson Mandela Museum in Mthatha and the Eastern Cape Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRC) to jointly initiate the Route, with its first office at the Mandela Museum (subsequently moved to the NHC headquarters in Tshwane).

Through its connection with the NHC, the South African route aligned with the 2005 resolution of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee which contemplated the ‘Roads to Independence’ Liberation Heritage Route on a global scale. Much discussion ensued to ensure that South Africa conformed to UNESCO guidelines in this regard but, unfortunately, progress was not matched by comparable progress on the ground.

¹ Speech by Advocate Sonwabile Mancotywa at the North-West Provincial Liberation Heritage Route Summit held in Rustenburg on the 5th and 6th March, 2011.

Background and Research Methodology

Although the Liberation Heritage Route never actually took off in OR Tambo District Municipality itself, the concept was seized upon by the Mayor of Chris Hani District Municipality, Councillor M. Sigabi. Like Mayor Somyo of Amathole, Mayor Sigabi utilised discretionary funds to launch a Chris Hani DM Liberation Heritage Route. This process, rolled out over a number of years at a cost of about R3 million, eventually identified 54 'icon sites,' located along three sub-routes – Calata, Sisulu and Ndondo – which the District Municipality did its best to conserve and market. The pre-eminence of the Chris Hani District Municipality route was implicitly recognised by the NHC when it elected to formally launch the National Liberation Heritage Route at Chris Hani's birthplace of Sabalele in April 2008.

The establishment of a viable Liberation Heritage Route in its district confronted the Chris Hani District Municipality with a dilemma that was also liable to face all other Liberation Heritage Routes elsewhere in South Africa. South African Heritage legislation is encapsulated in the National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999), which provides for a South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) at the national level, and Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities (PHRAs) at the provincial level. Although the management of local heritage resources is the responsibility of local authorities in terms of their Environmental Management Plans, these, in turn, depend on accreditation at the higher level by the PHRAs and SAHRA. Unfortunately, both of these agencies were dysfunctional and unbudgeted, to such an extent that the very sophisticated Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Act has had to be abandoned. Very few new Heritage Sites have been recognised since 1994 – the Sarah Baartman site is the only one confirmed – and several sites, including those relating to the Bulhoek Massacre of 1921 and the Cradock Four Memorial, are under the impression that they have been declared National Heritage Sites whereas this is not, in fact, the case. This is not a problem confined to the Eastern Cape, however, and a similar situation obtains in the other provinces. More problematic, from the viewpoint of Eastern Cape Heritage activists, DSRAC has continued to transfer its Liberation Heritage funds to nationally identified projects rather than initiating a provincial Liberation Heritage Route of its own.

Effectively, therefore, Liberation Heritage Routes in the Eastern Cape remain in the hands of local authorities. The Amathole and Chris Hani District Municipalities have been joined by the Nelson Mandela Metro which has identified, mapped and described about 25 sites in a booklet issued very recently (May 2013) by its Heritage Sub-directorate. The DSRAC, the Provincial Department under which Heritage falls, has identified about 39 sites in all. Monuments have been erected, principally in the shape of memorials, but very little has been done by way of the preservation, refurbishment or transformation of historical buildings, although several have high potential for development, including the Calata House in Cradock; the Jabavu House in Middledrift; the Xuma House in Ngcobob; Fort Armstrong near Balfour; the house in Cala where Batandwa Ndondo was shot; the SANLAM building in

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

Port Elizabeth; and Post Chalmers in Cradock District where the PEBCO Three were murdered. The Steve Biko Centre in Ginsberg, built with a great deal of national and donor funding, has got off to a good start but the other major heritage structure erected since 1994, namely the Red Location Museum in New Brighton, though funded by Sweden and the local metro, has battled to establish itself as a going concern. By contrast, the South End Museum, also in Port Elizabeth, has managed to attract considerable support among the Khoisan community, and is largely self-sustaining. The Historic Missions project – of which Healdtown is the most prominent – was first mooted at national level, and continues to seek support and funding. A proposed Armed Struggle Living Museum near East London made considerable progress at first, but is seemingly now stalled.

It is clear that none of these initiatives can survive on its own, and all look to the National Heritage Council for co-ordination and leadership. It is trusted that the present project will contribute to the integration and consolidation that has hitherto been lacking.

The research which gave rise to this Report was carried out by a team of researchers drawn from the HSRC's Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery (DGSD) Programme and external history and heritage experts. The objective of the research was twofold: (1) to identify new heritage sites that can be included in the National Liberation Heritage Route to be submitted to UNESCO for consideration as a World Heritage Site; and (2) to identify and record the history of unsung heroes and heroines of the struggle. The focus of the research was on five provinces: the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and North-West provinces.² The starting point of the research was the history of the struggle for liberation. The research methodology included the review of relevant secondary literature and archival material, as well as interviews with a selection of academics, heritage practitioners and veterans of the liberation struggle. This was complemented by a series of workshops in all five provinces as well as the presentation of results of the research at seminars to generate discussion.

The research aimed at identifying heritage sites based on the history of the liberation struggle in each of the provinces under study. Key historical events and the significant activities of communities, organisations and individuals are highlighted to draw attention to key moments in the country's liberation history that deserve memorialisation in the manner envisaged in the National LHR. Heritage sites take the form of memorials at relevant battlefields, prisons, educational institutions, buildings and other sites where significant meetings and other events were held, freedom trails, the houses and gravesites of key individuals in the liberation struggle, and other sites memorialising significant acts of repression and/or popular resistance. Sites and individuals around whom heritage sites can be developed identified in this Report may not necessarily form a part of the National LHR: they are identified as significant for Liberation Heritage Routes at the local, provincial or

² The research is limited to these five provinces as set out in the Terms of Reference for the project.

Background and Research Methodology

national levels. For the purpose of the research, the history of the liberation struggle was divided into three phases: (1) the wars of resistance and other struggles that arose during the period of initial contact between the indigenous population and the white settlers up to the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910; (2) the liberation struggle in the period from 1910 to 1960; and (3) the liberation struggle from 1960 to 1994.

The purpose of the Report is three-fold:

- to develop a background overview of the liberation struggle in the five provinces under review: the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, North-West and Limpopo provinces;
- to survey some of the sites that have already been identified and which form part of the National Liberation Route and provide an historical overview; and
- to identify sites which have not previously been recognised, and which could form part of the Liberation Heritage Route.

The Report consists of four broad sections: The first is an introduction, giving a background to the project and the methodology and objectives of the research. Included here is a brief background on each of the provinces under study, and a literature review.

In line with the requirements of the National Heritage Council, the history of the liberation struggle is divided into three phases. In the first phase (the second section), the focus is on the Khoikhoi wars of resistance in the 17th and 18th centuries, the slave revolts in the early 19th century, and organised political resistance in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the current Western Cape Province; San and Khoikhoi resistance in the period 1702-1809, the Wars of Dispossession or the Hundred Years War (1779-1880), and the period thereafter until 1910 in which the dispossessed Africans used journalism, petitions and their political weight as voters in the Cape Parliament to put forward the case of the oppressed in the Eastern Cape; the Battles of Ncome, Isandlwana, Rorke's Drift and Ulundi, the Langalibalele revolt and the Bambhata rebellion in KwaZulu-Natal; the 19th century anti-colonial resistance of the Tswana people in the region which makes up the current North West Province, and the various wars of resistance of the Bapedi, Venda, Ndebele, and Tsonga during the 19th century in the Limpopo Province. Potential heritage sites are identified in each area of the historical analysis.

In the second phase (the third section), the focus is on the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the 1913 Land Act and resistance to these developments; the formation of key organisations, e.g. the South African Native National Congress (SANNC – later the ANC), the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa (ICU), the All-African Convention (AAC), the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC); the key

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

campaigns of the period, e.g. the campaign against the Hertzog Bills, the Indian Passive Resistance Campaign, the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department Campaign, the Defiance Campaign, the campaign against Bantu Education, and the Freedom Charter campaign; and significant massacres/acts of resistance, e.g. the Bulhoek Massacre, Sekhukhuneland Revolt, and the anti-pass revolt in Zeerust. The final chapter in this section contains a list of potential heritage sites.

The third phase (the final section) is characterised by a number of significant events and processes within the liberation struggle that took place and/or affected the country as a whole, as well as the steady escalation of the liberation struggle until it reached its conclusion with the first democratic elections in 1994. This phase is further divided into four parts: the 1960s, the 1970s, the 1980s and 1990-1994. In the 1960s period, the focus is on: the PAC anti-pass campaign; the Pondoland revolt; the ANC's turn to armed struggle and the sabotage campaign; PAC/Poqo activities; the activities of other organisations such as the African Resistance Movement, the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa; and the Yu Chi Chan Club and the National Liberation Front; the ANC's Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns; and the formation of the South African Students' Organisation.

For the 1970s, we focus on the Black Consciousness Movement and the Azanian People's Organisation; the 1973 Durban strikes and development of the trade union movement; the Natal Indian Congress; Inkatha; the Soweto uprising; deaths in detention; assassinations carried out by the Security Police; ANC military actions; the revival of the PAC internal underground; and various popular campaigns and significant events of repression. The section on the 1980s deals with the assassinations carried out by the security police; deaths in detention; the formation and activities of the United Democratic Front and National Forum; political violence; security force violence; murders carried out by vigilante groups; the armed actions of the liberation movements; and significant campaigns and events of repression. In the final part of this phase, the focus is on political violence; security force violence; murders carried out by vigilante groups; the civic movement inter-organisational violence; activities of Self-Defence and Self-Protection Units; the activities of APLA; and various popular campaigns and significant events of repression. Each part concludes with a list of heritage sites in the different provinces for that period.

Key features of the 1990-1994 period are political violence; security force violence; murders carried out by vigilante groups; the civic movement inter-organisational violence; activities of Self-Defence and Self-Protection Units; the activities of APLA; and various popular campaigns and significant events of repression. The Report ends with a brief conclusion on the way forward.

Historical background

Chapter 2

Historical background and context in each province

The Western Cape

The Western Cape Province was formed after the first democratic elections and is made up of the largest part of the former Cape Province. At the time the former Cape Province was divided into the Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and part of the North West. The province has three sub-regions, namely the Cape Peninsula, Boland and surrounds, and the Southern Cape. The Boland and surrounding areas include the Breede River area, the winelands, the Overberg and the West Coast. The Breede River area consists of rural farmlands and agricultural towns, of which Paarl and Worcester are the largest. The main towns in the Southern Cape are George, Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn and Beaufort West. The region includes the Little Karoo and the Central Karoo.¹

The Western Cape is the fourth most populous province in the country, and is also the fourth largest. The province extends north and east from the Cape of Good Hope, the south-western corner of South Africa along the Atlantic coast to the north and along the Indian Ocean coast to the east. It is bordered in the north by the Northern Cape and in the east by the Eastern Cape. The capital of the province, and its largest city, is Cape Town, with approximately two-thirds of the province's population living in the metropolitan area. Other major cities include Stellenbosch, Worcester, Paarl and George.

The Western Cape was the first place in the country where people from Europe settled in the 17th century. The province was originally home to the Khoikhoi people – however, about 2,000 years ago the San people moved into this region and started taking over. In 1652 the first European settlement occurred in the Cape of Good Hope when the Dutch East Indian Company decided to set up a refreshment station for its ships travelling between Europe and the Far East. When the European settlement expanded slaves were brought from other parts of Africa, India and Malaysia. Today, the 'coloured' people make up 48.8% of the population of the Western Cape, while 32.8% are African, 15.7% are white, and 1.0% is Indian. Afrikaans is the first language of 49.7% of the province's population, while isiXhosa is the first language of 24.7% of the population and English the first language of 20.2%.²

¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter TRC), *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report (hereafter Report)*, October 1998, Volume 3, Chapter 5 – Regional Profile: Western Cape, 390-1.

² Wikipedia.



The Eastern Cape

The 'Eastern Cape' is, of course, a relatively recent formulation which, in its present sense, derives from the Conference for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) negotiations which preceded the political settlement of 1994. Before 1994, the apartheid state distinguished between the Cape Province, Ciskei and Transkei. The African National Congress and other liberation movements, though rejecting the Bantustans, nevertheless distinguished between Eastern Province, Border and Transkei. The extent to which the history of the Eastern Cape Province should be viewed as a single coherent whole is indeed debatable, though it must be pointed out that there were elements of convergence as early as the late 19th Century when the very first African political organisation, Imbumba Yamanyama convened in Port Elizabeth in 1882 and elected Rev S.P. Sihlali of Cala in Transkei as its first President. Here, we will simply define Eastern Cape in terms of the boundaries of 1994.

The province, lying on the southeastern South African coast, borders KwaZulu-Natal in the east, the Western Cape in the west, and the Northern Cape and Free State provinces in the north. It shares an international boundary with Lesotho in the north-east. Geographically, it is the second largest of the current nine provinces and has, after KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, the third highest population. The Eastern Cape is made up of the eastern part of the old Cape Province and includes two of the four 'independent homelands', namely Transkei and Ciskei. Transkei is the oldest such territory in the country and was granted self-

Historical background

government status in 1963 followed by independence in 1976. Ciskei received self-government status in 1972, followed by independence in 1981. About 87 per cent of the population of the Eastern Cape is African and almost entirely Xhosa-speaking. Roughly half the population is urbanised, but the majority of the African population lives in rural areas previously governed by homeland administrations.³



KwaZulu-Natal

Located on the eastern seaboard of South Africa, and stretching up to Mozambique and Swaziland in the north and bordered by the Drakensberg mountains to the west, the present day 'KwaZulu-Natal' is also a product of the CODESA negotiations. It drew together the apartheid era province of Natal, which has its roots in the 19th century colonial period, and the KwaZulu homeland, which was established in the 20th century in parts of the territory ruled by Zulu Kings during the previous century.

The area was originally populated by San hunter-gatherers and by Nguni-speaking peoples who moved down the East Coast of Africa in the 18th century and later coalesced into the Zulu nation. English traders and hunters settled in the Port Natal (Durban) region in the early 19th century. In the mid-1800s, after the conquest of the Zulus in the Anglo-Zulu War,

³ TRC, *Report*, Volume 2, Chapter 3 – Regional Profile: Eastern Cape, 34-5.

the province was annexed as an autonomous district of the Cape Colony and the British administration established the Native Reserve of Zululand between the Tugela River and Mozambique.

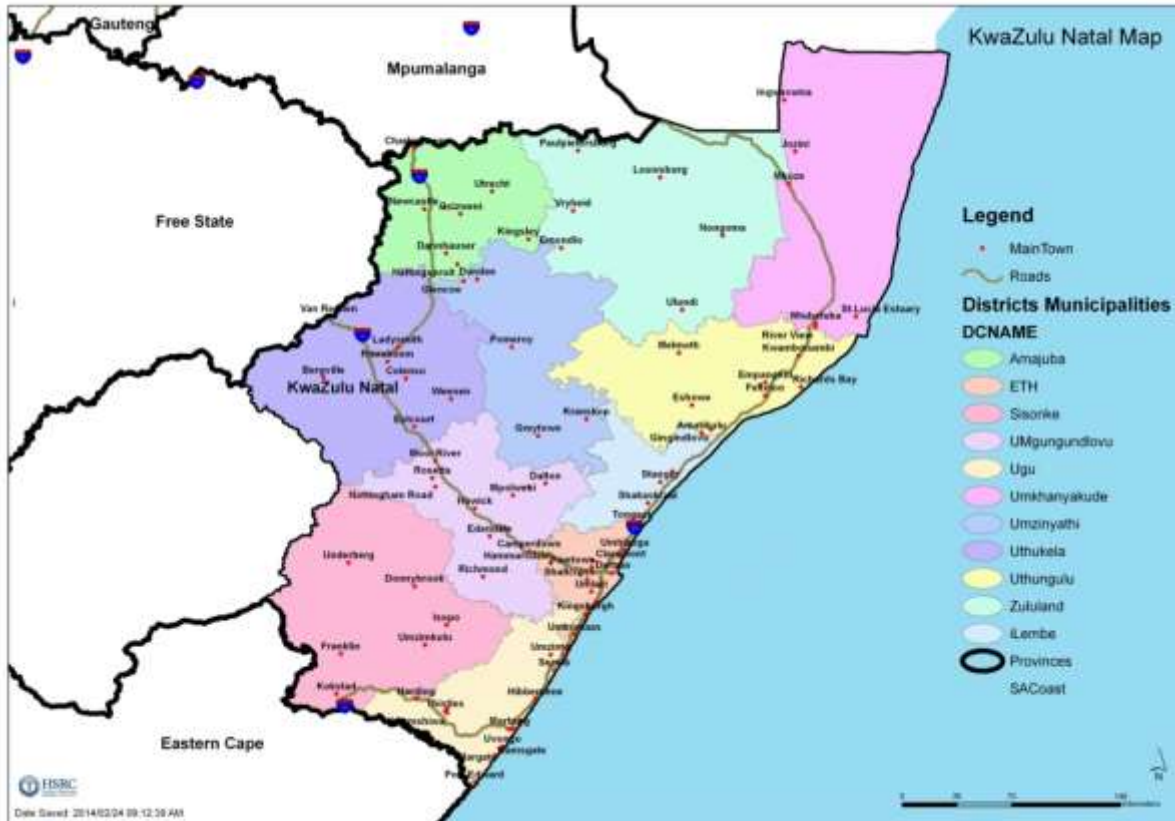
With the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the systems of chieftainship were brought together under a centralised administration controlled by Pretoria. The Black (Native) Administration Act (No 38 of 1927) empowered commissioners to appoint and depose chiefs, and laid the rules for chiefs' succession, family relations and personal obligations. In 1951, the last of the representative institutions for Africans was abolished and a local government system of tribal and regional authorities was set up within 'Bantu Authorities' (also known as 'Bantustans').

In 1970, the Zululand Territorial Authority (ZTA) was set up with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as Chief Executive Officer. In 1972, the ZTA was converted into the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA), with Buthelezi as the chief minister. The KwaZulu Constitution retained the colonial structures for regulating chieftainship, with chiefs appointed to their positions by the KwaZulu government. By now, the region's borders had changed substantially; KwaZulu consisted of disjointed fragments scattered throughout Natal. After CODESA, KwaZulu and Natal were integrated into one province.

While it is the country's third-smallest province, taking up 7.7% of South Africa's land area, it has the second-largest population. KwaZulu and Natal together account for approximately one-fifth of South Africa's total population. The biggest population group is of African descent, of which 90 per cent is Zulu. About 90 per cent of the white population are English speaking. There is a sizeable Asian presence in Natal and a small section of the population is coloured.⁴ The majority of Indian South Africans are the descendants of indentured workers brought to Natal between 1860 and 1911 to develop the sugar industry in this province. The relevant history of the province is consequently dominated by the history of the Zulu people as well as their relationship with the early settlers during pre-colonial times, and the oppression and resistance of the African and Indian population groups – as well as the small coloured community – during the colonial and apartheid eras. Moreover, during the latter part of the period under study, the key issue in the history of the province is the conflict between the two dominant forces – the ANC-aligned organisations and the Zulu nationalist movement Inkatha – and the activities of the apartheid security forces.

⁴ TRC, *Report*, Volume 2, Chapter 3 – Regional Profile: Eastern Cape, 155-6.

Historical background



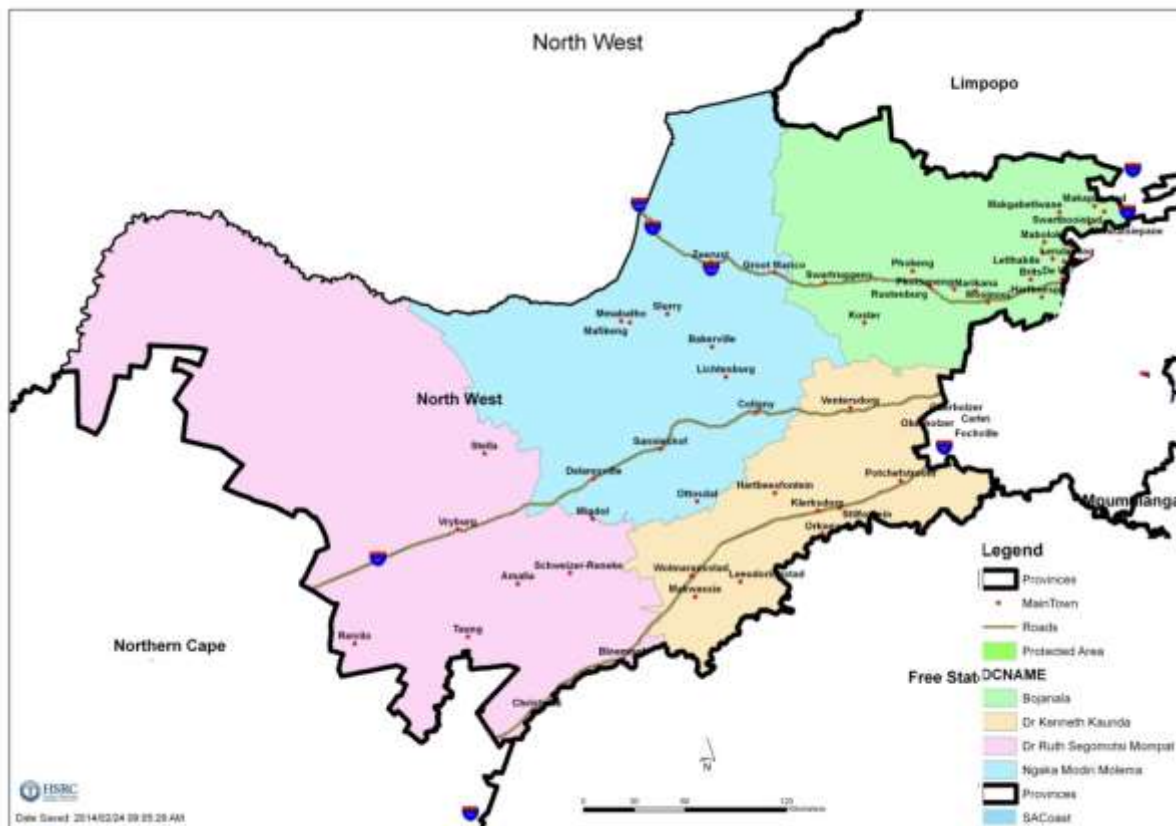
The North West Province

The North West province lies in the north of South Africa on the Botswana border, fringed by the Kalahari Desert in the west, Gauteng province to the east, and the Free State to the south. It is known as the Platinum Province for the wealth of the metal it has underground. The province was formed after the first democratic elections in 1994, and includes parts of the former Transvaal and Cape provinces, as well as most of the former Bophuthatswana homeland. It is the sixth largest province in South Africa. With a population of 3.7 million, 65% of the people live in the rural areas. 92% of the population are African and 7% are white. The majority of people are Tswana who speak Setswana (65%). Smaller groups include Afrikaans (7%), Sesotho (7%), and isiXhosa (7%) speaking people. English is spoken primarily as a second language.

Mahikeng (previously Mafeking) is the capital, and is best known for the famous siege during the Anglo-Boer War which ended in a decisive victory for the British. The city lies near the Botswana border and forms a single urban area with its neighbouring town, Mmabatho. Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp are the biggest cities in the province; other main towns are Brits and Rustenburg. Most economic activity is concentrated in the southern

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

region between Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp, as well as Rustenburg and the eastern region, where more than 80% of the province's economic activity takes place.⁵



Limpopo Province

The Limpopo Province, also formed after the first democratic elections, covers the northernmost area of South Africa, just south of Zimbabwe. The Limpopo Province was part of the old Transvaal and includes the former Venda, Gazankulu and Lebowa homelands. The province was formed from the northern region of the Transvaal Province in 1994, and was initially named Northern Transvaal. The following year it was renamed Northern Province, the name it held until 2003 when it was changed to Limpopo province. Limpopo Province shares international borders with three countries: Botswana to the west and north-west, Zimbabwe to the north and northeast, and Mozambique to the east. On its southern flank from east to west, the province shares borders with Mpumalanga, Gauteng and North West provinces.⁶

Limpopo is divided into five regions, strategically located according to the cultural inhabitants. Capricorn is the central region predominantly occupied by the Bapedi people. Waterberg is the largest region in the province with the majority of people being the

⁵ www.southafrica.info.

⁶ Wikipedia.

Historical background

Batswana people. The Vhembe region in the far north is dominated by Vhavenda and Vatsonga people. The Mopani region towards the Kruger National Park is dominated by Vatsonga, whereas the Sekhukhune region is dominated by Bapedi and Ndebele people.⁷

The overwhelming bulk of the population is African (97.3%), with whites making up 2.4%, coloureds 0.2% and Indians 0.1%. The province has the smallest percentage and second smallest by number of white South Africans in the country. It also has the highest African percentage out of all the provinces. The Northern Sotho (of which the Bapedi are part of) make up the largest percentage of the African population, being 52% of the population of the province. The Tsonga (Shangaan) speakers comprise about 17.0% of the province, while the Venda make up about 16.7%. Afrikaners make up the majority of whites in Limpopo. Limpopo is also the province with the highest level of poverty, with 78.9% of the population living below the national poverty line. In 2011, 74.4% of local dwellings were located in a tribal or traditional area, compared to a national average of 27.1%.⁸

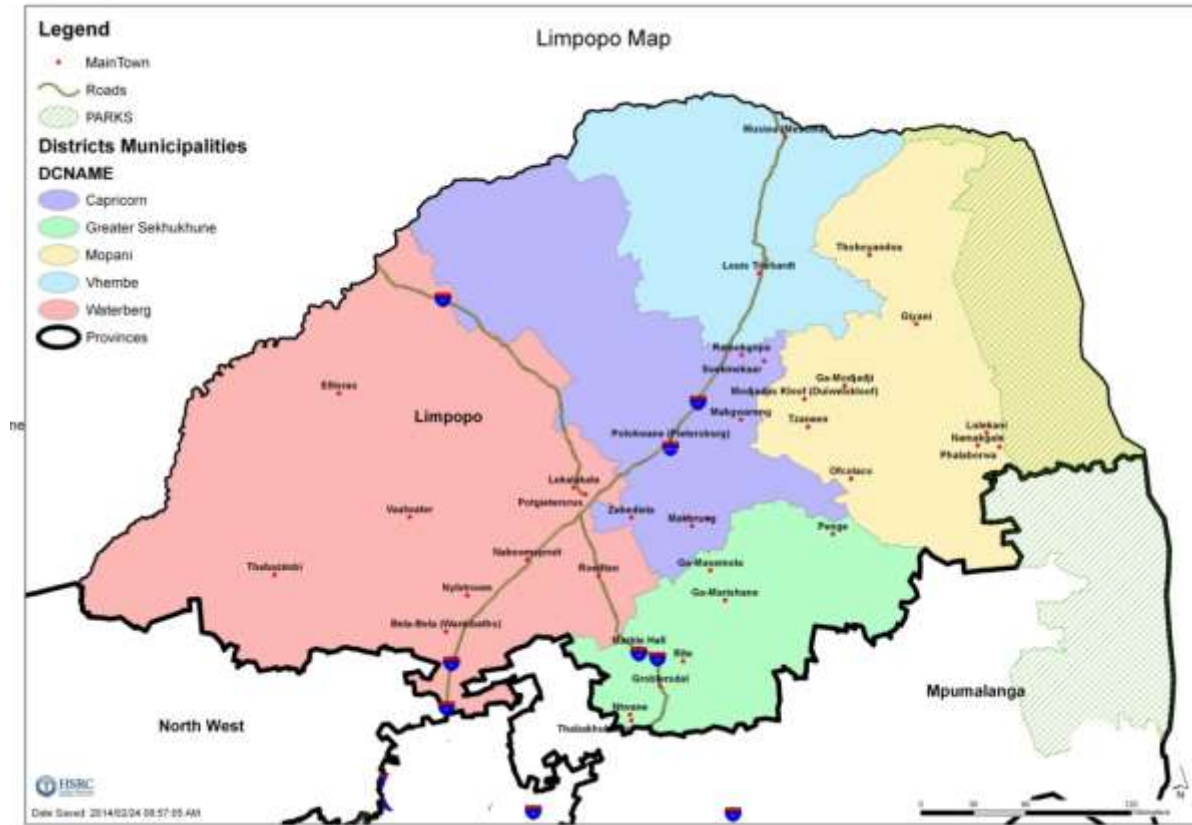
The capital of Limpopo Province is Polokwane, located in the middle of the province. Further north is Modimolle, the hub of the local table-grape industry set near the Waterberg mountain range; Makhado at the foot of the Soutpansberg mountains; and Musina. Other important Limpopo towns include the major mining centres of Phalaborwa and Thabazimbi, and Tzaneen, a producer of tea, forestry products and tropical fruit. Bela-Bela, with its popular mineral water baths, is near the southern border.⁹

⁷ www.golimpopo.com.

⁸ Wikipedia.

⁹ www.southafrica.info.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa



Chapter 3

Literature Review

Introduction

The historiography of the South African liberation struggle is vast. The most comprehensive bibliography on the topic, *The ANC and Black Workers in South Africa, 1912-1992: an Annotated Bibliography*, by Peter Limb contains over four thousand entries.¹ This does not include the substantial literature on the period prior to the formation of the ANC in 1912. This chapter is divided into a number of focus areas. The first looks at the general historiography on the liberation struggle, which is divided into the literature on two historical phases: 1652-1910 and 1910-1994. The sections that follow focus on the historiography on the liberation struggle in the various provinces under study. Here, too, an effort is made to deal with the literature as it focuses on specific historical periods.

General

The period 1652-1910

As indicated above, the key themes here are the wars of resistance and the anti-colonial resistance of the colonised Africans after subjugation. In the first, the focus is on the wars of resistance that began with the arrival of the Dutch in the Western Cape in 1652 and concluded with the subjugation of the independent chiefdoms in the current provinces in the north of the country in the late 19th century. The second theme broadly covers the emergence of African elites, the formation of political organisations, development of independent newspapers and churches, and early protest actions.

The wars of resistance

General studies of wars of resistance include the collection edited by Elphick and Giliomee, which contains chapters relevant to virtually all the different regional wars of resistance.² However, the bulk of the literature on pre-colonial history focusing on resistance to colonisation by the indigenous population generally deal with the history of specific regions (the current provinces). This is a consequence of the phased penetration of the southern-most part of the African continent by the Europeans which began with the arrival of the Dutch in the

¹ P. Limb, *The ANC and Black Workers in South Africa, 1912-1992: an Annotated Bibliography*, London, Melbourne, Munich, New Jersey: H. Zell Publishers, 1993.

² R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, 2nd edition, Cape Town, Longman, 1989.

Cape in 1652 and concluded with the conquest of the independent chiefdoms in the north in the late 19th century. For instance, the literature on the wars of resistance of the Khoikhoi and the anti-slavery revolts in the Western Cape are dealt with in the section on the province below. This is the case with the wars of resistance in the other provinces as well.

Anti-colonial resistance

The emergence of an African elite and formation of political organisations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries are the core themes of a number of books, book chapters and journal articles. Perhaps one of the most significant is the collection edited by Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone.³ However, significant sources for the history of this period include the biographies written of various leaders of political organisations at the time. These include a biography of John Dube written by Heather Hughes, the biography of Josiah Gumede by Raymond van Diemel, Catherine Higgs's biography of D.D.T. Jabavu, and Masha-maite's *The Second Coming*, a biography of Pixley ka Isaka Seme.⁴

A number of scholars have taken up this theme more recently. These include Peter Walshe (see below), Stanley Trapido, Brian Willan and Andre Odendaal. Odendaal, for instance, has published extensively on the responses of the African elite to incorporation into the colonial or settler territories after the wars of resistance. In his *Vukani Bantu!*,⁵ Odendaal describes the development of independent newspapers, independent churches, and the first black political organisations in their various regional manifestations. He demonstrates how regional interests gradually developed into common, national aims, eventually giving rise to the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912. Underlying these developments were various processes through which the white authorities sought to increasingly undermine the position of the African population.

Nevertheless, the bulk of the relevant literature on this period focuses on regional histories, and is consequently dealt with in the relevant sections below.

The period 1910-1994

³ S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds.), *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African class formation, culture and consciousness, 1870-1930*, London, Longman, 1982.

⁴ H. Hughes, *First President: A Life of John Dube*, Johannesburg, Jacana Media, 2011; R. van Diemel, *In Search of Freedom, Fair Play and Justice. Josiah Tshangana Gumede, 1867-1947: A Biography*, Belhar, R. van Diemel, 2001; C. Higgs, *The Ghost of Equality. The Public Lives of D.D.T. Jabavu of South Africa, 1885-1959*, Athens, Ohio, 1997; M. Masha-maite, *The Second Coming: The Life and Times of Pixley ka Isaka Seme, the Founder of the ANC*, Pretoria, Chatworld Publishers, 2011. See also M. Marable, 'African Nationalist: The Life of John Langalibalele Dube', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Maryland, 1976.

⁵ A. Odendaal, *Vukani Bantu! The beginnings of Black protest politics in South Africa to 1912*, Cape Town and Johannesburg, David Philip, 1984.

Phase1: Introduction

One of the earliest and most significant studies of the African situation after the formation of the Union of South Africa is Sol Plaatje's *Native life in South Africa*.⁶ The focus of this book is on the effects of the newly-passed Native Land Act on the African population. Other prominent African intellectuals of the time were to follow Plaatje's example with their own descriptions of life for the African in South Africa at the turn of the century. This included D.D.T. Jabavu, who published *The Black Problem* in 1920.⁷

The relevant literature on the period is dominated by studies of the African National Congress. Peter Walshe's *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa*,⁸ published in 1971, is one of the early seminal studies of the ANC's earliest years. Walshe focuses on four key themes: the reaction of Africans and their organisations to the intensification of government policies designed to exclude Africans from participation in a common society; the views of the ANC, its predecessors, and its rivals on the major socio-economic problems brought to the fore by the ongoing industrialisation of South Africa; the nature of the ideological currents, both domestic and foreign, which shaped the environment in which the Congress operated and the outlook which it adopted; and the organisational evolution of the Congress and the myriad difficulties which constrained its effectiveness.⁹ The study provides insights into significant events and processes nationally, and in the various provinces, and the reaction of the ANC to these events and processes during the period under study, as well as the changing leadership of the Congress at various times and in various provinces. As historian Chris Saunders points out, 'it remains, over four decades after it was published, an excellent survey of the organisation's activities in that period'.¹⁰

Another general history of the ANC is found in Mary Benson's *The Struggle for a Birthright*.¹¹ By contrast, Eddie Roux's classic *Time Longer than Rope* is concerned with much more than the ANC.¹² Similarly, James Barber's *South Africa in the Twentieth Century* is a detailed analysis of the history of South Africa, which begins with the South African War and ends with the ushering in of the democratic South Africa. Barber deals with all key organisations and many key events and processes during the course of the century in the book. The underlying theme, however, is black resistance to oppression and political domination.¹³

⁶ S. Plaatje, *Native life in South Africa*, London, 5th edition, nd.

⁷ D.D.T. Jabavu, *The Black Problem*, Lovedale, C.P., 1920.

⁸ P. Walshe, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress, 1912-1952*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971.

⁹ S. Johns, 'Review: *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress, 1912-1952*', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1972, 351.

¹⁰ C. Saunders, 'The ANC's 100 years: Some recent work on its history in historiographical context', review article, *Historia*, vol. 57, no. 2, 2012.

¹¹ M. Benson, *The Struggle for a Birthright*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1966.

¹² E. Roux, *Time Longer than Rope: The Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1964.

¹³ J. Barber, *South Africa in the twentieth century: A political history in search of a nation state*, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, 1999.

The origins and early years of the ANC are also the subject of Hurst's 1970 volume.¹⁴ More recently, Peter Limb authored a book on the ANC's early years in which he deals with the period from the founding of the South African Native National Congress in 1912 to the advent of the presidency of A.B. Xuma in 1940.¹⁵ Although the focus is on the ANC, in which he draws a connection between early nationalist politics and the social history of labour in the first three decades of the ANC's existence, Limb also focuses on other organisations such as the ICU. The division of his chapters to allow a focus on the regional and local level in the four provinces of the Union in each of the three decades he is concerned with provides rich data on these levels. While explaining the roots of what later emerged as the triple alliance between the nationalist movement, the Communist Party and the unions, he also provides insights into the leadership of the movement in the period under study. Consequently, he demonstrates that the ANC leadership had links to the popular politics of the time that involved a large constituency.¹⁶ The background to the formation of the ANC is also found in a major study by Odendaal.¹⁷

Numerous other studies of the ANC exist, and include those of Francis Meli, Saul Dubow, Johannes Rantete, Vladimir Shubin, Andrew Feinstein, and Ben Turok.¹⁸ Meli's study compares the pre-1960 ANC with the post-Sharpeville ANC, and deals with the changing character of the social composition of its leadership and membership, as well as of the changing relationship between the leadership and the masses and the movement's relationship with the working class, among other things. Rantete's *The African National Congress and the Negotiated Settlement in South Africa* examines the internal tensions in the ANC while it was in exile – such as the 1984 mutiny in ANC military camps in exile and allegations of torture in ANC detention camps – the impact of exile on democratic practices, and internal tensions that emerged while the ANC was reconstituting itself inside the country.

The ANC is critically dealt with in Ellis and Sechaba's *Comrades against Apartheid*.¹⁹ However, Russian historian Vladimir Shubin correctly draws attention to the many historical inaccuracies and distortion of events in the work, as well as unsupported claims of Soviet influence over the

¹⁴ E. Hurst, *The rise of African Nationalism: The African National Congress from 1912-1952*, London, C Hurst, 1970.

¹⁵ P. Limb, *The ANC's Early Years: Nation, Class and Place in South Africa before 1940*, Pretoria, Unisa Press, 2010.

¹⁶ Refer to Saunders, 'The ANC's 100 years'.

¹⁷ A. Odendaal, *The Founders: The Origins of the ANC and the Struggle for Democracy in South Africa*, Johannesburg, Jacana Media, 2012.

¹⁸ F. Meli, *South Africa Belongs to Us: A history of the ANC*, London, James Currey, and Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1989; J. Rantete, *The African National Congress and the Negotiated Settlement*, Pretoria, Van Schaik, 1998; V. Shubin, *ANC: A view from Moscow*, Bellville, Mayibuye Books, University of the Western Cape, 1999; S. Dubow, *The African National Congress*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 2000; A. Feinstein, *After the Party: A personal and political journey inside the ANC*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 2007; B. Turok, *Nothing but the truth: Behind the ANC's struggle politics*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 2003.

¹⁹ S. Ellis and T. Sechaba, *Comrades against Apartheid: The ANC and the South African Communist Party in Exile*, London, James Currey, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1992.

Phase1: Introduction

ANC and its policies and reliance on dubious sources.²⁰ Another critical view of the ANC is given by Dale McKinley,²¹ who sets out to show through an analysis 'of the ANC's leadership, tactics and strategies from the 1920s, through the years of exile, to the 1990s, including its close alliance with the South African Communist Party', 'that the organisation, despite historical claims to the contrary, failed to stay in touch with the South African masses. He maintains that the ANC made fundamental compromises to gain political power, and in so doing has ensured that the economic power-base of the ruling elites in post-apartheid South Africa remains essentially unaltered.'²²

Other critical views of the ANC are found in Anthea Jeffrey's *People's War* and Peter Trehwela's *Inside Quatro*.²³ Other more recent studies of the ANC include Lodge's *Politics in South Africa*, Schoeman and Swanepoel's edited collection, *Unity in Diversity: 100 Years of ANC Leadership*, and Holland's *100 Years of Struggle*.²⁴ A specific focus on the ANC's armed struggle is found in Barrell's *The ANC's armed struggle*, Ronnie Kasrils' *Armed and Dangerous*, Davis's *Apartheid Rebels*, Ngculu's *The Honour to Serve*, Conny Braam's *Operation Vula* and Cherry's *Umkhonto we Sizwe*.²⁵ While Davis's book deals with the ANC's armed struggle between 1976 and 1986, Barrell deals with the ANC's strategy in the same period in great detail in his DPhil thesis.²⁶ A critical view of MK is found in Twala's *Mbokodo: Inside MK – Mwezi Twala*.²⁷ However, the focus is on events in the military wing outside the country instead of on the conduct of military operations. The latter is dealt with more extensively in Thula Simpson's PhD thesis.²⁸

The liberation movements also threw up their own historians. One of these is Govan Mbeki, whose writings include *The Struggle for Liberation in South Africa*.²⁹ In this study, Mbeki

²⁰ V. Shubin, 'Digging in the gold mine: The Mayibuye Centre Archive as a source on the history of the South African liberation struggle', *Comparative studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1999, 46-7.

²¹ D. McKinley, *The ANC and the Liberation Struggle: A critical political biography*, London, Pluto, 1997.

²² Editorial Review of the Book available at www.abebooks.co.uk.

²³ T. Lodge, *Politics in South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*, Cape Town, David Philip, 2002; A. Jeffrey, *People's War: New Light on the Struggle for South Africa*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 2009; P. Trehwela, *Inside Quatro: Uncovering the Exile History of the ANC and SWAPO*, Johannesburg, Jacana Media, 2009.

²⁴ R. Schoeman and D. Swanepoel (eds.), *Unity in Diversity: 100 Years of ANC Leadership (1912-2012)*, Johannesburg, BM Books, 2012; H. Holland, *100 Years of Struggle: Mandela's ANC*, Johannesburg, Penguin Books, 2012.

²⁵ H. Barrell, *The ANC's armed struggle*, London, Penguin Books, 1990; S.M. Davis, *Apartheid's Rebels: Inside South Africa's hidden war*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1978; J. Ngculu, *The Honour to Serve: Recollections of an Umkhonto soldier*, Claremont, New Africa Books, 2009; C. Braam, *Operation Vula*, Bellevue, Jacana, 2004; J. Cherry, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, Johannesburg, Jacana Media, 2011.

²⁶ H. Barrell, 'Conscripts to the Age: African National Congress operational strategy', DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1993.

²⁷ M. Twala (with E. Benard), *Mbokodo: Inside MK – Mwezi Twala*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 1994.

²⁸ T. Simpson, 'The People's War of Umkhonto we Sizwe, 1961-1990', PhD thesis, University of London, 2006.

²⁹ G. Mbeki, *The Struggle for Liberation in South Africa: A short history*, Bellville, Mayibuye Centre, Cape Town, David Philip, 1992.

captures some of the key developments in the ANC, as well as its key campaigns, such as the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

Some autobiographical and biographical works are also useful in highlighting significant events and processes of the liberation struggle, as well as the contribution of key individuals to the struggle. Among the most important here are: Hughes' biography of John Dube, the biography of Josiah Gumede by Raymond van Diemel, Masha-maite's *The Second Coming*, a biography of Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Z.K. Matthews's autobiographical *Freedom for my people*, Brian Bunting's *Moses Kotane, A South African Revolutionary*, Ellen Khuzwayo's autobiography *Call me Woman*, Helen Joseph's autobiography *Side by Side*, Eddie Roux's biography of S.P. Bunting, Emma Gilbey's biography of Winnie Mandela, Nelson Mandela's *Long walk to freedom* (as well as various biographies written about Mandela),³⁰ Elias Ntloedibe's biography of Robert Sobukwe, Rusty Bernstein's autobiographical *Memory against forgetting*, Baruch Hirson's *Revolutions in My Life*, Annemarie Wolpe's *The long way home*, Stephen Clingham's *Bram Fischer*, Glenn Frankel's *Rivonia's Children*, Elinor Sisulu's biography of Walter and Albertina Sisulu, *In our lifetime*, Luli Callinicos's biography of Oliver Tambo, Ronnie Kasril's autobiography, *Armed and Dangerous*, Pdraig O'Malley's *Shades of Difference*, a biography of Mac Maharaj, Joe Slovo's *The Unfinished Autobiography of Joe Slovo*, Archie Sibeko's *Freedom in our Lifetime*, Benjamin Pogrud's biography of Robert Sobukwe, Driver's biography of Patrick Duncan, Ben Turok's *Nothing but the truth*, Jay Naidoo's autobiography, and Colin Bundy's *Govan Mbeki*.³¹

³⁰ The most notable here is A. Sampson, *Mandela: The authorised biography*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 1999.

³¹ Hughes, *First President: A Life of John Dube*; Van Diemel, *In Search of Freedom, Fair Play and Justice. Josiah Tshangana Gumede, 1867-1947: A Biography*; Masha-maite, *The Second Coming: The Life and Times of Pixley ka Isaka Seme, the Founder of the ANC*; Z.K. Matthews, *Freedom for my people: The autobiography of ZK Matthews, South Africa 1901 to 1968*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1981; B. Bunting, *Moses Kotane, A South African Revolutionary: A political biography*, London, Inkululeko Publications, 1975; E. Khuzwayo, *Call me Woman*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1985; H. Joseph, *Side by side*, Johannesburg, AD Donker Publisher, 1993; E. Roux, *S. P. Bunting: A Political Biography*, new edition, Bellville, Mayibuye Books, 1993; E. Gilbey, *The Lady: The life and times of Winnie Mandela*, London, Jonathan Cape, 1993; N. Mandela, *Long walk to Freedom*, London, Abacus, 1994; E.L. Ntloedibe, *Here is a tree: political biography of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe*, Century-Turn Publishers, 1995; R. Bernstein, *Memory against forgetting*, London, Viking Press, 1999; B. Hirson, *Revolutions in My Life*, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1995; A. Wolpe, *The long way home*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1994; S. Clingham, *Bram Fischer: Afrikaner Revolutionary*, Cape Town, David Philip, Bellville, Mayibuye Books, Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1998; G. Frankel, *Rivonia's Children: Three families and the price of freedom in South Africa*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 1999; E. Sisulu, *In our lifetime: Walter and Albertina Sisulu – A Biography*, Cape Town, David Philip, 2002; L. Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains*, Cape Town, David Philip, 2004; R. Kasrils, *Armed and dangerous: From undercover struggle to freedom fighter*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 2004; P. O'Malley, *Shades of Difference: Mac Maharaj and the struggle for South Africa*, New York and London, Viking, 2007; J. Slovo, *The Unfinished Autobiography of Joe Slovo*, Ocean, New York, 1997; A. Sibeko, *Freedom in our Lifetime*, Indicator Press, Durban, 1996; B. Pogrud, *How can a man die better? The life of Robert Sobukwe*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 1990; C.J. Driver, *Patrick Duncan: South African and Pan-African*, Oxford, James Currey, 2000; Turok, *Nothing but the truth*; J. Naidoo, *Fighting for Justice: A lifetime of political and social activism*, Johannesburg, Picador Africa, 2010; C. Bundy, *Govan Mbeki*, Johannesburg, Jacana Media, 2012.

Phase1: Introduction

However, autobiographical and biographical accounts written by and about important figures in the struggles often either present a positive image of the liberation movements, or are critical. Such works include Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom*, Ntato Babenia's *Memoirs of a Saboteur* and Ronnie Kasrils' *Armed and Dangerous*.³² Autobiographies by Bruno Mtolo, an ANC member turned state witness at the ANC trials, and Mwezi Twala, a suspected spy in exile, take a particular anti-ANC point of view, dealing with the early sabotage campaign in the 1960s and the mid-1970s to the 1990s, respectively.³³ Thula Bophela and Daluxolo Luthuli are very critical of early MK operations and particularly of MK commander, Joe Modise.³⁴ These latter books do not use the liberation archives.

The literature on the history of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) is also substantial. The early history of the Party is found in Sheridan Johns' study of the International Socialist League and the Communist Party of South Africa,³⁵ while Martin Legassick reviews the CPSA's policy on the 'Native Republic' in a study of the Party's early years.³⁶ Lerumo's *Fifty Fighting Years* chronicles the history of the Communist Party of South Africa from its origin in 1921 to 1970.³⁷ It begins with a brief discussion of the period prior to the formation of the Party, starting with the arrival of white settlers in the 17th century and ending with conquest and land dispossession in the 19th century. The volume deals with the formation of the CPSA in 1921 and its subsequent development as a leading force of the working peoples in the bitter struggles against the restrictive racial laws which had deprived the African people of their land and turned them into a reservoir of cheap labour for the mines and the white man's farms. However, it also traces the parallel development of the African National Congress.³⁸ *Class and Colour* remains the seminal study of the CPSA (see below),³⁹ while Ellis and Sechaba provide a critical view of the Party in the last decades of apartheid. Other significant studies of the Party include the works of Duignan and Gann, Pike, Shubin, Bundy and Maloka.⁴⁰

³² Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*; N. Babenia, *Memoirs of a Saboteur*, Bellville, Mayibuye Books, 1995; Kasrils, *Armed and Dangerous*, 1993.

³³ B. Mtolo, *Umkhonto we Sizwe: the Road to the Left*, Durban, Drakensberg Press, 1966; Twala, *Mbokodo Inside MK: Mwezi Twala- A Soldier's Story*.

³⁴ T. Bopela and D. Luthuli, *Umkhonto we Sizwe: Fighting for a divided people*, Johannesburg, Galago Publishing Pty Ltd, 2005.

³⁵ S. Johns, *Raising the Red Flag: The International Socialist League and the Communist Party of South Africa*, Bellville, Mayibuye Books, 1995.

³⁶ M. Legassick, *Class and nationalism in South African protest: The South African Communist Party and the "Native Republic", 1928-34*, New York, Program of Eastern African Studies, Syracuse University, 1973.

³⁷ A. Lerumo (Michael Harmel), *Fifty Fighting Years: The Communist Party of South Africa, 1921-1970*, London, Inkululeko, 1980.

³⁸ A. Lerumo, 'Foreword to the Indian Edition of *Fifty Fighting Year*'. Available at www.sacp.org.za.

³⁹ H.J. and R.E. Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa*, Hammondsworth, Penguin Books, 1969.

⁴⁰ P. Duignan and L.H. Gann, *Communism in Sub-Saharan Africa: A re-appraisal*, Washington, DC, Hoover Institute, 1994; H.P. Pike, *A history of communism in South Africa*, Germiston, Christian Mission International of South Africa, 1985; Shubin, *ANC*; C. Bundy, *The history of the South African Communist Party*, Cape Town,

The history of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) is captured in books, theses, chapters and articles by Lodge, Davis, Nkoana, Mahono, Leeman, Mphahlele, Muendane, Mgxashe, and Kondlo, among others.⁴¹ Studies of the history of Trotskyite organisations such as the Non-European Unity Movement of South Africa and the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa include Tabata's *The awakening of a people*, Fine and Davis's *Beyond Apartheid*, Drew's *Discordant Comrades*, and Kayser's unpublished MA dissertation.⁴² The literature on the African Resistance Movement (ARM) includes Hirson's *Revolutions in my lifetime* and Du Toit's 'The National Committee for Liberation (ARM)'.⁴³ The history of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) can be found in books by Steve Biko, Gerhart, Arnold, Murray, Mangena, Pityana and others, and Karis and Carter, among others.⁴⁴

Some major studies deal with particular historical periods of the struggle. For instance, Mary Benson's *Struggle for a Birthright* deals with the processes underlying the development of the ANC as a mass movement during the 1950s.⁴⁵ The hiatus in African politics inside the country in the 1960s, among other things, is dealt with by Gail Gerhard, while Albie Sachs

University of Cape Town Summer School Lecture Series, 1991; E. Maloka, *The South African Communist Party: Exile and After Apartheid*, Johannesburg, Jacana, 2013.

⁴¹ T. Lodge, 'The Pan-Africanist Congress, 1959-1990', in I. Liebenberg et al. (eds.), *The Long March: The story of the struggle for liberation in South Africa*, Pretoria, HAUM, 1994; T. Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*, London, Longman, 1983; T. Lodge, 'Insurrectionism in South Africa: The Pan-Africanist Congress and the Poqo Movement', PhD thesis, University of York, Centre for Southern African Studies, 1984; Davis, *Apartheid's Rebels*; M. Nkoane, *Crisis in the revolution: A special report on the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa*, London, Mafube, 1969; N. Mahomo, 'The Rise of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa', MA thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1968; B. Leeman, *Lesotho and the struggle for Azania: Africanist political movements in Lesotho and Azania: The origins and history of the Basutoland Congress Party and the Pan Africanist Congress*, London, The University of Azania Press, 1985; L. Mphahela, *Child of this Soil: My life as a freedom fighter*, Johannesburg, Kwela Books, 2002; M. Muendane, *Confrontation with Apartheid Colonisation: The role of the Pan Africanist Congress and the influence of Sobukwe and Africanism in the Azanian struggle*, London, Jacobin and Muendane, 1989; M.A. Mgxashe, *Are you with us? The story of a PAC activist*, Houghton, Mafube, 2006; M. Muendane, *The Leader South Africa never had: The remarkable pilgrimage of Vusumzi Make*, Buccleuch, Soul Talk, 2007; K. Kondlo, *In the twilight of the revolution: The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), 1959-1994*, Basel, Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2009.

⁴² I.B. Tabata, *The awakening of a people*, Nottingham, Bertrand Russell Foundation for Spokesman Books, 1974; R. Fine and D. Davis, *Beyond Apartheid: Labour and Liberation in South Africa*, London, Pluto Press, 1990; A. Drew, *Discordant Comrades: Identities and loyalties on the South African left*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000; R. Kayser, 'Land and Liberty: The Non-European Unity Movement and the land question, 1933-1976', MA dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2002.

⁴³ Hirson, *Revolutions in my lifetime*; A. du Toit, 'The National Committee for Liberation (ARM), 1960-1964: Sabotage and the question of the ideological subject', MA dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1990.

⁴⁴ S. Biko, *I write what I like*, Johannesburg, Picador Africa, 2004; G.M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The evolution of an ideology*, London, University of California Press, 1972; M. Arnold (ed.), *The testimony of Steve Biko: Black Consciousness in South Africa*, New York, Granada Publishing, 1979; M. Murray, *Time of Agony, Time of Destiny: The upsurge of popular protest*, London, Verson, 1987; M. Mangena, *On Your Own: The evolution of Black Consciousness in South Africa/Azania*, Johannesburg, Vivlia Publications, 1989; B. Pityana et al. (eds.), *Bounds of Possibility: The legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1991; T.G. Karis and G.M. Gerhart (eds.), *From Protest to Challenge: A documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1979, Volume 5, Nadir and Resurgence, 1964-1979*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 1997.

⁴⁵ Benson, *South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright*.

Phase1: Introduction

reviews the repressive laws, torture and detention and imprisonment used by the apartheid authorities to crush opposition at the time. By contrast, Edward Feit focused on specific ANC-led campaigns between 1953 and 1963, identifying key organisational weaknesses and strategic misconceptions as the main explanations for their respective failures.⁴⁶ Feit produced two other books later in the decade which focused specifically on African resistance and the ANC in the decade.⁴⁷ Horrell similarly draws attention to the activities of the African political movements in the early 1960s.⁴⁸

Some of the key events, processes and organisations of the liberation struggle in the period 1960 to 1990 are captured in books by Callinicos and Rogers, Tom Lodge, Richard Leonard, Brewer, Martin Murray, Anthony Marx, Cobbett and Cohen, Ben Magubane, Steven Mufson, Robert Price, Jeremy Seekings, Inneke van Kessel and the collection edited by Tom Lodge, Bill Nasson and others.⁴⁹ Tom Lodge, for instance, places the ANC and its allies at the centre of his analysis, but includes as well the various other key organisations in the struggle and significant popular struggles in the urban areas and the countryside. Similarly, Murray focuses on the 1984-1986 insurrection, with chapters demonstrating the success of the independent trade union movement, the role of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other progressive forces representing the Congress tradition, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (AZAPO) and the National Forum, and conflict between ANC-aligned organisations on the one hand, and AZAPO/the National Forum, Inkatha, and vigilantes on the other. At the centre of the analysis is the nature of repression and resistance during the course of the insurrection. Marx provides an in-depth analysis of the period 1960-1990, including the rise of the BCM, the UDF and the trade union movement.

⁴⁶ Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa*; A. Sachs, *South Africa: The violence of apartheid*, London, International Defence and Aid Fund, 1970; E. Feit, *Urban Revolt in South Africa*, Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1971.

⁴⁷ E. Feit, *South Africa: The Dynamics of the African National Congress*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1967; E. Feit, *African Opposition in South Africa*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford CA, 1967.

⁴⁸ M. Horrell, *Action, Reaction and Counter-action: A brief review of non-white political movements in South Africa*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1971.

⁴⁹ A. Callinicos and J. Rogers, *Southern Africa after Soweto*, London, Pluto Press, 1977; Lodge, *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*; R. Leonard, *South Africa at War: White power and the crisis in Southern Africa*, Johannesburg, AD Donker, 1985; J. Brewer, *After Soweto: an unfinished journey*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987; Murray, *Time of Agony, Time of Destiny: The upsurge of popular protest*; W. Cobbett and R. Cohen (eds.), *Popular struggles in South Africa*, New Jersey, Africa World Press, 1988; B. Magubane, *South Africa: From Soweto to Uitenhage, The political economy of the South African revolution*, New Jersey, Africa World Press, 1989; S. Mufson, *Fighting Years: Black resistance and the struggle for a new South Africa*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1990; R.M. Price, *The Apartheid State in Crisis: Political transformation in South Africa*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1991; A. Marx, *Lessons of the Struggle: South African internal opposition*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1992; J. Seekings, *The UDF: A history of the United Democratic Front, 1983-1991*, Cape Town, David Philip, 2000; I. van Kessel, *Beyond our wildest dreams: The United Democratic Front and the transformation of South Africa*, Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 2000; and T. Lodge, B. Nasson, S. Mufson, K. Shubane and N. Sithole, *All, Here and Now: Black politics in South Africa in the 1980s*, London, Hurst, 1992.

The relevant literature on the early 1990s includes Alistair Sparks' *Tomorrow is another country*, Fatima Meer's *The Codesa File*, Steven Friedman's *The Long Journey*, Johannes Rantete's *The African National Congress and the Negotiated Settlement*, Spitz and Chaskalson's *The Politics of Transition*, Chris Lansberg's *The quiet diplomacy of liberation*, Simpson's *The Boipatong Massacre*, and Willie Esterhuyse's *Secret talks and the end of apartheid*.⁵⁰

Other more general studies of the liberation struggle include the various volumes edited by Karis and others,⁵¹ and the volumes of the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET). Gwendolen Carter and Tom Karis led the process of compiling a major documentary multi-volume history of African politics in South Africa, titled *From Protest to Challenge*. This not only included some of the many seminal documents they collected, but also lengthy commentaries on them. The first volume, written and compiled by Sheridan Johns, took the story back into the late nineteenth century, to show the antecedents of the SANNC, as well as forward into the 1920s; the second volume carried the story on to 1935.⁵²

Similarly, the SADET volumes, which have contributions from a large number of scholars, cover a range of relevant topics for the 1960 to 1994 period. For instance, the trade union movement is the subject of two chapters in the second volume and another two in the fourth.⁵³ The SADET volumes also have several chapters that deal with the armed struggle, the political

⁵⁰ A. Sparks, *Tomorrow is Another Country: The inside story of South Africa's negotiated revolution*, Sandton, Struik, 1995; A. Sparks, *The Mind of South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 2003; F. Meer, *The CODESA Files*, Durban, Madiba Publishers, 1993; S. Friedman, *The Long Journey: South Africa's quest for a negotiated settlement*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1993; Rantete, *The African National Congress and the negotiated settlement*; R. Spitz and M. Chaskalson, *The Politics of Transition: A history of South Africa's negotiated settlement*, Oxford, Hart Publishing, 2000; C. Lansberg, *The quiet diplomacy of liberation: International politics and South Africa's transition*, Johannesburg, Jacana, 2004; J.D.R. Simpson, *The Boipatong Massacre and South Africa's democratic transition*, Leiden, African Studies Centre, 2011; W. Esterhuyse, *Secret talks and the end of apartheid: Endgame*, Tafelberg, 2012.

⁵¹ T.G. Karis and G. Carter, *From Protest to Challenge: A documentary history of African politics in South Africa, Volume 1, Protest and Hope, 1822-1964*, Hoover Institution Press, 1972; G. Karis, G. Carter and G.M. Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A documentary history of African politics in South Africa, Volume 2: Hope and challenge, 1935-1952*, Hoover Institution Press, 1972; T.G. Karis and G.M. Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A documentary history of African politics in South Africa, Volume 3: Challenge and violence, 1953-1964*, Hoover Institution Press, 1972; T.G. Karis and G.M. Gerhart, *From protest to challenge: A documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1990, Volume 5, Nadir and resurgence, 1964-1979*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 1997.

⁵² G. Carter and T. Karis (eds.), *From Protest to Challenge*, volumes 1-4, Stanford, Hoover Institution, 1972-1977. The series was continued in volumes 5, T. Karis and G. Gerhart, *Nadir and Resurgence*, Pretoria, Unisa Press, 1997 and volume 6, G. Gerhart and C. Glaser, *Challenge and Victory*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2010.

⁵³ J. Sithole and S. Ndlovu, 'The revival of the labour movement, in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy, Volume 2*; D. Hemson, M. Legassick and N. Ulrich, 'White activists and the revival of the workers' movement', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy, Volume 2*; J. Sithole, 'The South African Congress of Trade Unions and labour struggles in the 1980s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy, Volume 4*; S. Ndlovu and J. Sithole, 'Trade union unity summits and the formation of COSATU, 1980-1990', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy, Volume 4*.

Phase1: Introduction

underground, rural resistance, youth and women's organisations, political violence and negotiations. Some chapters focus on developments in the various regions during particular historical periods.

Specific sectors of society are the subject of a number of studies. For instance, the role of women's organisations in the liberation struggle is the subject of books by Hilda Bernstein, Cheryl Walker, Shireen Hassim, Nomboniso Gasa, Julie Wells, and Diana Russell, among others.⁵⁴ Walker's study covers the history of women's participation in political and worker organisations from 1910 to the 1950s. The focus is on women in the ANC, the Communist Party of South Africa and the trade union movement, including the many campaigns and demands of women during the period under study. Hassim begins with a discussion of the contrast between nationalism and feminism before focusing on the role women's organisations played in popular mobilisation. Here she focuses on specific women's organisations that rose to prominence in the UDF during the 1980s. She concludes with a discussion of the formation of the ANC's Women's League after the unbanning of the liberation movements.

Similarly, there are numerous studies of the trade union movement. These include Ken Luckhart and Brenda Wall's *Organise or Starve: The History of the South African Congress of Trade Unions*.⁵⁵ Perhaps the most significant study of the rise of the labour movement and political struggle is the Simons's *Class and Colour in South Africa*, which is a pioneering analysis of the relationship between class and race, and how these shaped the South African political and social landscape.⁵⁶ The study focused particularly on the ANC and the CPSA, and argued that by 1950, the year in which the CPSA was forced to dissolve itself in the face of new anti-communist legislation, the parallel histories of nationalism and socialism had come together. Studies of the history of the trade union movement in the period 1960-1994 include the works of Feit, Du Toit, Webster, Friedman, Freund, Baskin, Lowry, Kraak, Adler and Webster, Von Holdt, and the collection of journal articles edited by Johan Maree.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ H. Bernstein, *For their triumphs and for their fears: Women in apartheid South Africa*, London, International Defence and Aid Fund, 1985; C. Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, London, Onyx Press, 1982; S. Hassim, *Women's organisations and democracy in South Africa: Contesting authority*, Scottsville, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006; N. Gasa (ed.), *Women in South Africa's history: They remove boulders and cross rivers*, Pretoria, Human Sciences Research Council, 2007; J. Wells, *We Now Demand! The history of women's resistance to pass laws in South Africa*, Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 1993; D.E.H. Russell, *Lives of Courage: Women for a new South Africa*, New York, Basic Books, 1989. Refer also to African National Congress, *Apartheid – You shall be crushed: Women's fight against apartheid*, London, ANC, 1981; African National Congress, *Women Organised: A FEDSAW Commemorative Pamphlet*, London, ANC, 1989; B. Lipman, *We Make Freedom: Women in South Africa*, London, Pandora Press, 1984.

⁵⁵ K. Luckhart and B. Wall, *Organise or Starve: The History of the South African Congress of Trade Unions*. Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1980.

⁵⁶ H.J. and R.E. Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa*.

⁵⁷ E. Feit, *Workers without weapons: The South African Congress of Trade Unions and the organisation of workers*, Hamden, Archon, 1975; D. du Toit, *Capital and Labour in South Africa: Class struggles in the 1970s*, London, Kegan Paul, 1981; E. Webster, *Cast in a racial mould: Labour process and trade unionism in the Foundries*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1985; S. Friedman, *Building towards tomorrow: African workers in trade*

These are supplemented by a host of significant journal articles in the *South African Labour Bulletin* and other journals, as well as book chapters, over the years.

The role of the youth and students can be found in the works of Molteno, Unterhalter and others, Matona, Johnson, Seekings, Badat, Hartshorne, and Marks.⁵⁸ These studies focus on the political contribution the youth made in student struggles, in school and youth organisations, in the liberation and trade union movements, etc. Moses Mayekiso focuses on the history of the civic movement.⁵⁹ Mayekiso's study is a celebration of the power the civic movement of the late 1970s and 1980s had in the townships. He outlines the tactics and strategies of the civic movement, while demonstrating some of the challenges and contradictions the movement faced. Other studies of the civic movement have been made by Cooper and Ensor, Carter, Ottaway, Lanegran, the collection edited by Adler and Steinberg, and Zuern.⁶⁰ The role of religious institutions in the liberation struggle is found in De Gruchy's *The Church struggle in South Africa*, Walshe's *Church versus State in South Africa* and *Prophetic Christianity*, Elphick and Davenport's edited collection, *Christianity in South Africa*, Pandey's study of the role of the Muslim Judicial Council in the liberation

unions, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987; B. Freund, *The African Worker*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988; J. Baskin, *Striking back: A history of COSATU*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1991; D. Lowry, *20 Years in the Labour Movement: The Urban Training Project and change in South Africa, 1971-1991*, Johannesburg, Wardmore, 1991; G. Kraak, *Breaking the Chains: Labour in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s*, London, Pluto Press, 1993; G. Adler and E. Webster, *Trade Unions and Democratisation in South Africa, 1985-1997*, Basingstoke, Macmillan and New York, St Martin's Press, 2000; K. von Holdt, *Transition From Below: Forging trade unionism and workplace change in South Africa*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2003; J. Maree (ed.), *The Independent Trade Unions, 1974-1984: Ten years of the South African Labour Bulletin*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987.

⁵⁸ F. Molteno, *1980: Students Struggle for their Schools*, Cape Town, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1988; E. Unterhalter et al. (eds.), *Apartheid education and popular struggles*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1991; T. Matona, 'Student Organisation and political resistance in South Africa: An analysis of the Congress of South African Students, 1979-1985', unpublished Honours' dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1992; S. Johnson, 'The Soldiers of Luthuli: Youth in the politics of resistance in South Africa', in S. Johnson (ed.), *South Africa: No turning back*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1989; J. Seekings, *Heroes or Villains? Youth politics in the 1980s*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1994; S. Badat, *Black student politics, higher education and apartheid: From SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990*, Pretoria, Human Sciences Research Council, 1999; M. Marks, *Young Warriors: Youth politics, identity and violence*, Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2001.

⁵⁹ M. Mayekiso, *Township Politics: Civic struggles for a new South Africa*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1996.

⁶⁰ C. Cooper and L. Ensor, *PEBCO: A Black mass movement*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1981; C.E. Carter, 'Comrades and Community: Politics and the Construction of Hegemony in Alexandra Township, South Africa, 1984-1987', Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1991; M. Ottaway, *South Africa: A Struggle for a New Order*, Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1993; K. Lanegran, 'Social movements, democratisation and civil society: The case of the South African civic associations', PHD thesis, University of Florida, 1997; G. Adler and J. Steinberg (eds.), *From Comrades to Citizens: The South African civics movement and the transition to democracy*, London, Macmillan, 2000; E. Zuern, *Continuity in Contradiction? The Prospects for a National Civic Movement in a Democratic State: SANCO and the ANC in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, Durban, Centre for Civil Society and the School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2004.

Phase1: Introduction

struggle, Desmond Tutu's *The Rainbow People*, and Graybill's study of *Religion and Resistance in South Africa*.⁶¹

Raymond Suttner's *The ANC underground in South Africa* draws attention to the role of underground activists inside the country in establishing networks from the time of the banning of the movement through to the 1970s and 1980s.⁶² Included here is a study of the role of the SACP in this underground, and how the ANC was able to establish a near-hegemonic position inside the country due in part to the existence of an underground.

Rural struggles have been the subject of a number of significant studies. These include the volume edited by Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido, Bundy's *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, and Beinart and Bundy's *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa*.⁶³ Certain studies focus on specific historical events. Included here are studies of the Freedom Charter Campaign,⁶⁴ Sharpeville Massacre,⁶⁵ and the Soweto Uprising.⁶⁶ These studies nevertheless cannot ignore various other aspects of liberation struggle history, such as the key organisations and actors, the historical background to such events, and the consequences of various events and processes.

A large number of archival sources are also available. Some of the most important include the ANC Archives at the University of Fort Hare, the PAC, AZAPO and BCM archives of the National Heritage and Cultural Centre (NAHECS) at Fort Hare University, the Mayibuye Archives at the University of the Western Cape, the Wentzel Papers found at the University of the Witwatersrand, the Carter-Karis Collection, also found at the University of the Witwatersrand, the IB Tabata collection of the University of Cape Town Archives and

⁶¹ J. de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 2nd edition, Cape Town, David Philip, 1986; P. Walshe, *Church versus State in South Africa: The case of the Christian Institute*, New York, Maryknoll and London, Orbis Books, 1970; P. Walshe, *Prophetic Christianity and the liberation movement in South Africa*, Pietermaritzburg, Cluster Publications, 1995; R. Elphick and T.R.H. Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa: A political, social and cultural history*, Oxford, James Currey, 1997; R. Pandey, 'A critical look at the role of the Muslim Judicial Council in the struggle for liberation in South Africa from 1960 to 1994', BA Hons dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1994; D. Tutu (edited by J. Allen), *The Rainbow People of God: A spiritual journey from apartheid to freedom*, Cape Town, Double Story Books, 2006; L.S. Graybill, *Religion and Resistance in South Africa*, Westport, Praeger, 1995.

⁶² R. Suttner, *The ANC's Underground in South Africa*, Auckland Park, Jacana, 2008.

⁶³ S. Marks and S. Trapido (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth-Century South Africa*, London, Longman, 1987; W. Beinart and C. Bundy, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa. Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape, 1890- 1930*, Johannesburg, James Currey, University of California Press, Ravan Press, 1987; C. Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, London, 1979.

⁶⁴ I. Vadi, *The Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter*, New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1998.

⁶⁵ P. Frankel, *An ordinary atrocity: Sharpeville and its massacre*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 2001; T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Aftermath*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011.

⁶⁶ J. Kane-Berman, *Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1978; B. Hirson, *Year of Fire, Year of Ash: the Soweto Revolt, Roots of a revolution?*, London, Zed Press, 1979; A. Brooks and J. Brickhill, *Whirlwind Before the Storm*, London, International Defence and Aid Fund, 1980; H. Mashabela, *A People on the boil*, Johannesburg, Skotaville, 1987; P. Bonner and L. Segal, *Soweto: A history*, Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1998; D. Ntshangase and S. Krige (eds.), *Recollected 25 years later: Soweto 16 June 1976*, Kwela, 2000.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

Manuscripts Division, the Mayibuye Archives based at the University of the Western Cape, the Jack Simons collection and Alan Paton Papers at the University of Cape Town, and the Robert Sobukwe Papers.⁶⁷ The National Archives of South Africa also has a large collection of trial records that are useful for research on the South African liberation struggle,⁶⁸ as well as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) collection.

The TRC was able to secure the following categories of records: general files, all post-dating 1990; computer data tapes containing data on anti-apartheid organisations; and individual case records in eight sub-categories – contraventions of emergency regulations, dockets, detainees under security legislation, surveillance of individuals (both anti-apartheid and right wing), surveillance of right wing organisations, security incidents (post-dating 1990), applications for indemnity, and returning exiles.⁶⁹ The TRC discovered that the files of all security and political prisoners, including those of Nelson Mandela, the other Rivonia Treason trialists and prisoners sentenced to death, were intact, in excellent condition and under the careful management of the Department of Prisons' Directorate of Security. It noted, however, that the files of security and political detainees had been under the direct control of the Security Branch of the SAP.⁷⁰ Most importantly, however, the TRC discovered that substantial records had been retained by the Department of Justice's Security Legislation Directorate. Included here are case files for individuals, spanning the period 1949-1991; case files for organisations and for publications dating back from the 1920s; and policy, administrative and other subject-based correspondence files.⁷¹ This is the most relevant available official source of records on individual political activists, and they are located at the National Archives of South Africa.

Excluded here is the significant number of journal articles and book chapters that cover many of the relevant themes discussed above.

The Western Cape

As indicated above, the relevant literature on the Western Cape begins with the wars of resistance and the slave revolt. The history of the early wars of resistance of the Khoikhoi and the San in the area now known as the Western Cape can be found in works of Nigel

⁶⁷ Wentzel Papers AD 1931, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg; Alan Paton Papers, Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, BCZA 77/25; Robert Sobukwe Papers, University of the Witwatersrand Library, Historical Papers, A2618;

⁶⁸ See for instance G. Moss, *Political Trials 1976-1979*, Johannesburg, Development Studies Group, University of the Witwatersrand, 1979; M. Lobban, *White Man's Justice: South African political trials in the Black Consciousness era*, New York and Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996 for the uses of trial records for research.

⁶⁹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Cape Town, Juta & Co. Ltd, 2003, 217-8.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 215.

Phase1: Introduction

Penn, Mohammed Adhikari, and Susan Newton-King.⁷² *The Shaping of South African Society*, edited by both Richard Elphick and Herman Giliomee, is another very useful book on the subject.⁷³ In this book, the chapter on *The Khoisan to 1828* by Elphick and Malherbe, and *The Slaves 1652-1834* by Armstrong and Worden are particularly useful. The history of slavery and the slave revolts in the Cape is found in the works of Robert Ross, Nigel Worden, Nigel Penn, and Robert Shell.⁷⁴

Among the historians of early Cape society is Karel Schoeman. He writes mostly in Afrikaans, but his *Seven Khoi Lives* is a very resourceful biography of five men and two women who played a key role among the Khoikhoi in the 17th century. This is not only an informative source but fills a huge gap in the light of the scarcity of oral sources covering this period. Schoeman therefore draws from the records kept by the Commander of the VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) in the Cape, Jan Van Riebeeck, and acknowledges that 'while this information is inevitably one-sided, and mostly recorded by observers who did not fully understand what they were recording or else completely misunderstood, it is nonetheless extensive.'⁷⁵

Robert Ross has written *Cape of Torments* on the two slave rebellions in the Cape colony and makes the argument that 'the lack of rebellions does not mean [...] the slaves acquiesced in their slavery', but on the contrary 'they expressed their discontent in many ways but above all by deserting'.⁷⁶ Another historian who has published extensively on slavery is Nigel Worden. Together with Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith, Worden has written a very useful resource on *Cape Town: The Making of the City*.⁷⁷ This social history of Cape Town captures almost three centuries of growth of the city and of the life of its black and white, rich and poor, slave and free, and Christian and Muslim inhabitants under both Dutch and British colonial rule.

⁷² N. Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonists and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern Frontier in the 18th century*, Athens, Ohio, Ohio University Press, 2005; M. Adhikari, *The Anatomy of a South African Genocide: The extermination of the Cape San peoples*, Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 2010; S. Newton-King, *Masters and Servants of the Cape eastern frontier, 1760-1803*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999.

⁷³ Elphick and Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*.

⁷⁴ R. Ross, *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa*, London, Routledge, 1983; N. Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985; N. Worden with R. Versfeld, D. Dyer, and C. Bickford-Smith, *The chains that bind us: A history of slavery at the Cape*, Kenwyn, Juta, 1996; N. Penn, *Rogues, Rebels and Runaways: Eighteenth-Century Cape Characters*, Cape Town, David Philip, and Hilversum, Verloren Publishers, 1999; R. Shell, *Children of Bondage: a Social History of Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838*, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, and Hanover and London, Wesleyan University Press, 1994.

⁷⁵ K. Schoeman, *Seven Khoi Lives: Cape Biographies of the Seventeenth Century*, Pretoria, Protea Book House, 2009, 9-10.

⁷⁶ Ross, *Cape of Torments*, 15.

⁷⁷ N. Worden, E. van Heyningen and V. Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of the City* Cape Town, David Philip, 1998.

Another very interesting historian is Nigel Penn who, in *Rogues, Rebels and Runaways: Eighteenth Century Characters*, deals extensively with rebels and deserters and offers a rich description of these rebels who without doubt deserve a chapter in any serious study of resistance to colonial authority. Andre Brink (Oxford, 1982) in *A Chain of Voices* has written an account of the 1825 slave revolt in Houdenbek and subsequent trial of the leader of that revolt, the slave Galant and 10 others.⁷⁸

Among the various attempts to provide a history curriculum for the new South Africa, the Ministry of Education (2004) commissioned UNESCO to publish an educator's guide to the UNESCO General History of Africa Volumes 1 to 8. In Volume 5, Denoon (1992)⁷⁹ provides an overview of the transformation of southern Africa between 1500 and 1800. Denoon is one of the contributors to the *General History of Africa Vol V: Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*.

Robert Ross⁸⁰ is very informative on the relationship between the Khoi and the AmaXhosa and the incorporation of the Gonaqua, Gqunukhwebe and Ntinde – all Khoi clans – into the AmaXhosa. The alliances between the Khoi and the AmaXhosa against colonial land encroachment, especially in the eastern parts of the Cape colony, are an important part of the story of resistance to colonial rule. In fact, research into linguistics can contribute to the story of language influence between the Khoikhoi and the AmaXhosa people.

Penn and Legassick have written on the forgotten Cape northern frontier history of conflict between the Khoi and San on the one side and the Dutch colonists on the other. The eventual defeat of the indigenous herders and hunters around the Gariep (Orange) River led to the emergence of new creole communities.⁸¹ Richard Elphick provides the first and systematic account of the decline of the Khoikhoi from the days before colonialism to the period when they were reduced to landless labourers on Dutch farms. He covers the smallpox epidemic of 1713 which decimated huge numbers of Khoi men, women and children.⁸² Steyn explores the same theme of vanished lifestyles of the early Khoi and San.⁸³

Shula Marks wrote on the *Khoikhoi Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.⁸⁴ This is a very useful account of resistance by the Khoikhoi to Dutch

⁷⁸ A. Brink, *A Chain of Voices*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982.

⁷⁹ See B.A. Ogot, (ed.), *General History of Africa Vol V: Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, California, Heinemann, Paris, Unesco, 1992.

⁸⁰ R. Ross, 'Ethnic Identity, Demographic Crises and Xhosa-Khoikhoi Interaction', *History in Africa*, Vol. 7, 1980, 259-271.

⁸¹ Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier* and M. Legassick, *The Politics of a South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840*, Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2010.

⁸² R. Elphick, *Khoikhoi and the founding of White South Africa*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1985.

⁸³ H.P. Steyn, *Vanished Lifestyle of the early Cape Khoikhoi and San*, Pretoria, Unibooks, 1990, 7.

⁸⁴ S. Marks, 'Khoikhoi Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of African History*, Vol. 13, No.1, 1972, 55-80.

Phase1: Introduction

colonial occupation. The very act of running away by slaves and Khoi farm workers was another form of resistance. An equally useful account of the Khoikhoi rebellion to Dutch colonialism in the Eastern Cape in the eighteenth century is provided by Susan Newton-King and Candy Malherbe.⁸⁵

Slave rebellions were often linked to expectations that the abolition of slavery was imminent, and the very act of surviving and building a space for themselves as individual slaves was in and of itself a form of resistance. Schoeman in *Early Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope* and Loos in *Echoes of Slavery: Voices from South Africa's Past* are both instructive in this regard with Loos covering 'everyday realities of life in bondage'.⁸⁶ They tell the story of how difficult it was to carve a space for oneself as a slave.

The slave rebellions all took place after the British take-over of the Cape. Under the Dutch slaves could escape, but there were hardly any rebellions. Slaves ran away to Hangklip in the mountains and caves, and constituted a community of maroons or drosters there. This is captured by Robert Ross in *Cape of Torments*. Slaves caught running away were at the very least whipped or mutilated and kept in chains. But if a slave had stolen or attacked anybody they could be executed. The Hangklip community of escaped slaves lived as robbers robbing the wagons along the Hottentots-Holland pass. But certain slaves, especially of company officials such as the Van Der Stels, could sometimes win their freedom and often were left with some inheritance. They ended up as property owners. And often, and even despite the prevailing colour prejudice, a lot of the settlers had freed slaves as wives or even mistresses. A person of colour who was a freed slave could then integrate into the Cape society.

Asian political exiles were also brought to the Cape. Shaik Yusuf of Macassar was one of the resisters of Dutch occupation who were exiled to the Cape. Kerry Ward⁸⁷ writes about the network of prison labour the Dutch used on Robben Island and other prison islands elsewhere. She devotes a chapter on the banishment of political exiles from Indonesia to the Cape. Ebrahim Rhoda,⁸⁸ who traces his descent from slaves and lives in the Strand, has written about the history of the Muslim community in the Strand.

Alan Mountain, in *An Unsung Heritage: Perspectives on Slavery*, includes a very useful guide of the heritage sites in the Western Cape. Patric Tariq Mellet, in *Lenses on Cape Identities: Exploring Roots in South Africa*, explores identity issues and traces seven tributaries to the

⁸⁵ S. Newton-King and C. Malherbe, 'The Khoikhoi Rebellion in the Eastern Cape (1799-1803)', Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1981.

⁸⁶ Schoeman, *Early Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope*; J. Loos, *Echoes of Slavery: Voices from South Africa's Past*, Cape Town, David Philip, 2004.

⁸⁷ K. Ward, 'Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company (Pedro Machado)', *Kronos*, No. 35, November 2009, 261-265.

⁸⁸ *Researching Family Roots and the Strand Muslim Community: From 'Voorburg' to Lower Gordons Bay Road, Strand*. Available at url: <http://family.morkel.net/wp-content/uploads/rhoda-voorburg-to-lower-gordons-bay-road.pdf>.

Cape identities. *Trials of Slavery*,⁸⁹ edited by Nigel Worden and Gerald Groenewald, adds to the growing literature drawing from trial records involving slaves in the Cape. Jackie Loos stands out in the tradition of popular historiography. She writes extensively on slavery and the early Cape stories of ordinary people.

Liberal historian W.M. Macmillan's *The Cape Colour Question* is a study of the political and legal status of the indigenous Khoikhoi people.⁹⁰ Macmillan also wrote *Bantu, Boer and Briton: The making of the South African Native problem*⁹¹ in which he explores 'white conquest of the black peoples; the way they were dispossessed, their resistance on the shifting frontier to white penetration, the way they lost their lands and were transformed into farm labourers or poor peasants living in reserves that were unviable, and their consequent migrations as wage earners to the cities, where they came into competition with poverty-stricken rural whites.'⁹² Similarly, J.S. Marais's *The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937* is an exploration of the origins, development and fate of South Africans of mixed descent.⁹³

The dominance of the coloured people in the region makes the study of this group's politics absolutely essential. Coloured politics in the period between the late 19th and 20th centuries is found in a number of works. These include Lewis's *Between the wire and the wall* and Van der Ross's, *The rise and decline of apartheid*.⁹⁴ Lewis's study of coloured politics begins with the formation of the African Political Organisation (APO) in 1902, and ends with the success of the Nationalist Party in the 1948 elections, focusing mainly on formal politics and the leadership of organisations. Van der Ross, by contrast, begins with the attack on coloured political and other rights in the Cape Colony in the late 19th century, and the formation of political organisations in response to this process. Some of the organisations he deals with include the APO, which dominated coloured politics for four decades, the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department and the Non-European Unity Movement. Van der Ross then turns to the radical movement of the 1930s and 1940s.

Wilmot G. James and Mary Simons edited a collection of studies on a range of topics that span several centuries of the social and economic history of the Western Cape.⁹⁵ Of critical

⁸⁹ N. Worden and G. Groenewald (eds.), *Trials of Slavery: Selected Documents Concerning Slaves from the Criminal Records of the Council of Justice at the Cape of Good Hope, 1705-179*, Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 2005.

⁹⁰ W.M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question*, London, 1927.

⁹¹ W.M. Macmillan, *Bantu, Boer and Briton: The making of the South African Native problem*, London, 1929.

⁹² W. Visser, 'Trends in South African Historiography and the present state of Historical Research', Paper presented at the Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden, 23 September 2004, 7.

⁹³ J.S. Marais's *The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937*, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1957.

⁹⁴ G. Lewis, *Between the wire and the wall: A history of the South African Coloured Politics*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1987; R. van der Ross, *The rise and decline of apartheid: A study of political movements among the Coloured people of South Africa*, Cape Town, Tafelberg, 1986.

⁹⁵ W.G. James and M. Simons, *The Angry divide*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1989.

Phase1: Introduction

importance here, for this Report, are the chapters on the history of trade unionism and youth resistance in the region. Trade unionism among coloured workers in the region during the early 1980s is investigated by Curry in an Honours dissertation.⁹⁶ Devan Pillay's PhD thesis is a study of trade unions and alliance politics in Cape Town between 1979 and 1985.⁹⁷ However, as Seekings points out, there is a large gap in studies of political organisations and activity in the coloured areas and African townships in the 1980s.⁹⁸ The political upheavals in the African informal settlements and townships of Cape Town during the 1970s and 1980s have been captured in the works of Cole.⁹⁹ Colin Bundy also focuses on the activities of the youth during the period.¹⁰⁰

Specific historical events such as these are also found in the historiography on the liberation struggle in the region. These studies provide a more detailed account of such events, and include studies of the 1980 school boycott and strikes in Cape Town.¹⁰¹ Seekings' study of the UDF in Cape Town in SADET's Volume 4 and Matthew Francis's Honours dissertation on the UDF in the Western Cape provide a history of the UDF in the region.¹⁰² The growth of the Federation of South African Women in the Western Cape is the subject of Jenny Schreiner's thesis, while the autobiography of activist Liz Abrahams is relevant for the role of women in the struggle in the region.¹⁰³

Aspects of the history of the liberation struggle in the 1960 to 1994 period in this region are captured in several chapters of the various SADET volumes. These include the armed struggle,¹⁰⁴ the political organisations active in the Western Cape, such as the African

⁹⁶ A. Curry, 'Trade unions in the Western Cape: A preliminary survey', BSoc Sci Hons dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1982.

⁹⁷ D. Pillay, 'Trade unions and alliance politics in Cape Town, 1979-1985', PhD thesis, University of Essex, 1989.

⁹⁸ J. Seekings, 'The United Democratic Front in Cape Town, 1983-1986', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010, 524. Seekings recommends the following studies: I. Goldin, *Making Race: The politics and economics of coloured identity in South Africa*, Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman, 1987; R. Cameron, 'Managing the coloured and Indian areas', in M. Swilling, R. Humphries and K. Shubane (eds.), *Apartheid City in Transition*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1991.

⁹⁹ J. Cole, *Crossroads: The politics of reform and repression, 1976-1986*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987.

¹⁰⁰ C. Bundy, 'Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Aspects of youth and student resistance in Cape Town, 1985', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3, April 1987.

¹⁰¹ Anon, 'Conflict in the Western Cape', *Work in Progress*, Vol. 13, 1-15; Friedman, *Building Tomorrow Today*, 205-8; Western Province General Workers' Union, 'Dispute in the meat industry', *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1980, 77-84.

¹⁰² Seekings, 'The United Democratic Front in Cape Town, 1983-1986'; M. Francis, 'The past is theirs, the future is ours: A study of the UDF in the Western Cape', Honours dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 1984.

¹⁰³ J. Schreiner, 'Forms of organisation adopted by the Federation of South African women in the Western Cape', BA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1982; L. Abrahams, *Married to the struggle*, Cape Town, University of the Western Cape Press, 2005.

¹⁰⁴ B. Magubane, P. Bonner, J. Sithole, P. Delius, J. Cherry, P. Gibbs and T. April, 'The Turn to armed struggle', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970*, Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2004; G. Houston and B. Magubane, 'The ANC's armed struggle in the 1970s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006; and G. Houston, 'The ANC's armed struggle in the 1980s', in South African

Resistance Movement (ARM),¹⁰⁵ the African Peoples Democratic Union of South Africa,¹⁰⁶ the PAC,¹⁰⁷ liberal organisations,¹⁰⁸ the trade union movement,¹⁰⁹ the UDF,¹¹⁰ and religious organisations.¹¹¹

The Eastern Cape

The relevant literature on the Eastern Cape begins with the Khoisan resistance to colonial penetration and the virtual eradication of this community – an act of genocide according to some historians. The history of the wars of resistance of the Khoikhoi and the San is found in the works of Nigel Penn, Mohammed Adhikari, and Susan Newton-King, among others.¹¹² There are a number of significant works on the Hundred Years' War and early period of colonisation of the Eastern Cape. The most comprehensive studies of these wars have come from liberal writers such as John Milton, in *The Edges of War*,¹¹³ and Noel Mostert, in *Frontiers*.¹¹⁴ Mostert begins with an account of pre-colonial society, but the primary focus is the Hundred Years' War and subjection of the indigenous population. Clifton Crais's *White Supremacy and Black Resistance* locates the wars of dispossession in the Eastern Cape from the perspective of the imperatives of the agricultural political economy of the expanding settler community: the need for African-owned land and labour.¹¹⁵ Crais also discusses the 'rebellions' of 1850-53 as a response to the imposition of racial capitalism during the

Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

¹⁰⁵ M. Gunther, 'The National Committee of Liberation (NCL)/African Resistance Movement (ARM)', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1*.

¹⁰⁶ R. Kayser and M. Adhikari, "'Land and Liberty!': The African Peoples' Democratic Union of Southern Africa during the 1960s", in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1*.

¹⁰⁷ B. Maaba, 'The Pac's war against the State, 1960-1963', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1*.

¹⁰⁸ M. Legassick and C. Saunders, 'Above-ground activity in the 1960s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1*.

¹⁰⁹ J. Sithole and S. Ndlovu, 'The Revival of the Labour Movement, 1970-1980' and D. Hemson, M. Legassick and N. Ulrich, 'White Activists and the Revival of the Workers' Movement', both in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2*;

¹¹⁰ J. Seekings, 'The United Democratic Front in Cape Town, 1983-1986', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4*.

¹¹¹ S. Zondi, 'Of faith and action: aspects of the role of faith institutions in the struggle against apartheid', and C. Mayson, 'The story of the Christian Institute; both in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4*.

¹¹² N. Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier*; M. Adhikari, *The Anatomy of a South African Genocide*; S. Newton-King, *Masters and Servants of the Cape eastern frontier, 1760-1803*.

¹¹³ J. Milton, *The Edges of War: A History of Frontier Wars (1702-1878)*, Juta & Company, 1983.

¹¹⁴ N. Mostert, *Frontiers: The epic of South Africa's creation and the tragedy of the Xhosa people*, Knopf, 1992.

¹¹⁵ C. Crais, *White Supremacy and Black Resistance: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Phase1: Introduction

colonial era that restricted Africans to wage-labour. An earlier study of the War of 1851-1853 is also useful.¹¹⁶

Andre Odendaal has placed considerable attention on the political mobilisation undertaken by emerging African politicians in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the Eastern Cape. His doctoral thesis and a journal article published in 1993 both focus on this facet of the liberation struggle history of the Eastern Cape.¹¹⁷ It is here that he discusses the emergence and character of the first African political organisation, the *Imbumba Yama Afrika* (South African Aborigines Association), as well as the formation of economic unions by the emerging African elite. William Beinart is one of the scholars that focused on this topic before Odendaal. Beinart's *Hidden struggles* similarly focuses on protest and popular movements in the region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.¹¹⁸

The significant contribution of the Eastern Cape to the South African liberation struggle was clearly recognised in the earliest progressive writings, including Eddie Roux's *Time Longer than Rope*,¹¹⁹ Mnguni's *Three Hundred Years*¹²⁰ and the Simons' *Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950*.¹²¹ Tom Lodge's standard text, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*,¹²² is noteworthy for its detailed discussion of resistance in Port Elizabeth, East London and the 1960s rural revolts in Mpondoland and Thembuland. The prominent part played by the Eastern Cape in the 1952 Defiance Campaign (71.4% of all arrests) is well highlighted, for instance. For the earlier period, Andre Odendaal's *Vukani Bantu!*,¹²³ followed by *The Founders*,¹²⁴ identified the Eastern Cape's central role with equal clarity. *The World that made Mandela*,¹²⁵ Luli Callinicos's pioneering attempt to itemise significant twentieth-century liberation heritage sites, described thirteen in the Eastern Cape.

It is therefore all the more surprising to find that so little progressive literature has concentrated specifically on the Eastern Cape. Govan Mbeki led the way with *The Peasant's Revolt*,¹²⁶ but he has had few successors, most of whom have been visiting academics such as Bob Edgar (*Because they Chose the Plan of God*;¹²⁷ *African Apocalypse*)¹²⁸ and Daniel

¹¹⁶ I. Staples, *A Narrative of the Eighth Frontier War of 1851-1853*, Pretoria, 1974.

¹¹⁷ A. Odendaal, 'African political mobilisation in the eastern Cape, 1880-1912', Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Cambridge, 1984; A. Odendaal, "'Even white boys call us "boy"!' Early Black organisational politics in Port Elizabeth", *Kronos*, No. 20, November 1993.

¹¹⁸ Beinart and Bundy, *Hidden struggles in rural South Africa*.

¹¹⁹ Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*.

¹²⁰ Mnguni, *Three Hundred Years: A History of South Africa*, Cape Town, New Era Fellowship, 1952.

¹²¹ R and H. J. Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa*.

¹²² Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*.

¹²³ Odendaal, *Vukani Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912*.

¹²⁴ Odendaal, *The Founders: The Origins of the African National Congress*.

¹²⁵ L. Callinicos, *The World that made Mandela; A Heritage Trail – 70 sites of significance*, Real Africa Publishers, 2000.

¹²⁶ G. Mbeki, *South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt*, Middlesex, Harmondsworth, 1964.

¹²⁷ B. Edgar, *Because they Chose the Plan of God: The story of the Bulhoek Massacre*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1988.

Massey (*Under Protest: the Rise of Student Resistance at the University of Fort Hare*).¹²⁹ Some of the finest studies of resistance, including Janet Cherry on Port Elizabeth and Michael Tetelman on Cradock, have remained as unpublished theses. Other recent unpublished academic research on the liberation struggle in the Eastern Cape includes Douek on counter-insurgency and the armed struggle; Pressley on protest and resistance in Port Elizabeth; and Chapman on resistance at the University of Fort Hare.¹³⁰ Robert Ross's journal article on the Kat River Rebellion draws attention to the rise of an ethnic identity among some Khoikhoi people in the circumstances of the Frontier War of the early 1850s in the Eastern Cape.¹³¹

Black writing has been largely confined to autobiography, most significantly Z.K. Matthews's *Freedom for my People*,¹³² Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom*¹³³ and Raymond Mhlaba's *Personal Memoirs*.¹³⁴ Xolela Mangcu has published a biography of Steve Biko;¹³⁵ there have been several reminiscences of Oliver Tambo, and Thami ka Plaatz is seemingly close to finishing a biography of Robert Sobukwe. Lungisile Ntsebeza's *Democracy Compromised*¹³⁶ remains the only major study of resistance politics in a single homeland district, in this case Xhalinga. More recently, Kepe and Ntsebeza have released an edited collection on the Mpondoland revolt.¹³⁷ The black voice has also been partially captured in the documentary series, *From Protest to Challenge*, edited by Carter, Karis and Gerhart (5 vols, 1971-1997). Much has recently appeared on internet sites such as South African History Online, and it may be assumed that there are major untapped resources in the Liberation Archives situated at NAHECS, Fort Hare.

Oral history as a distinct sub-discipline has been well-established in South Africa, largely through the efforts of the Oral History Association of South Africa, and national ethical

¹²⁸ B. Edgar and H. Sapire, *African Apocalypse: The Story of Nontetha Nkwenkwe, a Twentieth-Century South African Prophet*, Ohio University Press, 1999.

¹²⁹ D. Massey, *Under Protest: the Rise of Student Resistance at the University of Fort Hare*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

¹³⁰ J.M. Cherry, 'The Making of an African Working Class, Port Elizabeth 1925,' MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1992; M. Tetelman, 'We Can: Black Politics in Cradock, South Africa, 1948-85,' Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern, 1997; R.D. Chapman, 'A Culture of Resistance: Student Activism at the University of Fort Hare, South Africa, 1979-1994', Ph.D. thesis, Howard University, 2008; D. Douek, 'Counterinsurgency's Impact on Transitions from Authoritarianism: the Case of South Africa', Ph.D. thesis, McGill University, 2011; P.M. Pressley, 'Protest and Resistance in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, 1976-1990', Ph.D., Howard University, 2006.

¹³¹ R. Ross, 'The Kat River rebellion and Khoikhoi nationalism', *Kronos: A Journal of Cape History*, 24, 1997, 91-105.

¹³² Matthews, *Freedom for my People*.

¹³³ Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*.

¹³⁴ R. Mhlaba (with T. Mufumadi), *Raymond Mhlaba's Personal Memoirs: Reminiscing from Rwanda and Uganda*, Human Sciences Research, 2001.

¹³⁵ A. Mangcu, *Biko: A Biography*, Tafelberg, 2012.

¹³⁶ L. Ntsebeza, *Democracy Compromised: Chiefs and the Politics of Land in South Africa*, (African Edition) HSRC Press, Cape Town, 2005.

¹³⁷ T. Kepe and L. Ntsebeza (eds.), *Rural resistance in South Africa: The Mpondo revolt after fifty years*, Leiden, Brill, 2011.

standards have been clarified in works such as Denis and Ntsimane's *Oral History in a Wounded Country*.¹³⁸ The work of OHASA has been supported by DSRC, which sponsored its national conference in East London in 2008. Sadly however, very little finished product has emerged, though Coetzee¹³⁹ (2000) did produce an important collection of Robben Island reminiscences. New material, collected under the auspices of the African National Congress as part of the Centenary celebrations, appeared in a Centenary volume titled *Umbutho Wesizwe: the African National Congress in the Eastern Cape*.¹⁴⁰ Other material has been collected by Prof Velile Notshulwana of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU), including the memoirs of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK) veteran Benson Fihla, but it still requires to be collated and processed. The MK Veterans Association is in the early stages of writing its own history, supported by the technical team which facilitated *Umbutho Wesizwe*.

With the important exception of the SADET volumes, relatively little has been written about the Eastern Cape armed struggle, either within the Eastern Cape itself or beyond South Africa's borders. Mzwakhe Ndlela's struggle memoir, *For the Fallen*, is expected to appear in 2013 and should be the first of many. Many gaps, however, remain. We still do not have adequate biographies of such major figures as King Sabatha Dalindyebo and Chris Hani. There are some surprising omissions in major works; Seekings's standard work on the UDF (2000),¹⁴¹ for example, barely mentions the Eastern Cape; SADET Vol IV (1980-1990) covers only Port Elizabeth and omits East London and the Ciskei/Transkei 'homelands.' There is next to nothing on labour mobilisation and the trade unions, particularly the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU).

The ANC's 1961-63 sabotage campaign in the Eastern Cape is covered in the first SADET volume,¹⁴² while Janet Cherry's chapters in subsequent volumes focus on Port Elizabeth, highlighting the role of the ANC underground in the establishment of various structures in the city, as well as the role of militia groups related to the ANC.¹⁴³ Similarly, Patt Gibbs focuses on East London in one of her two chapters in the series, while the other deals with the Eastern Cape in general.¹⁴⁴ In the latter study, Gibbs makes a detailed analysis of the

¹³⁸ P. Denis and R. Ntsimane (eds.), *Oral History in a Wounded Country: Interactive Interviewing in South Africa*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2008.

¹³⁹ J.K. Coetzee, *Plain tales from Robben Island*, Pretoria, Van Schaik Publishers, 2000.

¹⁴⁰ J. Peires, *Umbutho Wesizwe: the African National Congress in the Eastern Cape*, King Williamstown, African National Congress, 2012.

¹⁴¹ Seekings, *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991*.

¹⁴² Magubane et.al., 'The turn to armed struggle'.

¹⁴³ J. Cherry, 'Hidden histories of the Eastern Cape Underground', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4*; J. Cherry, in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6*.

¹⁴⁴ P. Gibbs, 'Race and ideology in Port Elizabeth: a view from the Northern Areas, 1979-90', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4*; P. Gibbs, 'Political identity and democracy formation in the eastern Cape, 1990-1994', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6*.

1990 uprising in the Northern Areas of Port Elizabeth, the relationship between civic organisations and the ANC in the city, etc. Rural struggles in the Eastern Cape are the subject of Sakude Matoti and Lungisile Ntsebeza's chapter in SADET'S first volume, which also includes a chapter that discusses the impact of the African Peoples Democratic Union of South Africa in the Transkei.¹⁴⁵ Ntsebeza and others also review repression and resistance in the Transkei and Ciskei during the 1970s in the second volume.¹⁴⁶

Above all, we need to capture the experiences of the ordinary foot-soldiers, the unsung heroes and heroines and present these in accessible form. The experience so far, mainly with liberation heritage routes, shows that their memory lives on but that it has not yet been utilised to anything like its full potential.

KwaZulu-Natal

Morris's monumental volume (over 600 pages in length) is a good starting point for a study of the history of the Zulu nation, dealing as it does with the arrival in South Africa and the early clans, their social organisation and cultural practices, the rise of the Zulu nation, its zenith under Shaka, the impact of the white settlers, through to its dissolution under King Cetshwayo in the Zulu War of 1879. The extensive bibliography is also of great value, indicating that sources have ranged from general histories of Southern Africa, general histories of the Zulu nation, anthropological studies of the Zulu social system, the manuals and journals of early observers in the region such as Bryant and Gardiner, and primary sources such as Bird's *Annals of Natal*. However, it is Guy's *Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom* and Laband's *Rope of Sand* that must be credited for their extensive attention to detail.¹⁴⁷

Gibson's *The Story of the Zulus*¹⁴⁸ provides some details about the Zulu kingdom under Dingane. Recent studies of the period include Becker's study of Dingane,¹⁴⁹ Colenbrander's study of 'The Zulu kingdom, 1828-79',¹⁵⁰ and Felix's reappraisal of historical works on

¹⁴⁵ S. Matoti and L. Ntsebeza, 'Rural resistance in Mpondoland and Thembuland: 1960-1', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1*; R. Kayser and M. Adhikari, "'Land and Liberty!'.

¹⁴⁶ S. Ntsebeza, L. Wotshela, T. Kepe, S. Matoti and A. Ainslie, 'Resistance and Repression in the Bantustans: Transkei and Ciskei', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2*.

¹⁴⁷ J. Guy, *The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The civil war in Zululand, 1879- 1884*, London, Longman, 1979; J.P.C. Laband, *Rope of Sand: The rise and fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 1995.

¹⁴⁸ J.Y. Gibson, *The Story of the Zulus*, Pietermaritzburg, 1903.

¹⁴⁹ P. Becker, *Dingane - King of the Zulus 1828-1840: The rule of fear of the chieftain who terrorized Boer South Africa*, London, Longman, 1964.

¹⁵⁰ P. Colenbrander, 'The Zulu kingdom, 1828-79', in A. Duminy and B. Guest (eds.), *Natal and Zululand: From Earliest Times to 1910*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press and Shutter and Shooter, 1989.

Phase1: Introduction

Dingane.¹⁵¹ Webb and Wright's edited collection of King Cetshwayo's statements and other documents – *A Zulu King Speaks*¹⁵² – is an important account of a Zulu king's perspective on the history of the Zulu nation. It includes details about the rise of the Zulu nation during the period of Shaka's reign, and the history of the Zulu nation during Dingane's and Mpande's periods of rule.

Thomas McClendon examines three incidents in the history of early colonial Natal in which colonial forces under the Secretary for Native Affairs, Theophilus Shepstone, attacked subject chiefs, deposed them and seized their herds. These incidents, which presaged the later conflict with Langalibalele, constituted in local African terms 'eating up', a practice whereby a chief confiscated the property of a subject convicted of conspiring against him through witchcraft. Close examination of these incidents shows how the early colonial state's rule over African subjects was inevitably imbued with African understandings of power and authority.¹⁵³ In 1873, a situation emerged which led to the destruction of the Hlubi chiefdom under Langalibalele. Among the earliest studies relevant here are Brooks and the Rev. Holden's histories of Natal.¹⁵⁴ Perhaps one of the most useful sources on the Shepstone system is Welsh's *The roots of segregation*.¹⁵⁵ It also describes the Langalibalele affair. The Langalibalele affair is also discussed in Guest's *Langalibalele*.¹⁵⁶ This study also provides a background to the Shepstone system and the African population of the colony at the time. Two more recent studies of the affair are Etherington's article 'Why Langalibalele ran away' and Manson's study of the Hlubi in Natal.¹⁵⁷

One of the early writings on King Cetshwayo is Rider Haggard's *Cetshwayo and his white neighbours*,¹⁵⁸ which focuses largely on relations with the British and Boer during the reign of Cetshwayo. Jeff Guy has emerged as the major modern historian on the history of this era. His various books, book chapters and articles on the period provide authoritative studies of the manner in which Cetshwayo came to power, and the social and political organisation of the Zulu kingdom under Cetshwayo. These publications include 'The political

¹⁵¹ N.C.O. Felix, 'Dingane: A reappraisal', in *Journal of African History*, Vol X, No 1, 1969.

¹⁵² C. de B. Webb and J. Wright, (eds.), *A Zulu King Speaks: Statements made by Cetshwayo KaMpande on the history and customs of his people*, Pietermaritzburg, 1978.

¹⁵³ T. McClendon, 'You are what you eat up: Deposing chiefs in early Colonial Natal, 1847–58', *Journal of African History*, 47, 2, 2006, 259-279.

¹⁵⁴ H. Brooks, *Natal: A history and description of the colony*, London, 1876, Holden, W.C., *History of the Colony of Natal*, London, 1855.

¹⁵⁵ D. Welshe, *The roots of segregation: Native policy in colonial Natal, 1845-1910*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1971.

¹⁵⁶ W.R. Guest, 'Langalibalele: The crisis in Natal, 1873-1875', Department of History and Political Sciences, University of Natal, research monograph no. 2, Durban, 1976; W.R. Guest, *Langalibalele: The crisis in Natal, 1873-1875*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1975.

¹⁵⁷ N.A. Etherington, 'Why Langalibalele ran way', in *Journal of Natal and Zululand History*, Vol I, 1978, A. Manson, 'A people in transition: The Hlubi in Natal, 1848-1877', in *Journal of Natal and Zululand History*, Vol II, 1979.

¹⁵⁸ R. Haggard, *Cetshwayo and his white neighbours*, London, Trubner and Co., Ludgate Hill, 1882.

structure of the Zulu Kingdom during the reign of Cetshwayo KaMpande',¹⁵⁹ in Peires's edited collection, as well as *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*.

The various books written by the Colensos provide valuable information on the events leading up to the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879, the Zulu campaign during the War and the colonisation of Zululand. The main ones here are those written by Frances: *The ruin of Zululand: an account of British doings in Zululand since the invasion of 1879*¹⁶⁰ and (written with Edward Dunford) *History of the Zulu War and its origins*.¹⁶¹ These studies, as well as John William Colenso's *Langalibalele*,¹⁶² deal with detailed accounts of the Langalibalele events, the boundary dispute between the Zulus and the Voortrekkers, and the various incidents which led to Sir Bartle Frere's ultimatum to the Zulus in 1878 that led to the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu war. A journalistic account of the war is provided in Norris-Newman's *In Zululand with the British*.¹⁶³ Sir Reginald Coupland published an account of Zulu operations during the war, dealing with the Battle of Isandlwana and other battles, in *Zulu Battle Piece*.¹⁶⁴ There are a wide variety of written works on the Anglo-Zulu War. Perhaps the most significant recent volumes written on the events leading to the Anglo-Zulu war are Morris' *Washing of the Spears*, Laband's *Rope of Sand* and Guy's *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*.

The Bambatha rebellion is also the subject of a number of studies. James Stuart's *History of the Zulu Rebellion, 1906*¹⁶⁵ is the standard account of the rebellion. Cope's thesis and book also deal with the impact of the Bambatha rebellion on the position of the Zulu king. MacKinnon's dissertation¹⁶⁶ similarly contains a chapter on the rebellion and its impact on the Zulu kingdom. Jeff Guy also produced *Remembering the rebellion*,¹⁶⁷ which is critical for an understanding of how the rebellion affected the monarchy. Brookes's *History of Natal* is one of those broad studies of the history of the colony which begins with the period prior to its formation – that is, with the rise of the Mthethwa kingdom and Dingiswayo, the rise of the Zulu nation, and deals with the rise of Dingane, the Shepstone system in Natal, Dingane's reign, Mpande's reign, the Langalibalele affair in great detail, events leading up to the Anglo-Zulu War, Zululand from 1879, the Bambatha rebellion and events leading to

¹⁵⁹ J. Guy, 'The political structure of the Zulu Kingdom during the reign of Cetshwayo KaMpande', in Peires, J.B. (ed.), *Before and after Shaka: Papers in Nguni history*, Grahamstown, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Rhodes, 1981.

¹⁶⁰ F. Colenso, *The ruin of Zululand: an account of British doings in Zululand since the invasion of 1879*, London, 1884.

¹⁶¹ F. Colenso and E. Dunford, *History of the Zulu War and its origins*, London, 1880.

¹⁶² J.W. Colenso, *Langalibalele and the amaHlubi tribe*, London, 1874.

¹⁶³ C.L. Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the war of 1879*, London, 1880.

¹⁶⁴ R. Coupland, *Zulu Battle Piece*, London, 1948.

¹⁶⁵ J. Stuart, *History of the Zulu Rebellion*, London, 1913.

¹⁶⁶ A.R. MacKinnin, 'The impact of European land domination and appropriations on Zululand, 1880-1920', MA dissertation, University of Natal, 1990.

¹⁶⁷ J. Guy, *Remembering the rebellion: the Zulu uprising of 1906*, Scottsville, University of Natal Press, 2006.

Phase1: Introduction

Union in 1910. Finally, Shula Marks has published a book that deals in great detail with the rebellion as well.¹⁶⁸

An understanding of the worsening conditions faced by Africans under Colonial Natal at the time is found in John Lambert's *Betrayed Trust* and David Welsh's *The Roots of Segregation*.¹⁶⁹ Brookes and Hurwitz also provide insight into the Native reserves in Natal.¹⁷⁰ It was also around this time that various leaders had emerged in the African community of current-day KwaZulu-Natal that were to play a prominent role in political and other popular organisations later in the century. Among the best sources for a study of the growth of the political elite are the various biographies of political leaders from the region. These include Hughes's biography of John Dube and the biography of Josiah Gumede by Raymond van Diemel.¹⁷¹

The autobiographies of Bruno Mtolo, Natrival Babenia and Ronnie Kasril are key sources for the ANC's sabotage campaign in the early 1960s.¹⁷² They form an important backdrop to SADET's chapter in Volume 1 of *The Road to Democracy in South Africa* that provides a detailed study of the campaign in the region.¹⁷³ This is followed by a series of chapters on the ANC underground in Natal that focus on the armed struggle, written by Jabulani Sithole in subsequent volumes.¹⁷⁴ Ari Sitas also wrote on the development of the underground in Natal between 1985 and 1991.¹⁷⁵ The biography of Robert McBride also provides insights into the activities of a key MK unit that operated in Pietermaritzburg and Durban in the mid-1980s.¹⁷⁶

The Durban strikes of 1973 are the subject of a number of different sources.¹⁷⁷ A number of studies have been published on resistance in the urban areas of the province in the 1980s.

¹⁶⁸ S. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906-8 Disturbances in Natal*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970.

¹⁶⁹ J. Lambert, *Betrayed Trust: Africans and the State in Colonial Natal*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1995; Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Natal, 1845-1910*.

¹⁷⁰ E.H. Brookes and N. Hurwitz, *The Native Reserves of Natal*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1957.

¹⁷¹ Hughes, *First President* and van Diemel, *In Search of Freedom*.

¹⁷² Mtolo, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*; Babenia, *Memoirs of a Saboteur*; Kasrils, *Armed and Dangerous*.

¹⁷³ Magubane et al., 'The turn to armed struggle'.

¹⁷⁴ J. Sithole, 'The ANC Underground in Natal', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006; J. Sithole, 'The ANC Underground, armed actions and popular resistance in Pietermaritzburg and the surrounding Natal Midlands townships', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010; J. Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and Armed actions in Northern Natal', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010; J. Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

¹⁷⁵ A. Sitas, 'The making of the "comrades" movement in Natal, 1985-91', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1992.

¹⁷⁶ G. Mokae, *Robert McBride: A coloured life*, Pretoria, South African History Online, 2004.

¹⁷⁷ Du Toit, *Capital and Labour in South Africa*; Webster, *Cast in a racial mould*; Friedman, *Building towards tomorrow*; Freund, *The African Worker*; Baskin, *Striking back*; Lowry, *20 Years in the Labour Movement*; Kraak,

These include the books edited by Fatima Meer and R. Morrell.¹⁷⁸ Included in the collection edited by Morrell is a chapter by Bonnin on the township clashes with Inkatha in the 1980s.¹⁷⁹ Bonnin's Masters' dissertation provides a detailed study of the development of trade unionism in the Natal Midlands in the 1980s, and the SARMCOL strike that forms a background to the conflict in the region in the 1980s.¹⁸⁰ Another Masters' dissertation, by N. Bhebhe, on the UDF in the Pietermaritzburg area during the 1980s is also useful in highlighting events around the conflict between UDF organisations and Inkatha during the decade.¹⁸¹ The study of Sobantu village in Pietermaritzburg by Napier and Mtimkulu similarly draws attention to the conflict, as does the collection edited by Laband and Haswell, Levine's book on the Seven Days War and Jili's Honours' dissertation.¹⁸²

Inkatha and its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi have been subjected to both positive and negative analysis in several studies. Mare and Hamilton's *An appetite for power*¹⁸³ and Mzala's (Jabulani Nxumalo) *Chief with a double agenda*¹⁸⁴ are perhaps the best known studies which provide a critical view of the Chief and his organisation. Most importantly, both books draw attention to the central role that the organisation played in the political violence that is so central to the history of the region during the 1980s. Mare and Hamilton in particular point to the various community conflicts and the conflict between Inkatha and ANC-aligned organisations such as the UDF. By contrast, Temkin provides a more positive view of the Chief Minister of KwaZulu in his *Gatsha Buthelezi*.¹⁸⁵ Political violence in the 1980s in KwaZulu and Natal has been dealt with in a large number of studies. The volume edited by Greenstein, published in 2003, contains a chapter on the origins of the Midlands War by John Aitchison,¹⁸⁶ while Mary de Haas has several publications on political violence

Breaking the Chains; Adler and Webster, Trade Unions and Democratisation in South Africa; Von Holdt, Transition From Below.

¹⁷⁸ F. Meer (ed.), *Resistance in the townships*, Durban, Madiba Publications, 1989; R. Morrell (ed.), *Political Economy and Identities in KwaZulu-Natal*, Durban, Indicator Press, 1996.

¹⁷⁹ D. Bonnin et al., 'The struggle for Natal and KwaZulu workers, township dwellers and Inkatha, 1972-1985', in Morrell (ed.), *Political Economy and Identities in KwaZulu-Natal*, Durban, Indicator Press, 1996.

¹⁸⁰ D. Bonnin, 'Class Consciousness and Conflict in the Natal Midlands, 1940-1987: The case of BTR Sarmcol workers', MSoc Sci dissertation, University of Natal, Durban, 1988.

¹⁸¹ N. Bhebhe, 'Mobilisation, conflict and repression: The United Democratic Front and popular struggles in the Pietermaritzburg region, 1983-1991', MA dissertation, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1996. Refer to Seekings, *The UDF*, for other aspects of the history of the UDF in the region.

¹⁸² C. Napier and P. Mtimkulu, *Pietermaritzburg's Sobantu Village: A case study of control and violence in a Natal Township*, Pretoria, Department of Development Administration and Politics, Occasional Paper No. 1, University of South Africa, 1989; J. Laband and R. Haswell (eds.), *Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988: A new portrait of an African city*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal press, 1988; L. Levine, *Faith in Turmoil: The Seven Days War*, Pietermaritzburg, Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness, 1999; P. Jili, 'The Seven Days War: A politically motivated carnage', Honours dissertation, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1998.

¹⁸³ G. Mare and G. Hamilton, *An appetite for power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the politics of loyal resistance*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987.

¹⁸⁴ Mzala, *Chief with a double agenda*, London, Zed Books, 1988.

¹⁸⁵ B. Temkin, *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman*, Cape Town, Purnell, 1976. Refer also to J.S. Smith, *Buthelezi: The Biography*, Melville, Hans Strydom Publishers, 1988.

¹⁸⁶ J. Aitchison, 'The origins of the Midlands War', in D.R. Greenstein (ed.), *The role of political violence in South Africa's Democratisation*, Johannesburg, CASE, 2003.

Phase1: Introduction

in the region, including two that focus on the 1990s.¹⁸⁷ Other studies of the political violence in the region include those of Jeffery, who points to the political agenda of those scholars who blame Inkatha for the political violence, Minaar, Sutcliffe, Kentridge, Truluck, and various contributors to the volume edited by Greenstein.¹⁸⁸ The political role of the Indian community in the region is explored in studies by Naidoo, Desai, Bhana, Duhpelia-Mesthrie, and Meer.¹⁸⁹

The SADET volumes also cover the province in various relevant areas, including, as mentioned above, the armed struggle,¹⁹⁰ the political violence, the ANC underground,¹⁹¹ and the Natal Indian Congress.¹⁹²

North West

The starting point of the history of the liberation struggle in the North West Province is the wars of liberation. There is not a significant body of work focused specifically on resistance to colonisation in the North West Province during the 19th century. It exists in many cases in fragments of information scattered throughout different books and other sources. The important sources here include the works of Mbenga, Manson, Shillington, and Molema.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁷ M. de Haas, 'Violence and negotiations, 1990-1993', in F. Meer (ed.), *The CODESA files*, Durban, Madiba Publishers, 1993; 'Violence in Natal and Zululand: the 1980s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013; and 'Violence in Natal and Zululand: the 1990s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990-1996*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013.

¹⁸⁸ A. Jeffery, *The Natal story: 16 years of conflict*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1997; A. Minaar (ed.), *Patterns of violence: Case studies of conflict in Natal*, Pretoria, Human Sciences research Council, 1992; M. Sutcliffe, *Summary report of political 'unrest' in Natal-KwaZulu, January 1987-March 1987*, Durban, Unrest Monitoring Project, University of Natal, 1987; M. Kentridge, *An unofficial war: Inside the conflict in Pietermaritzburg*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1990; A. Truluck, *No blood on our hands: Political violence in the Natal Midlands, 1987 to mid-1992, and the role of the State, 'White' political parties and business*, Pietermaritzburg, Black Sash, 1992; R. Greenstein (ed.), *The role of political violence in South Africa's democratisation*, Johannesburg, CASE, 2003.

¹⁸⁹ K. Naidoo, 'Class consciousness and organisation: Indian political resistance in Durban, South Africa, 1979-1996', unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1997; A. Desai, *Arise ye Coolies: Apartheid and the Indian*, Johannesburg, Impact Africa, 1996; S. Bhana, *Gandhi's Legacy: The Natal Indian Congress, 1894-1994*, Pietermaritzburg, Natal University Press, 1997; U. Dhupelai-Mesthrie, *From Cane Fields to Freedom: A chronicle of Indian South Africans*, Cape Town, Kwela, 2001; I. Meer, *A fortunate man*, Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2002.

¹⁹⁰ Magubane et. al., 'The turn to armed struggle'; Houston and. Magubane, 'The ANC's armed struggle in the 1970s'; Houston, 'The ANC's armed struggle in the 1980s'; Sithole, 'Armed actions and popular resistance in Natal Midlands'; Sithole, 'ANC underground and armed actions in Northern Natal'; Sithole, 'The ANC underground and armed actions in Southern Natal'.

¹⁹¹ J. Sithole, 'The ANC underground in Natal'.

¹⁹² U. Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 'The revival of the Natal Indian Congress', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2*.

¹⁹³ B. Mbenga, 'The Flogging of Chief Kgamanyane by Commandant Paul Kruger, Saulspoort, April 1870', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, No. 1, March 1997; A. Manson, 'The Huruhtshe in the Marico District of the Transvaal, 1848-1914', Ph.D thesis, University of Cape Town, 1990; K. Shillington, *The Colonisation of the*

Complementing these studies are accounts of the penetration of the northwestern Transvaal by the Voortrekkers.¹⁹⁴

However, a standard work on the colonisation of the southern Tswana (Batlhaping, Batlharo and Barolong) who occupied a lot of present day North-West is Kevin Shillington's *The Colonisation of the Southern Tswana, 1870-1900*. It is a masterful account of the complex interplay of the ambitions and actions of the Tswana, the Boers and the British in the region, concluding with the Langeberg Revolt of 1896-7, and the formation of the Bechuanaland reserves. Shillington was well aware of the economic imperatives of the colonial mission, and records Tswana responses to the emergence of merchant capital and then to the opening up of the Diamond Fields. In 2011 Shillington wrote another book, a more popular version based on his original research, about one of the heroes of Tswana resistance, Luka Jantjie, the Batlhaping *kgosi*. The book, with the self-explanatory title of *Luka Jantjie, Resistance Hero of the South African frontier*, places Jantjie at the centre of this resistance, as opposed to Galeshewe who has received much more recognition than the former.

In addition, there is S.M. Molema's *Montshiwa: Barolong Chief and Patriot, 1815-1896*. In this book, the well-known medical doctor, author and stalwart of the ANC (he was Treasurer during the 1950s) employs his vast knowledge of Barolong affairs and utilises official British correspondence to portray Barolong efforts to resist white intrusion onto his territory. One of the interesting facts about the Batswana 'Wars of Resistance' is that they defied racial categories. 'Christopher Bethell and Securing of the Bechuanaland Frontier, 1878-1884', by Andrew Manson, tells the story of Bethell, an Englishman who sided with the Barolong, was on good personal terms with Montshiwa and who eventually lost his life protecting the interests of the Barolong.¹⁹⁵ Of further significance is J.A.I. Agar Hamilton's *The Road to the North and The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers*, which provide a clear overview of Boer-African relations in the South African interior.¹⁹⁶

The attack by Boer commandos on the Bakwena under Setshele is recounted in A. Sillery's *Sechele, The Story of an African Chief*.¹⁹⁷ The role of a leading Marico official, Jan Viljoen, in these events is recorded in J. Grobler, 'Van Viljoen, the South African Republic and the Bakwena, 1848-1865'.¹⁹⁸ Andrew Manson's 'The Hurutshe in the Marico District of the

Southern Tswana, 1870-1900, Johannesburg, Ravan, 1985; K. Shillington, *Luka Jantjie: Resistance Hero of the South African Frontier*, Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2011; S.M. Molema, *Montshiwa, 1815-1896: Barolong Chief and Patriot*, Cape Town, Struik, 1966.

¹⁹⁴ J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton, *The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers*, Cape Town, 1938.

¹⁹⁵ A. Manson, 'Christopher Bethell and Securing of the Bechuanaland Frontier, 1878-1884', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1988.

¹⁹⁶ J.A.I. Agar Hamilton, *The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers*, Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1928.

¹⁹⁷ A. Sillery, *Sechele: The Story of an African Chief*, Oxford, G. Ronald, 1954.

¹⁹⁸ J. Grobler, 'Van Viljoen, The South African Republic and the Bakwena, 1848-1865', *South African Historical Journal*, No. 36, 1997.

Phase1: Introduction

Transvaal, 1848-1914' discusses the repercussions of the Transvaal-Bakwena conflict for those Tswana groups living alongside the border.¹⁹⁹

The South African war period from a 'black perspective', and the opportunities it presented for political and economic enhancement, can be found in a number of books and articles. These include J. Comaroff's *The Boer War Diary of Sol Plaatje, An African at Mafeking*, B. Mbenga's 'The Role of the BaKgatla of the Pilanesberg in the South African War' in the edited collection by G. Cuthbertson, A. Grundlingh and M-L. Suttie, *Writing a Wider War: Rethinking Gender, Race and Identity in the South African War, 1899-1902*, J. Krikler's (who interpreted the response of the Bakgatla as a peasant revolt) *Revolution From Above, Rebellion from Below, The Agrarian Transvaal at the Turn of the Century*, and A. Manson's 'The South African War and the Re-shaping of Hurutshe Society'. These works cover the full spectrum of African participation, as combatants, spies, looters and other roles.²⁰⁰

E.F. Knight was an Englishman who travelled in many parts of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal just after the South African War of 1899 – 1902 and published *South Africa After the War: A Narrative of Recent Travel*.²⁰¹ What is particularly striking about Knight's narrative is the many descriptions of devastation and physical ruins of Boer homesteads, which he attributed to Kgatla attacks.

In I.R. Smith's two-volume edited collection, *The Siege of Mafeking*, a number of well-known historians give incisive analyses of various aspects of the (in)famous Siege of Mafikeng during the South African War of 1899 -1902.²⁰² Pakhenham in particular focuses upon the role of the local Tswana community of Mafikeng, the Barolong ba Ratshidi. Pakhenham shows how the Tshidi-Barolong played such an important role on the side of the British against the Boer commandos.

In Brian Willan's book, *Sol Plaatje: South African Nationalist, 1876 – 1932*,²⁰³ still the only comprehensive biography of Sol Plaatje, he discusses the life, times and socio-political context of the famous writer and politician. In the book, Willan recounts and analyses the entire life of Plaatje and reveals his role as a co-founder of the South African National Native Congress (SANNC), the forerunner to the African National Congress (ANC). The

¹⁹⁹ A. Manson, 'The Hurutshe in the Marico District of the Transvaal, 1848-1914', PhD thesis University of Cape Town, 1990.

²⁰⁰ J. Comaroff and B. Willan, with S. Molema and A. Reed (eds.) *The Boer War Diary of Sol Plaatje, An African at Mafeking*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1999; B. Mbenga's 'The Role of the BaKgatla of the Pilanesberg in the South African War', in G. Cuthbertson, A. Grundlingh and M-L. Suttie, (eds.), *Writing a Wider War: Rethinking Gender, Race and Identity in the South African War, 1899-1902*, Cape Town, Ohio University Press, Athens, David Philip Publishers, 2002; J. Krikler, *Revolution From Above, Rebellion from Below, The Agrarian Transvaal at the Turn of the Century*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1993; A. Manson, 'The South African War and the Re-shaping of Hurutshe Society', *South African Historical Journal*, 41, 1999.

²⁰¹ E. F. Knight, *South Africa After the War: A Narrative of Recent Travel*, Longman, London, 1903.

²⁰² I. R. Smith (ed.), *The Siege of Mafeking, 2 Vols.*, Johannesburg, The Brenthurst Press, 2001.

²⁰³ B. Willan, *Sol Plaatje: South African Nationalist, 1876 – 1932*, London, Heinemann, 1984.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

Molema/Plaatje collected papers (William Cullen Literary and Historical Papers, University of Witwatersrand) were used extensively to construct the role of the Molema family especially in first launching the ANC and later giving direction to the organisation.

In 1970, Patrick Walshe wrote *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa, 1912 – 1953*, published by the University of California Press, Berkeley. As the book's title clearly suggests, its focus is on African politics as a whole, beginning with the Cape. He discusses the various influences on Africans, such as Christianity, mission education and racial segregation, and how they reacted to them. Among other matters, Walshe shows how, for the first time, African political opinion came to be coordinated and expressed through the SANNC, and most especially he makes mention of its influence on African chiefs in the former western Transvaal. Two years before the formation of the SANNC, S.M. Molema in Mafikeng publicly spoke against government 'repression', while Sol Plaatje collaborated with other African leaders of the time, e.g. the Rev. Walter Rubusana, John Dube and others, in lobbying the British government for civil rights for Africans.

In 2008, the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), Pretoria, produced *The Road to Democracy, South Africans Telling Their Own Stories, Volume I, 1950–1970*. The book is a collection of edited oral interviews conducted with a large range of individuals from all over the country, from the best-known to the more obscure ones, who had participated in the anti-apartheid struggle from 1950 to 1970. The book has interviews with 48 people. For the North West in particular, interviews with Ruth Mompoti, Simon Senna and Radilori Bouza Moumakwa are the most relevant.

For the period of the anti-apartheid struggle from 1970 until the achievement of democratic government, SADET commissioned a number of historians country-wide to write a regionally based liberation struggle history based on interviews with anti-apartheid veterans and recording their stories. The 5 volumes containing these accounts were published jointly by Unisa Press and SADET from 2006 to 2013. Three chapters in the various volumes relate to events in the former Bophuthatswana, the struggle for freedom in what became the North West province, based on archival and oral sources.

H. Bradford's *'A Taste of Freedom': The ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924-1930*, provides a glimpse into ICU activities in the white-owned farms of the former western Transvaal.²⁰⁴ J. Wells, *"We Now Demand": The History of Women's Resistance to Pass Laws in South Africa*, has a chapter on resistance and women's organisations in Potchefstroom, led by the indomitable Josie Mpama.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ H. Bradford, *A Taste of Freedom': The ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924-1930*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1987.

²⁰⁵ Wells, J., *"We Now Demand": The History of Women's Resistance to Pass Laws in South Africa*, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1993.

Phase1: Introduction

A number of studies exist of the origin and nature of the Bophuthatswana homeland.²⁰⁶ Andrew Manson's "'Punching Above its Weight': The Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum and the Fall of Bophuthatswana" exposes human rights transgressions in the Bantustan and attempts to provide assistance (legal and humanitarian) to those who suffered as a consequence.²⁰⁷ K. Du Pisane's *The Last Frontier War: Braklaagte and the Struggle for Land, Before, During and After Apartheid* provides a broad account and analysis of rural resistance in this locality.²⁰⁸ The Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC), a unit of the Black Sash, provided an account of efforts to assist and publicise the Braklaagte events. It is titled "*Grasping the Prickly Pear": The Bophuthatswana Story*."²⁰⁹ N. Rousseau's 'The Farm, the River and the Picnic Spot: Topographies of Terror' offers a chilling story of the deaths of activists in the Pretoria townships.²¹⁰

Graeme Simpson's Masters' thesis titled 'Peasants and Politics in the Western Transvaal, 1920-1940' includes a number of interesting observations about the role of the ANC in the former western Transvaal countryside and the relationship between the ANC and chiefs in this region.²¹¹

As far as the Hurutshe revolt of 1957-58 is concerned, the standard work is C. Hooper's *Brief Authority*.²¹² Hooper, an Anglican priest in Zeerust, was closely involved with the Hurutshe. He and his wife sheltered hundreds of refugees in the Church at Zeerust and arranged for assistance in a number of other ways. His is an excellent first-hand account of the events. Andrew Manson's 'The Hurutshe Resistance in the Zeerust District of the Western Transvaal, 1954-1959' provides an analysis of the ANC's role in the affair, based on a number of interviews with surviving participants in the early 1980s.²¹³

²⁰⁶ J. Butler, R. Rotberg and J. Adams, *The Black Homelands of South Africa: The political and economic development of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1977; Black Sash and Transvaal Rural Action Committee, *Grasping the Prickly Pear: The Bophuthatswana story*, Johannesburg, Black Sash and Transvaal Rural Action Committee, 1989; P.L. Breutz, *A History of the Batswana and Origin of Bophuthatswana*, Margate, Thumbprint Publishers, 1989; M. Lawrence and A. Manson, "'The Dog of the Boers': The rise and fall of Mangope in Bophuthatswana", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1994.

²⁰⁷ A. Manson, "'Punching Above its Weight': The Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum and the Fall of Bophuthatswana," *African Historical Review*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 2011.

²⁰⁸ K. Du Pisane, *The Last Frontier War: Braklaagte and the Struggle for Land, Before, During and After Apartheid*, Pretoria, Unisa Press, 2008.

²⁰⁹ Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC), "*Grasping the Prickly Pear": The Bophuthatswana Story*, Johannesburg, Black Sash, 1990.

²¹⁰ N. Rousseau's 'The Farm, the River and the Picnic Spot: Topographies of Terror', *African Studies*, Vol. 68, Issue 3, 2009.

²¹¹ G. Simpson, 'Peasants and Politics in the Western Transvaal, 1920-1940', University of the Witwatersrand, 1985.

²¹² C. Hooper, *Brief Authority*, Penguin 1959.

²¹³ A. Manson, 'The Hurutshe Resistance in the Zeerust District of the Western Transvaal, 1954-1959', *Africa Perspective*, No.22, 1983.

Limpopo

There is steady growth of literature on the history of the liberation struggle with a focus on the Limpopo Province. Such literature covers different parts of Limpopo, ranging from the former homelands of Lebowa and Venda to other areas such as Pietersburg and Moutsi near Groblersdal.

Peter Lekgoathi's unpublished Ph. D. thesis on the history of the Northern Transvaal Ndebele between 1860 and 2005 provides a broad sweep of the historical events of significance for this community over a lengthy period.²¹⁴ In his work on native administration, Paul Rich traces the life and times of Ernest Stubbs, who was a migratory native administrator. Rich's use of archival sources including newspapers such as *The Star* has breathed life in Stubbs' history. Stubbs' career took him to Zoutpansberg and he eventually became the Senior Magistrate and Native Commissioner (NC) of the Zoutpansberg and Louis Trichardt district in 1913. Stubbs' presence in Northern Transvaal was behind Rich's decision to write on segregation policies and the role of Stubbs. Rich's work on Zoutpansberg also provides readers with an opportunity to learn that the state was concerned about the activities of the ICU, a black workers union led by Clements Kadalie.²¹⁵

Thomas G. Karis and Gail M. Gerhart (*From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa*) document short biographies of struggle heroes from different parts of South Africa. Some of these were from Limpopo Province and are important in the context of this work. Most of these leaders came from poor backgrounds. Their rural roots, infused with poverty and oppression by the chiefs, was a major factor behind the involvement of some of them in the struggle against apartheid oppression. Most eventually settled in Johannesburg, often after spending years as migrant workers in the city. Such cadres, whose biographies appear in *From Protest to Challenge*, include S.M. Makgatho, who became the ANC President in 1917, Selope Thema, and Josiah Madzunya of the PAC.

Apart from Rich, Peter Delius is one of the pioneers of research on the history of the struggle in the former Northern Transvaal. Through Delius's work we learn about the history of the ANC and the Communist Party in the region. His work illustrates that there was a link between rural and urban struggles through structures such as *Sebatakgomo*, which was an organisation of migrant workers from the Northern Transvaal. Leaders of *Sebatakgomo* (later known as *Fetakgomo*) included Elias Motsoaledi and Flag Boshielo, who were both members

²¹⁴ S.P. Lekgoathi, 'Ethnicity and Identity: struggle and contestation in the making of the Northern Transvaal Ndebele, c 1860-2005', Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, 2007.

²¹⁵ P. Rich, 'The Origins of Apartheid Ideology: The case of Ernest Stubbs and Transvaal Native Administration, c. 1902-1932', *African Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 315, 1980, 171-194.

of the ANC and Communist Party. The relevant publications here are 'Sebatakomo: Migrant Organisation, the ANC and the Sekhukhune Revolt', 'Migrants, Comrades and the Rural Revolt: Sekhukhuneland, 1950 - 1987' and *A Lion amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal*. Delius's work is profound and uses written and oral sources to narrate the ANC's history and its underground activities in the Northern Transvaal.²¹⁶ However, Delius's work has its own shortcomings. For instance, his insight on black consciousness is rather sketchy.

Throughout apartheid South Africa, forced removals of African people from identified black spots came to characterise the experience of many African people. The introduction of the Land Act of 1913 had dispossessed the African people of their land. The literature on the subject is substantial, and includes studies of its effects in the Limpopo Province. Mudzunga's article provides insight into land dispossession experienced by the people living in the village of Vondo-la-Thavha in Venda, who were forcefully removed to make way for a forestry plantation, the Thathe-Vondo pine plantation.²¹⁷ Another study of the forced removals that took place in the 1950s is that of Naume Nkadimeng, 'The Bakgaga Bakopa Community's experience of forced removal from their ancestral settlement at Maleoskop' at Riet Kloof. The area was declared a black spot in 1953 to make way for the white farming community.²¹⁸ In mid-1958, another forced removal was carried out in Mamathola, Muckle Glen, which was also given over to white farmers. Chief Malisela Letsoalo's efforts in the 1950s to reclaim his land were unsuccessful.

Siphamandla Zondi's chapter in Volume 1 of *The Road to Democracy in South Africa* provides an analysis of historical trends in Sekhukhuneland in the 1950s and 1960s that led to the resistance against Bantu Authorities in the area. In this work, Zondi concludes that rural systems and insurgencies contributed to the decision by MK to adopt the armed struggle. As is the case with other chapters in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa* series, Zondi relied on oral history interviews to recapture the peasant struggles in gaMatlala, Sekhukhuneland. He supplemented the oral history with archival material and secondary literature. Like Delius before him, Zondi chronicles how the urban ANC networks were linked to those in the rural areas such as gaMatlala. Two Honours theses, both submitted to Wits University, also outline the rural resistance in gaMatlala. One by D.M.C. Sepuru covers rural resistance in the area between 1919 and 1980, as well as disputes over chieftaincy. The other by M. P. Kgobe focuses on the area during the years 1940-1980.

²¹⁶ P. Delius, 'Sebatakomo and the Zoutpansberg Balemi Association: The ANC, Communist Party and Rural Organisation, 1939-55', *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 1993, 303-304; P. Delius 'Migrants, Comrades and Rural Revolt: Sekhukhuneland 1950-1987', *Transformation*, 13 (1990),10-11; and P. Delius, *A Lion amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal*, Johannesburg, 1996.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 138-143.

²¹⁸ N. Nkadimeng, 'The Bakgaga Bakopa Community's experience of forced removal from their ancestral settlement at Maleoskop', MA thesis, University of Johannesburg, 1999.

Greg Houston's chapter on the post-Rivonia period, published in the *Road to Democracy in South Africa*, gives an indication that there was no lull, as writers before him thought, after the mass arrests of leaders in the pre-dawn raids that characterised South Africa in the early 1960s. Houston's reliance on oral sources with ANC struggle veterans has breathed life into this hidden history of the post-Rivonia era. Through his work, he demonstrates that ANC members who were not arrested and remained inside the country continued with the struggle and were involved in different activities such as helping cadres to find their way into exile. Through his work we learn that women played a crucial role in ensuring that the underground network of the ANC was fully functional.²¹⁹

There are a number of other sources that are relevant here. These include the work of Sifiso Ndlovu which focuses on the routes used by cadres going into exile in the 1960s. They left the country through different routes. In the case of Limpopo, exiles often went through the province before crossing the Zambezi River into Southern Rhodesia. From there they would make their way to other parts of the continent.²²⁰

Sello Mathabatha's 'The 1976 Student Revolts and the Schools in Lebowa, 1970-1976' offers insights into the role of high school students in Lebowa in the aftermath of the Soweto uprising of 1976. Such Lebowa students pledged solidarity with Soweto students. Through the use of oral history, Mathabatha demonstrates that the militant history of Lebowa students characterised by marches, strikes and grievances could be recorded. The study also indicates that the impact of the Soweto insurgency was not just limited to urban areas. The work also implies that strikes and protests were entrenched in South Africa as there was subdued anger in the African community due to Bantu education in particular and apartheid in general.²²¹

Houston also draws attention to underground operations around Sekhukhuneland in the late 1970s. He relied on the TRC records for information on some of these operations and reveals that ANC operatives in the area, which included Mosima Sexwale, offered some military training to recruits at a farm near Apel, as well as crash courses on the history of the struggle in South Africa.²²² In another piece, also published in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa* series, Houston demonstrates that MK remained active in the area of KwaNdebele in the 1980s.²²³

²¹⁹ G. Houston, 'The Post- Rivonia ANC/SACP underground', in vol 1, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2004.

²²⁰ S. Ndlovu, 'Heritage routes for the liberated South Africans: using oral history to reconstruct unsung heroes and heroines' routes into exile in the 1960s', *Historia*, 57 (2), 2002, 479-510.

²²¹ S. Mathabatha, 'The 1976 Student Revolts and the Schools in Lebowa, 1970-1976', *South African Historical Journal*, 51, 2004, 108-129.

²²² Houston and Magubane, 'The ANC Political Underground in the 1970s', 465-468.

²²³ Houston, 'The ANC's armed struggle in the 1980s', 1130-1131.

Phase1: Introduction

Insight into the history of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) is important as Turfloop produced a number of militant BCM activists, including Onkgopotse Tiro, Harry Nengwekhulu and Pandelani Nefolovhodwe. Student activism at Turfloop in the 1970s spread through villages of the Northern Transvaal and self-help projects were introduced in nearby villages. Recent publications on the BCM include the work of Mbulelo Mzamane, Maaba and Nkosinathi Biko, which appear in the different volumes of *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*. Through their work on the BCM in the 1980s, Mzamane and Maaba demonstrate that the movement survived beyond 1977 when it was banned by the apartheid state. The formation of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) in 1978, which was Black Consciousness-oriented, kept the flames burning. In exile, BC-minded members of the 1976 generation formed the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in 1980 following a meeting in London. It was natural for the organisation to have links with AZAPO, which was a BCM organisation inside the country. Both organisations were led by BCM cadres from the 1970s – some in South Africa and others in exile. AZAPO and the BCM (A) had to operate in a clandestine way so as not to attract the regime's attention. The BCM (A) was eventually absorbed into AZAPO in 1996.²²⁴

Another source on Black Consciousness is Dan Magazine's book, with a specific focus on theology at the height of the BCM in the 1970s. The latest work on the BCM is that of Xolela Mangcu, which looks at Steve Biko's life from his township of Ginsberg to his days as a BCM leader in the 1970s.²²⁵ Though Mamphela Ramphele, a BCM activist in the 1970s, was not a student of the University of the North (Turfloop), she originates from the Northern Province. Her book, *Mamphela Ramphele, A Life*, includes sections on her life as a child growing up in Bochum District in the Limpopo Province, and how her parents (both teachers) placed emphasis on the importance of formal education. Ramphele was banished to Tzaneen by the apartheid regime in the 1980s where she continued with community development projects. Thus, her book covers some of the socio-political activities of Tzaneen, and is, in that way, relevant for this study. Other former students of Turfloop include Cyril Ramaphosa, who later became the secretary general and deputy president of the ANC respectively. The biography of Ramaphosa by Anthony Butler is essential in understanding the political history of the Northern Province, particularly Venda where Ramaphosa grew up. It is also important in understanding student politics at Turfloop and how this influenced the rural communities of the Northern Province.

²²⁴ M. Mzamane, B. Maaba and N. Biko, 'The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa', 1970-1980, in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2*, 99-159, Mzamane and Maaba, 'The Azanian People's Organisation, 1977-1990', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4*, 1299-1358, Maaba and Mzamane, 'The Black Consciousness Movement in Exile, 1980-1990', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4*, 1361-1398.

²²⁵ D. Magaziner, *The Law and Prophets: Black, Consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977*, Ohio, 2010; Mangcu: *Biko, A Biography*.

There is small but relevant literature on the arts of the oppressed in South Africa. This ranges from protest poetry to stage plays and visual art which largely dominated the scene during the era of Black Consciousness in the 1970s. Such literature by Brown Maaba, Mbulelo Mzamane, Narissa Ramdhani, Nkosinathi Biko, and Bheki Peterson, all of which was published in the *Road to Democracy* series, indicate that to some extent the regime did not succeed in sweeping black culture, arts, and history under the carpet. The arts are a form of expression and this was the case during apartheid. Fraser McNeill's journal article on "Rural Reggae: The Politics of Performance in the Former 'Homeland' of Venda" leads us to Colbert Mukwehvo, who recorded reggae music, opening himself to reprisals from the Venda homeland authorities. Reggae music, as demonstrated through the music of its icons such as Bob Marley and Peter Tosh, is deeply politicising.²²⁶ Jaco Kruger shows that choral dance music in Venda played a significant role in spreading messages of defiance against the state.²²⁷ An overarching and recent study of the role of songs in the struggle against apartheid is that of Neo Lekgotla. Lekgotla's PhD is based on the songs of Robben Island inmates. Some of the Island inmates, like Peter Nchabeleng and his son, came from Sekhukhuneland.

Lesetja Marepo's Ph.D. thesis on *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK) activities in the Northern Transvaal reveals what has been a hidden history of the ANC military wing in the region during the period between 1976 and 1990. There was, argues Marepo, a belief amongst the people of the Northern Transvaal that MK would eventually liberate the oppressed masses from apartheid. MK activities, carried out in different parts of the country, re-enforced such thoughts. His study is useful in that it provides a focus on the activities of one of the most significant structures of the 1980s in a neglected geographical area of research.²²⁸ Other works that are relevant for the liberation history of the province, particularly of MK, include those of Howard Barrell.²²⁹

Van Kessel also documents events in the Limpopo province in her analysis of UDF affiliates in Sekhukhuneland. The focus is on the political mobilisation of the youth, and the relationship between the youth and the older generation during a period of intensified resistance and repression. She demonstrates the increasing antagonism between the youth and the traditional leaders. Another issue dealt with is the links between local youth organisations and the formal structures of the UDF.²³⁰

²²⁶ F. McNeill, 'Rural Reggae: The Politics of Performance in the Former 'Homeland' of Venda, *South African Historical Journal*, 64, 1, 81-95.

²²⁷ J. Kruger, 'Songs of struggle: dominance and resistance in Venda ngano song narratives, *Journal of the musical arts in Africa*, 4, 2007, 27.

²²⁸ L. Marepo, 'The Role of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) in the national liberation struggle in South Africa with reference to the rural far Northern Transvaal, 1976-1990', PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 2007.

²²⁹ Barrell, *MK: The ANC's Armed Struggle*, vii.

²³⁰ Van Kessel, *Beyond our wildest dreams*.

Phase1: Introduction

Isak Niehaus's work on the turbulent 1980s and 1990s in the Northern Province is interwoven with the element of witchcraft activities in the province and the role of comrades in that dilemma. The subject of witchcraft in the broader picture of the struggle against apartheid is rather an unusual subject matter, which Niehaus's work makes researchers consider in the context of liberation struggle history.²³¹

Vha-Musanda Vho-Shandukani Mudzunga (Manapule)'s 'Autobiography of an Underground Political Activist', which was published in the *South African Historical Journal*, is a rather unusual source of history in which he describes his role in the 'struggle'. In this unusual autobiography, Mudzunga writes about his close working relationship with highly placed ANC members such as Sydney Mufumadi and Cyril Ramaphosa. However, care must be taken in the use of such sources as the line between truth and self-aggrandisement is thin. This is especially so in the case of autobiographies in which the particular writer gets a chance to put forth a private version of their own role in historical processes. Added to this limitation is the fact that Mudzunga's article is different from oral interviews in which a historian interrogates his subject during an interview in a manner in which a prosecutor would cross examine a witness in court.²³²

Peter Lekgoathi's research in the rural community of Zebediela, Lebowa, introduces readers to the role of teachers in the struggle against apartheid and the brutality of the regime in the homeland in suppressing teacher unions. In the mid-1980s, teachers in Zebediela reviewed their position with regard to what apartheid represented and the harm it was causing to African society. Lekgoathi uses oral as well as some written sources to illustrate that the formation of unions in the region such as the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA), which viewed 'the campaign for educational transformation as part of the struggle against the apartheid policy', helped to lay a solid foundation for future national unions like the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU). NEUSA affiliated to the UDF in 1983, which was an indication that teachers in this area were prepared to confront the apartheid state. In fact, the first president of SADTU, Willy Madisha, was a school principal in Zebediela.²³³

Lekgoathi's recent work on the UDF in the Northern Province demonstrates how influential the organisation was in that part of the world.²³⁴ It rightly captures the historical backgrounds of some of the UDF leaders such as Peter Mokaba, Joyce Madubafatsi and Nchabeleng. Such backgrounds give a reader an opportunity to see how the history of these

²³¹ I. Niehaus, 'The ANC's Dilemma: The Symbolic Politics of Three Witch-Hunts in the South African Lowveld, 1990-1995', *African Studies Review*, 41, (3), 1998, 93-118.

²³² V-M. Vho-Shandukani Mudzunga (Manapule), 'Autobiography of an Underground Political Activist', *South African Historical Journal*, 64, (1), 2012, 143.

²³³ P. Lekgoathi, 'Teacher Militancy in the Rural Northern Transvaal Community of Zebediela, 1986-1994', *South African Historical Journal*, 58, 2007, 226-252.

²³⁴ S.P. Lekgoathi, 'The United Democratic Front in Lebowa and KwaNdebele during the 1980s'.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

UDF militants' early lives led to their involvement in the organisation. The study also provides important details on the activities of the UDF in the area. The most touching incident is the chilling detail on the killing of Nchabeleng by the police whilst in detention in 1986.

The anti-independence struggle in KwaNdebele in the 1980s is the subject of a number of books. These include the works of McCaul, the Transvaal Rural Action Committee, Ritchken, and Phatlane.²³⁵

²³⁵ C. McCaul, *Satellite in Revolt: KwaNdebele, an economic and political profile*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1987; Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC), *KwaNdebele: The struggle against independence*, Johannesburg, TRAC, 1987; E. Ritchken, 'The KwaNdebele struggle against independence', in *South African Review* 5, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1989; S.N. Phatlane, 'The KwaNdebele independence issue: A critical appraisal of the crises around independence in KwaNdebele, 1982-1989', MA dissertation, University of South Africa, 1998.

Phase 1: 1652-1910

Chapter 4

Introduction

This section of the Report is divided into six chapters (including this brief introduction), with each chapter further containing three components: firstly, a review of the historical process of colonisation and wars of resistance to colonisation; second, a review of political developments following colonisation up to 1910; and lastly, a list of potential heritage sites and prominent individuals around which heritage sites have been or could be developed.

In this phase, the focus is on the Khoikhoi wars of resistance in the 17th and 18th centuries, the slave revolts in the early 19th century, and organised political resistance in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the current Western Cape Province; San and Khoikhoi resistance in the period 1702-1809, the Wars of Dispossession or the Hundred Years War (1779-1880), and the period thereafter until 1910 in which the dispossessed Africans used journalism, petitions and their political weight as voters in the Cape Parliament to put the case of the oppressed in the Eastern Cape; the Battles of Ncome, Isandlwana, and Ulundi, the Langalibalele revolt and the Bambhata rebellion in KwaZulu-Natal; resistance of the 'independent' Batswana *against* impending colonial occupation and authority *before* final colonisation and resistance by Africans *to* colonial control *after* colonisation in the North West Province; and the various wars of resistance of the Bapedi, Venda, Ndebele, and Tsonga during the 19th century in the Limpopo Province.

The review of political developments after colonisation in the five provinces focuses on the reaction of the subjugated people to their domination by a white minority in the period up to 1910. The focus here is on the emergence of political elites who took the lead in the formation of political and other organisations and who led the various efforts to achieve a just society in the colonised areas.

Chapter 5

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the Western Cape, 1652-1910

Introduction

This section of the report covers the historical period from the first wars of resistance of the Khoikhoi people against Dutch occupation to the rise of organised political opposition after colonisation championed by the educated elite. The starting point is initial contact between the European settlers and the indigenous population, and the first and second Khoi-Dutch Wars in 1659-60 and 1673-77. The subsequent Khoikhoi Rebellion of 1799-1803 in Graaff-Reinet and the eastern part of the Colony marked a new phase of resistance to servitude on settler farms by the Khoi and San, who by then had lost their land and livestock to colonial settler encroachment in the form of the Trekboers. This phase ends with the capture and imprisonment of the last of the Khoi leaders, David Stuurman, in 1823. The next phase begins about the middle of the 1800s and ends with the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. This phase takes the form of education acquired through mission schools by the children of former slaves, and the Khoi and San. They then begin to organise politically and through deputations appeal against legalised land dispossession and for civil rights and equal treatment, at least for men with property.

Between all of these instances of resistance by the indigenous people of the Cape there is a chapter of resistance by the slaves brought to the colony from West Africa, East Africa and Indonesia. Besides a mutiny aboard a slave ship from Madagascar to the Cape in 1766, there stands out two instances of slave rebellion in the Cape – in 1808 and in 1825.

Khoi Wars of Resistance

The arrival of the Dutch in the Cape in 1652 and the expansion of the refreshment station for ships travelling between Europe and the Far East thereafter eventually led to conflict between the indigenous Khoikhoi and the Dutch settlers. The men and women who anchored three ships – the *Drommedaris*, the *Reijger* and the *De Goede Hoop* – in Table Bay on the 6th of April, 1652 were themselves spawned by resistance to Spanish occupation. When the Netherlands rose up against Spanish rule in 1572, Spain closed off all access to Dutch ships in her ports. The Dutch then began to explore alternative routes to the East. This was at the height of a thriving international trade in spices, tea, coffee, ivory, gold, sugar and slaves, and in which Portugal and Spain had a monopoly. It was not long before the Dutch challenged this monopoly. So, by 1610 the Dutch had secured trade routes to the East and established several ports on the coast of Guinea and the Caribbean. In 1652 the

Dutch East India Company (DEIC), considered to be one of the first multinational companies in the world, despatched Jan Van Riebeeck to the Cape in the southern-most tip of Africa to establish a fort and a garden. The company wanted a half-way station to the East that would form a defence against trading rivals and the local Khoikhoi people, as well as a source of supply of fresh water, meat and vegetables for passing ships.¹

The people who met the early European explorers in the Cape were 'brown-skinned, click-speaking pastoralists living on the shores and inland in an area stretching from Walvis Bay to the Eastern Cape as far as the Kei River'.² The Khoi-khoi or Khoe-khoen (men of men) were cattle and sheep herders whilst the San were hunter-gatherers. At the time of European occupation, the Khoikhoi population was estimated to be between 45,000 and 200,000. The Khoikhoi were made up of diverse communities with their own leadership and territory. In the Cape Peninsula there were the Goringhaiqua, the Gorachouqua and the Goringhaikona. The Goringhaikona were known to Europeans as the Strandlopers. The Cochoqua, who seasonally moved south to the Cape for grazing lands, lived in Saldanha Bay. South of the Olifants River lived the Little Grigriqua and north of them lived the Great Grigriqua (Guriqua). The Namaqua lived in Namaqualand. In the eastern parts of the Western Cape lived the Chainoqua and further east the Hessequa. In the area of Mossel Bay and George lived the Attaqua while the Outeniqua lived further north and east. And around the Orange River lived the Kora who had escaped Dutch domination in the Cape Peninsula.³

The First Khoi-Dutch War of 1659-60

The earliest resistance of the Khoikhoi to European encroachment involved a Portuguese ship commanded by Viceroy Francisco d'Almeida. In 1510 d'Almeida landed at Table Bay and it is said 'when all efforts to trade with the local Khoi failed the frustrated Portuguese raided Khoi settlements, carrying off cattle and children.'⁴ The Khoi rallied to the defence of their property and children, killing d'Almeida and 49 Portuguese.⁵ This is perhaps one of the reasons for lack of a subsequent interest in the Cape by the Portuguese.

The very first war between the Khoi and the Dutch took place a bare four years after the landing of Jan Van Riebeeck in 1652. The war was over land, since the settlement established by the Dutch East India Company at the Cape was on land occupied by the Khoikhoi herders and pastoralists. The economy of the Khoikhoi was based on cattle and sheep and trade between them and other Africans. Once Europeans made regular calls at the Cape, trade extended to the passing ships and involved copper, iron and later tobacco,

¹ K. Shilling (ed.), *Encyclopedia of African History*, Volume 1: A-G, New York, Francis & Taylor, 2005.

² H.P. Steyn, *Vanished Lifestyle of the early Cape Khoi and San*, Pretoria, Unibooks, 1990, 7.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁵ M. Morris, *Every Step of the Way: The Journey to Freedom in South Africa*, Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2004, 37. The book was commissioned and funded by the Department of Education.

brandy and beads for cattle and sheep with the Khoikhoi people. The Khoikhoi would then exchange these with fellow Africans in the interior for more cattle, tobacco and dagga [marijuana]. According to Marks, these trade routes 'extended all the way to the Xhosa in the East, and probably to Bantu-speaking groups across the Orange River in the north.'⁶

However, once Jan Van Riebeeck arrived with the instruction to set up a refreshment station – a fort and a garden – in the Cape, he had to ensure a regular supply of fresh meat and vegetables to passing ships. The Khoi, on the other hand, did not have an interest in meeting this increasing demand for fresh meat by selling most or all of their best cattle and sheep. Furthermore, the Khoi were essentially pastoralists engaged in seasonal migration with their livestock between winter and summer pastures. And as such, unlike the AmaXhosa further to the east, they were not settled agriculturalists engaged in producing vegetables. So, on 1 March 1657, with the support of the Dutch East India Company, Jan Van Riebeeck granted land along the Liesbeck River, behind Table Mountain, to nine men who were company employees. This took place at the spot where the fountain stands today in Rondebosch.⁷ These free burghers [citizens] were to grow wheat and guarantee a steady supply of fruit and vegetables to passing ships. In addition, they had to amass livestock for the purpose of a regular supply of meat.

This meant encroaching on Khoikhoi seasonal grazing lands. The Khoikhoi, like their fellow Africans, had a totally different conception of land ownership to the Roman-Dutch concept of private property. The Khoikhoi refused to recognise this arrangement as permanent land tenure to private individuals and continued to graze their livestock as they always did. The first forms of resistance involved breaking down the hedges the Dutch built to exclude the Khoikhoi and their livestock. Also, the free burghers needed labour to till and cultivate the land. With an abundance of cattle and access to sufficient grazing lands and an intact social system, the Khoikhoi were not going to turn into workers for the Dutch settlers. In order to address this need for labour, the first group of slaves were brought to the Cape in 1657. These slaves soon tried to escape and the Dutch accused the Khoikhoi of harbouring the escaped slaves.

In 1659-1660 the first of the two Khoi-Dutch wars in the seventeenth century took place, involving the Goreinghaikona or so-called Strandlopers under their leader Autshumato, the Goringhaiqua under Gogosa and Doman, and the Gorachouqua, whom the Dutch called the 'Tobacco Thieves'. This war saw both Autshumato and Doman as the leading resisters to the Dutch. Autshumato was later imprisoned on Robben Island. In 1660, Autshumato and one

⁶ S. Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of African History*, Vol. 13, No.1, Cambridge University Press, 1972, 55-80; G. Harinck, 'Interaction between Xhosa and Khoi: Emphasis on the period 1650-1750', in L.M. Thompson, (ed.) *African Societies in Southern Africa*, London, 1969, 160-65.

⁷ The Fountain was declared a national monument on 10 April 1964. URL Source: <http://prep.bishops.org.za/gr4/social%20science/history%20of%20Rondebosch.pdf>

other prisoner became the first political prisoners to escape from Robben Island and reach the mainland using a rowing boat.⁸

In 1660 the Khoi continued to conduct a guerrilla war against the Dutch, stealing plough-oxen, and attacking the farmers on rainy days when they knew the Dutch muskets would not fire. This knowledge came directly from Doman who had lived with the Dutch in the East and had learnt their ways and their language. This war brought trade and agricultural productivity to a standstill in the Cape. It is said that roughly half of the total number of the DEIC servants and free burghers left the land and stowed away on passing ships. The rest of the settlers took refuge at the fort. But in April 1660, still undefeated, the Khoikhoi sought peace, complaining that the Dutch were:

...taking every day ... land which had belonged to them from all ages and on which they were accustomed to pasture their cattle. They also asked whether if they were to come into Holland they would be permitted to act in the same manner.⁹

The Khoikhoi maintained this historic grievance through the following centuries and in the face of expanding Dutch settlement and land dispossession.

The Second Khoi-Dutch War of 1673-77

One of the consequences of the first war of resistance was the formation of a militia by the free burghers, who would leave their families at the fort during the war. An uneasy truce followed. However, in the 1670s the Dutch engaged in a series of raids against the Khoikhoi of Saldanha Bay and Boland in which they stole their cattle and conquered their land. When the Dutch settlers discovered fertile land to the northeast of the Hottentots-Hollands Mountains that belonged to the Chainoqua, Hessequa, Cochoqua and Gouriqua Khoikhoi communities they embarked on a series of cattle raids. A force sent by the Dutch East India Company attacked the Cochoqua on 18 July 1673. The Cochoqua, led by Gonnema, fled into the mountains, leaving behind their livestock. This was the beginning of the second Khoikhoi-Dutch War, which lasted until 1677 following a second Dutch attack in 1674. The Khoikhoi eventually submitted to the Dutch, promising to pay an annual tribute of 30 head of cattle to the settlers. This paved the way for the expansion of the Dutch settlement, while the decline of the Khoikhoi as an independent people accelerated rapidly.¹⁰

Their land was divided among the settlers for farming, and the Khoikhoi were then drafted into labour and worked alongside the slaves as labourers on the farms of the Dutch settlers. Besides land dispossession, large numbers of the Khoikhoi were also decimated by disease

⁸ South African History Online, available at <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/autshumato-aka-herry>.

⁹ *The Record*, 205, van Riebeeck's Journal 4 April 1660.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

brought by Europeans. One instance of this was a small-pox epidemic of 1713, which was brought by the crew of a Dutch ship and spread through their laundry.

As time went on the settler commandos expanding inland robbed the Khoikhoi of their cattle, denied them access to grazing land and water resources and captured their women and children to use as indentured labourers. Thus, by the early 18th century the Khoikhoi herders and pastoralists had been reduced to hunter-gatherers in the mountains of Cederberg and the arid lands of the Roggeveld. It was during this time that indigenous labourers were forced for the first time to carry passes. As part of attempts to resist settler control and escape conflict, some Khoi, San and escaped slaves fled to Namaqualand and the Gariiep (Orange) River region where they set up Oorlam captaincies later known as the Griqua. There is a case of an Oorlam leader by the name of Jager Afrikaner who once had a dispute with a white settler over grazing lands in the Hantam region. He then killed the white settler and fled with his family and relatives to the Gariiep River islands. Here he attracted other Khoi and San refugees and built a community. They occasionally raided both the Nama and the Dutch for grazing lands. Jager Afrikaner was declared an outlaw in the Cape. He later migrated to Namibia where he was converted by missionaries and spent his last days as a hunter and trader.

Another expansion route of the settlers was to the east along the south Cape coast. They effectively pushed the Khoi pastoralists towards the Karoo and Camdeboo regions. In addition, by the 1770s the settlers had usurped the rich grazing lands between the Gamtoos and the Fish Rivers. This land had been occupied by AmaXhosa herders and cultivators.

The Khoikhoi Rebellion of 1799-1803

The Dutch settler expansion to the rich grazing land between the Gamtoos and Fish Rivers triggered a serious resistance from the Khoi and the AmaXhosa. Stapleton maintains this protracted conflict disrupted the settler meat industry.¹¹ When Klaas Stuurman, who was a chief of the Khoi, died, David Stuurman assumed leadership. David Stuurman was born about 1773 in the area of the Gamtoos River in the Eastern Cape. He grew up at a time when the Khoi and San people were systematically dispossessed of their land and, through legislation, forced into farm labour. He worked for a Dutch farmer by the name of Johannes Vermaak, but he soon deserted the farm because of brutal treatment by Vermaak. On one occasion 'he was tied to a wagon wheel, whipped with sjamboks, salted and left in the sun for hours'.¹² His sin – disagreeing with his 'baas'. So when Vermaak died, Stuurman and several other farm workers deserted the farm.

¹¹ T.J.A. Stapleton, *Military History of South Africa: From the Dutch-Khoi Wars to the End of Apartheid*, Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2010, 2.

¹² Lives of Courage: David Stuurman published on the South African History Online available at the URL: <http://www.sahistory.org.za> (retrieved on 2013-06-06).

In 1799 hundreds of Khoikhoi farm workers in the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony rebelled and deserted their farms and went to live among the AmaXhosa. This was at a time when the AmaXhosa were facing threats from the trekboers who were encroaching on their land. It was in this way that one of the many Khoi-Xhosa alliances against the colonists was built. The Khoi were trained soldiers and had expertise in the use of guns. The AmaXhosa learnt their marksmanship skills from the Khoi, and captured weapons were maintained by the Khoi. The Khoikhoi and AmaXhosa effectively drove the white settlers away from their farms and took over their cattle, sheep, guns and wagons.

Despite attempts by the Governor-General of the Cape Colony at the time to persuade the Khoikhoi to return to farm labour in exchange for protection, Stuurman and his community refused to go back to the farms, choosing instead to live at the Bethelsdorp Mission Station near Algoa Bay. On one occasion the settler farmers accused Stuurman and the AmaXhosa of giving shelter to bandits, runaway servants and boosdoenders (evildoers). They ordered Stuurman to give up two Khoi who had deserted Boer farmers. Stuurman refused to accede to this demand and he was required to appear before Landrost Cuyler with regard to this matter. The Cape Colonial authorities then invaded the settlement, confiscated land and livestock and abducted men, women and children and forced them into farm labour. Stuurman and three other Khoi men were arrested and transported to Cape Town.

On another occasion Stuurman opposed the forced recruitment of young Khoi men into military service. He was again arrested and, without a trial, was sent to Robben Island. He was accused of 'suspicious conduct, living in a kraal near the boundaries of the colony'.¹³ In December 1809 Stuurman and a group of prisoners escaped from Robben Island to reach the mainland using whaling boats. Some of the prisoners were recaptured, but Stuurman successfully escaped to the Eastern Cape. Perhaps aware of the danger Stuurman in alliance with the AmaXhosa posed for the colonial authorities, Landrost Cuyler tried to entice him with promises of grazing land, cattle and a peaceful life near Cape Town. Stuurman refused. Instead Stuurman asked that his wives and children who were held as captives in Cape Town be sent to live with him among the AmaXhosa.

In 1811 the colonists accused Stuurman of involvement in cattle raids near the Gamtoos River. Landrost Stockenstrom of Graaff-Reinet described him as 'an enemy more dangerous than the Kaffirs'.¹⁴ He continued to evade the colonial army and to lead his fighters until he was captured in 1819, and once more sent to Robben Island.

In 1820, a convict on Robben Island by the name of Johan Smit overpowered and disarmed a prison guard. He then freed other prisoners who quickly opened the armoury. A soldier was

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

killed and several injured. About 30 prisoners seized three whaling boats owned by John Murray and escaped to Blouberg. An overseer by the name of John Bryant had his life saved by Stuurman, who instructed the other prisoners not to harm the man. Another freedom fighter, the prophet Makana, was in one of the boats which capsized in the surf off Blouberg. Since Makana could not swim, he drowned together with thirteen other prisoners. The legend goes that he kept on shouting words of encouragement to the others as they swam on to freedom. Twelve prisoners, including Stuurman, were recaptured, while two were killed by settler commandos and three others escaped.

Because Stuurman had saved the life of a whaling boat overseer he was spared execution and sent to Robben Island to await transportation to New South Wales in Australia. This was the third time he had been imprisoned on Robben Island. In April 1823, David Stuurman, a fellow Khoi by the name of Jantjie Piet and ten other South Africans disembarked from the convict ship Brampton in Sydney, Australia. His wife drew up a petition to Queen Victoria of Britain asking for Stuurman's release. But the queen would not be moved. In 1829, after six years as a prisoner working for the government, Stuurman was granted permission to work for wages for himself. On the 22nd of February 1830, Stuurman died in the General Hospital in Sydney.

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

- *Liesbeeck River* – along this river the first free burghers were allocated land by Jan Van Riebeeck to farm and this was the area of the first Khoikhoi resistance against land dispossession led by Damon.
- *Oude Molen estate* – This is one of the areas where the Khoikhoi seasonally settled with their livestock close to fresh water sources and abundant pasture.
- *The Camissa River* – The oldest marker of spirituality, rootedness and belonging for Indigenous people (Khoena) is the freshwater river system and the Camissa River which still flows underneath the City of Cape Town from the Hoerikwaggo Mountain (Table Mountain) to the sea. The river mouth connecting to the sea would have been somewhere in front of the Castle in the vicinity of lower Strand Street around the entrance to Cape Town Station where the Grand Parade adjoins the Golden Acre Centre. The Camissa River Mouth was the place of the founding of Cape Town by the maroon Khoena clan known as the Goringhaikona, led at the time of Dutch settlement by Chief Autshumato. The Camissa Settlement was established some time during the 200 year period prior to the establishment of the Dutch Settlement as a trading/service point by local Khoena (Khoi) to service passing ships. It was also the place of hospitality offered to Jan van Riebeeck's party during the seven months that it took for the Dutch to build the first fort. The Camissa waters were diverted into the moat around the Castle de Goede

Hoop. In the Golden Acre Centre one can also see an aqueduct which was uncovered during construction. The Camissa River and the Camissa Settlement is of utmost importance to the Camissa descendants today; it was a site of pride which then became a site of struggle as it was the first place taken over by the Dutch settlers. Van Riebeeck's diary notes that the Goringhaikona did not voluntarily forsake their Camissa settlement, and for some time continued to remain alongside the Camissa River and on the embankments of the fort. They are recorded as telling Van Riebeeck that they would not have been able to simply take over the land of the Dutch in their country so why should the Dutch feel that they could take over the Khoena land. The Camissa River mouth was also where the earliest shipments of slaves landed at the Cape. In 1658 two shiploads of over 400 slaves from West Africa arrived in the Cape. Most were very young children.

- *Autshumato: Leader of the Goringhaikona Khoikhoi* – Autshumato was a leader of the Goringhaikona or so-called Strandloper Khoikhoi, and one of the first southern Africans to be taken by the English to Batavia where he learnt to speak Dutch. On his return in 1632 he settled together with twenty members of his community on Robben Island where he was postmaster for passing ships and a translator and interpreter. In 1640 he moved back to the mainland and became instrumental in facilitating trade between the Khoikhoi people and the Dutch. He was known to the English as Harry while the Dutch called him Herry. When Jan Van Riebeeck arrived in the Cape he relied on the language expertise of Autshumato to carry out trade negotiations with the Khoikhoi. Autshumato was aware of his power as interpreter and leader of his people and used this to undermine and resist Dutch occupation. For instance, on 19 October 1653 he overpowered and killed the Dutch East India Company cattle-herder David Jansz and took off with the company's herd of cattle. On 10 July 1658 Jan Van Riebeeck banished Autshumato to Robben Island. In December 1659 Autshumato successfully escaped from the Island on a leaky boat. A year later Autshumato applied for and received permission to again live and work near the Dutch settlement, resuming his role as an interpreter. He died in 1663.
- *Doman: Leader of the Goringhaiqua Khoikhoi* – Doman was a leader of the Goringhaiqua Khoi-Khoi, who in 1657 was also sent to Batavia to train as an interpreter. Whilst there he learnt first-hand the capacity of the Dutch to reduce indigenous people to positions of servitude. This turned him into a freedom fighter. It is said that he deceived the Dutch by appearing to be loyal by converting to Christianity. However, as soon as he landed at the Cape he championed resistance against Van Riebeeck and the Dutch government's colonial policies. He regarded Krotoa (see below) with suspicion and was critical of her perceived selling out of her own people to the Dutch. It is reported that whenever he saw her he would tell his countrymen: 'See, there comes the advocate of the Dutch; she will tell her people some stories and lies and will finally betray them all.' And whenever Krotoa tried to pass on information to the Dutch, Doman tried to stop her. When the Dutch planned trips into the hinterland, he tried to stop them. From his hut near the fort he tried to intercept all inland visitors. All these are indicative of his commitment and

drive to resist the Dutch colonial settlers by any means necessary. He eventually led the first of the two Khoi wars of resistance against the Dutch. Doman made use of his knowledge of Dutch military science and tactics to the advantage of his Khoi countrymen. Thus, on a cold and drizzling 19 May 1659, he led a group of Khoikhoi in a raid on the cattle of the free burghers. Doman had waited for rainy weather, knowing that the Dutch matchlock muskets could not be fired in the rain with damp powder. Unfortunately for Doman, his earlier attempts to make Khoikhoi trade with the Dutch the exclusive preserve of the Peninsula groups left him dangerously short of allies. Thus, his attempts to persuade local chief Gogosoa to attack the Dutch were bluntly refused. Without the help of the inland Cochoqua, an attack on the fort was doomed to fail. Doman, however, was able to persuade some of the younger leaders to join him in what he regarded as a war of liberation. Commander Van Riebeeck responded with defensive tactics, withdrawing the free burghers to the fort, temporarily arming the slaves (an extraordinarily risky measure), and building a strong kraal to protect the colony's remaining livestock. Lacking firearms and unwilling to storm the central fort, the Khoikhoi eventually signalled their willingness to parley. A peace was negotiated; the war had ended in stalemate. The Khoikhoi did not return any of the livestock seized in the war and paid no reparations. Yet they did accept the continued European occupation of the Cape peninsula, a threat to their perseverance as an independent people. The Dutch erected fortified posts and planted almond hedges (some of which still survive) to prevent cattle being driven off again. The Khoikhoi were obliged to use specified routes and paths, and to enter the settlement only at certain guarded gaps in the hedge. Horses which arrived from Batavia gave the colonists the mobility they had lacked in the war, and expeditions from the fort became longer and more frequent. As trading contacts were established with more Khoikhoi groups, the settlement gradually became independent of the Peninsular Khoikhoi, whose wealth and importance waned rapidly. The failure of the Khoikhoi to drive out the Dutch shattered Doman's position as a leader, and he was tolerated only because his people needed him as an interpreter. When he died in December 1663, the Company diarist recorded: 'For [his] death none of us will have cause to grieve, as he has been, in many respects, a mischievous and malicious man towards the Company'.

- *Krotoa: South Africa's pioneer diplomat and linguist* – A niece of Autshumato, she was born around 1642. As a young girl she worked in the household of Jan van Riebeeck. She learnt to speak Dutch and Portuguese and, like her uncle, she also worked as an interpreter for the Dutch in trade negotiations with the Khoikhoi. Krotoa was baptized on 3 May 1662 in the church inside the fort, and on 26 April 1664 she married Pieter van Meerhoff, a Danish surgeon. She is said to have been the first Khoikhoi person to marry according to Christian customs. At the time the Governor at the Cape was Zacharias Wagenaer. In May 1665 Krotoa and Pieter van Meerhoff departed the mainland for Robben Island. Van Meerhoff died on 27 February 1668 on an expedition. On 30 September 1668 Krotoa returned to the mainland with her children. At this stage she

was lonely and suffering from alcoholism. She decided to leave the Castle and go and live with her people for a while. In February 1669 she was imprisoned at the Castle and then, like her uncle Autshumato before, she was banished to Robben Island. In May 1673 she was allowed to baptise a child on the mainland. Three of her children survived infancy. She died on 29 July 1674 in the Cape and was buried on 30 September 1674 in the church in the fort.

- *David Stuurman: The last Chief of the Khoikhoi* – He was imprisoned on Robben Island for leading resistance against the Dutch and the British and is one of the few prisoners to have escaped successfully from the prison. At the time of writing, attempts were under way to find and repatriate his remains in Australia back home to South Africa.
- *Bloubergstrand Beach* – The beach at Bloubergstrand is a site of remembrance of the escaped prisoners from Robben Island who were Khoe Resisters from the Gamtoos led by Chief David Stuurman. Stuurman successfully escaped in that bid. But it is also the site of the death of the Chief and prophet Makana (Nxele) who perished in that escape bid in 1820. There is much detail about the revolt and escape from Robben Island and the three boats which overturned in the waves. A monument should be erected there telling this history of the Khoena and amaXhosa resistance fighters, especially in the light of a strong alliance between these two communities.

Slavery and Resistance

The Dutch East India Company had made use of slave labour in Asia prior to its settlement at the Cape. Thus, in 1658 the first company Cape commander, Jan van Riebeeck, made a request to the DEIC's directors in Batavia (Jakarta) for slaves for the settler farmers in Cape Town. On 28 March 1658, the first group of slaves were brought to the Cape. They were originally 250 Angolans captured from a Portuguese slave ship travelling from Angola to Brazil. Only 174 of these arrived at the Cape aboard the Amersfoort as the rest had died at sea. About a month and a half later, on 6 May 1658, another group of 228 slaves were brought to the Cape from Dahomey (today Benin) in West Africa.

Thereafter, more slaves were brought from Bengal in Southeast Asia, from the Malabar and Coromandel coasts of India, from Ceylon, and from the Indonesian archipelago. After the takeover of the Cape by the British in 1795, private merchants dealing in the slave trade imported over 7,200 slaves to Cape Town from Mozambique and Madagascar. Between 1658 and 1808, the year the British abolished trade in slaves throughout the British Empire, it is estimated that about 63,000 slaves were imported into the Cape.¹⁵ Others put the figure to be about 80,000.¹⁶ In 1838, there were 38,343 slaves at the Cape. The majority

¹⁵ A. Mountain, *An Unsung Heritage: Perspectives on Slavery*, Cape Town, David Philip, 2004, 21.

¹⁶ K. Shillington (ed.), *Encyclopedia of African History*: Volume 1, A-G, 211.

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the Western Cape

were male and in 1738 the gender balance was four male slaves for every female slave. The majority of slaves worked in the grain and wine farms of the south-western Cape.

The Dutch East India Company also brought slaves, political exiles and convicts from Indonesia and India. As they had a long tradition of Islam, this group was responsible for the spread of the religion in the Cape initially and later across the country. Perhaps the best-known figure said to be responsible for bringing Islam to the Cape is Imam 'Abdullah ibn Kadi [Qadri] Abdus Salaam, better known as Tuan Guru. This Prince from Tidore in the Ternate Islands of Indonesia was born in 1712, and was brought to the Cape on 6 April, 1780 as a 'state prisoner', along with Callie Abdol Rauf, Badroedin [Badr al-Din] and Noro Iman [Nur al-Iman]. They were all imprisoned on Robben Island. Their registration in the '*Bandieten Rollen*' for 1780 reveals that they conspired politically with the English in the East against the Dutch.¹⁷

Whilst imprisoned on Robben Island, Imam 'Abdullah [Tuan Guru], being a *hafiz al-Qur'an*, wrote several copies of the holy *Qur'an* from memory. He also authored *Ma'rifatul Islami wa'1 Imani*, a work on Islamic jurisprudence, which also deals with '*ilm al-kalam* [Asharite principles of theology], which he completed in 1781. The manuscripts on Islamic jurisprudence, in the Malay tongue and in Arabic, became the primary reference work of the Cape Muslims during the 19th century, and are at present in the possession of his descendants in Cape Town. His handwritten copy of the holy *Qu'ran* has been preserved and is presently in the possession of one of his descendants, Sheikh Cassiem Abduraouf of Cape Town. Later, when printed copies of the holy *Qu'ran* were imported, it was found that Tuan Guru's hand-written copy contained very few errors.

The South African History Online, citing Dr. A.J. Boeseken, provides the following table extracted from transactions pertaining to slaves compiled from documents in the Deeds Office at the Cape for the period 1658 to 1700:

[Table by **F.R. Bradlow**]

Country	Number	Percentage
Madagascar	397	30,63
Ceylon	20	1,54
India	653	50,38
Indonesia	189	14,58
Malaysia	4	0,32
Indo-China	1	0,08

¹⁷ www.sahistory.org.za.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

[Table by **F.R. Bradlow**]

Country	Number	Percentage
Japan	1	0,08
Cape of Good Hope	10	0,77
Unidentified	21	1,62
Total	1,296	100,00

The following is a table of the estimated Muslim and Muslim slave populations at the Cape between 1750 and 1830:

Year	No. of Slaves	No. of Muslims	% Muslims
1750	4,166	154	3,70
1760	4,678	730	15,60
1770	5,191	1,307	25,18
1780	5,704	1,883	33,01
1790	6,217	2,460	39,57
1800	6,730	3,037	45,13
1810	7,242	3,613	49,89
1820	7,755	4,198	54,03
1830	8,268	4,766	57,64

The Meermin Slave Mutiny of 1766

Overall, there appears to have been very few instances of slave revolts in transit to the Cape. But one mutiny aboard the slave ship *Meermin* deserves mention. On 20 January 1766, the slave ship *Meermin* owned by the Dutch East India Company, made its way from Madagascar to the Cape. On board was a cargo of slaves and a crew led by Captain Gerrit Cristoffel Muller. It is reported that the ship's chief merchant, Johann Godfried Krause, persuaded the captain to remove the shackles of the slaves so as to avoid them dying on the way and thereby leading to the loss of valuable cargo. The slaves, led by a man by the name of Massavana and another called Koesaaij, overpowered the crew, killing the chief merchant and injuring the captain. They then ordered the ship to turn back to their homeland. However, the crew successfully deceived them and headed for Alzulhas in the Cape Colony where a militia of settler farmers eventually forced them to surrender. Both Massavana and

Koesaaij were sent to Robben Island. Massavana died there three years later and Koesaaij lived another 20 years.

Resistance among slaves was often difficult as they were physically separated in relatively small units on remote farms. But arson was common. Some slaves ran away and throughout most of the eighteenth century a small community established themselves at Cape Hangklip, opposite the Cape Peninsula. Some escaped slaves went to live among the Oorlams and Griqua and some among the AmaXhosa. Two slave rebellions are worth mentioning. One was an uprising of over 300 slaves in the Cape hinterland in 1808. The other was a small revolt in the Bokkeveld region of the Northern Cape in 1825. The two open slave rebellions were part of an ongoing resistance against slavery beginning shortly after the arrival of the first group of slaves in the Cape. The early part of resistance took the form of arson with individual houses set alight by disgruntled slaves. In 1688, what historian Alan Mountain considers the first serious attempt at destruction of company and privately-owned property took place. A free black, Sante of Sante Jago in Cape Verde, and a slave by the name of Michiel 'embarked on a dedicated programme to burn one house'.

The First Slave Uprising of 1808

The first uprising was apparently inspired by, among other things, the stories arriving in the Cape about uprisings in America, Ireland and the Caribbean. It took place against the backdrop of a recent abolition of the trade in slaves throughout the British empire. The leaders of this slave uprising were a slave tailor by the name of Louis of Mauritius, two Irishmen, James Hooper and Michael Kelly, and four other slaves: Jephta of Batavia, Abraham, Adonis and an Indian slave. They were later joined by two Khoi men.¹⁸ They planned to march from the rural districts all the way to Cape Town, gathering slaves on the way. In Cape Town they aimed to take over the Amsterdam Battery and turn the guns on the Castle. Then they would negotiate a peace which would involve the establishment of a 'free' state and freedom for all slaves.

They began mobilising slaves on the farm Vogelgevang, owned by a certain Petrus Gerhardus Louw, north of Malmesbury. And even though the two Irishmen deserted him, Louis of Mauritius continued, and, on 27 October 1808, together with other slaves he had recruited, began his march to Cape Town. On the way they were joined by even more slaves – men, women and children – as well as Khoikhoi people. Soon they had grown into a group 350 people strong. Louis decided to divide the group into three with the instructions to meet at Salt River just outside Cape Town. However, as they approached Salt River they

¹⁸ "1808: The Day Cape Town was turned Upside Down" Iziko Museums of Cape Town. 16 October 2008. <http://www.iziko.org.za>; Mellet, P.T. "Two world events that influenced the Cape slave uprising. Cape Slavery Heritage: Slavery and Creolisation in Cape Town. cape-slavery-heritage.iblog.co.za; P.T. Mellet, Cape Slavery Heritage: Slavery and Creolisation in Cape Town. blogs.24.com

were met by detachments of infantry and cavalry sent by the colonial Governor Caledon. Seeing the firepower of the colonial regime, a total of 326 men and women surrendered without a fight. Louis managed to escape and for two days was on the run until he eventually gave himself in at Wynberg. Seven of the leaders, including Louis, Hooper, Kelly and two slaves from the Vogelgezang farm, Abraham and Adonis, were tried, found guilty of treason and sentenced to be hanged. Governor Caledon confirmed the sentences, except in the case of Kelly who was sent by ship to England where he served a prison term.

The Second Slave Uprising of 1825

The second slave uprising took place in 1825 on the farm Houdenbek at the foot of the Koue Bokkeveld Mountains, owned by Willem van der Merwe. The uprising was led by a 25-year old slave by the name of Galant. He is described as 'locally-born and a powerful man both physically and in terms of will and determination',¹⁹ who deeply resented slavery. On 1 February 1825, Galant, Abel – a slave belonging to a neighbouring farmer, Barend van der Merwe – and a Khoikhoi labourer by the name of Isaac Thys led a group consisting of twelve slaves and Khoisan labourers. They lured Willem van der Merwe out of his house by releasing some of his cattle from the kraal just after dark. As soon as he emerged to investigate, they shot and killed him. The group then shot at two other people who were in the house, but Van der Merwe's wife, who was badly wounded, managed to hide in a clay bread oven. The group then grabbed the farmer's ammunition before escaping into the surrounding mountains. A slave woman who worked in the kitchen escaped with the farmer's two-year old child and raised the alarm. A commando was despatched from Cape Town and tracked down and captured Galant and his supporters in a cave near the banks of the Sand River. They were tried, convicted and hanged in Worcester. The heads of Galant and two others executed with him were cut off and displayed along the route from Worcester to the Koue Bokkeveld so that the slaves could see the consequences of rebellion. Finally the heads were impaled on stakes and erected on either side of the road at Koppieslaagter near Boplaas farm to deter other slaves from rebellion.

It became clear in the investigations around the case of Galant and his fellow conspirators, that for many years Galant was subjected to severe beatings by his master who sent him to prison for discipline. On at least three occasions, Galant reported this ill treatment to the colonial authorities. However, as was usual at the time, the authorities did nothing about these reports. On another occasion, Galant reported that his master unfairly confiscated his possessions. Even then no action was taken.

Like the first slave uprising in the Cape, the second took place shortly after the slaves became aware of imminent freedom. In 1823 Governor Somerset issued a proclamation announcing the amelioration of slavery. These measures included giving slaves the right to

¹⁹ Mountain, *An Unsung Heritage*, 62.

be baptized as Christians, to marry, and to have the testimony of a Christian slave acceptable in court. In addition, minimum slave working hours were introduced for winter and summer, and slave children under the age of ten were not to be sold. Galant and other slaves had heard about the discussions farmers engaged in on the new amelioration measures and were convinced of the imminence of freedom. This, together with the experience of ill treatment at the hands of their masters and a fear that their masters intended to imprison them ahead of the colonial government intention to free all slaves, drove Galant and his small group of fellow slaves to rise up.

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

- *Algulhus Beach* – Where the DEIC slave ship *Meerman* anchored with the slave mutineers on board (some claim the site was in Struisbaai).
- *Vogelgezang Farm* – North of Malmesbury where the first slave uprising of 1808 began. Louis of Mauritius is famously known to have led that first revolt by Cape slaves. It is believed that Louis and other slaves went to Vogelgezang, Petrus Gerhardus Louw's farm north of present-day Malmesbury, to start the uprising. The slaves were disguised as lieutenants and visiting sea captains and began the rebellion the following day. Louis is said to have collected a force of slaves from both Koeberg and Swartland farms and went to 30 farms spreading slave rebellion. The slaves attacked a number of farms and more than 300 slaves marched to Salt River and the Cape of Good Hope.
- *Houdenbek Farm* – At the foot of the Koue Bokkeveld Mountains where the second slave uprising of 1825 began. In 1825, at the farm *Houdenbek* near Ceres in the Koue Bokkeveld, there was a slave uprising led by Galant of the Cape. The original shed which served as the slave quarters is still there. The place of the gruesome execution of the slaves – where the heads were put on pikes to dissuade the other slaves – is on either side of the road at Koppieslaagte (hence the name) – slaughtered heads. Author Andre Brink captures this uprising and subsequent trial in his *A Chain of Voices*.
- *St. Stephen's D.R. Church* – A building that was the first theatre in South Africa, was later bought by a congregation of freed slaves. Many legends surround it, for instance, that the building was stoned. Two myths, firstly that it was stoned by whites who did not like the idea of slaves converting to Christianity and getting educated (there was also a small school attached). Second myth – that it was stoned by fellow former slaves who were Muslim and disapproved of their brothers and sisters becoming Christian. In 1799, during the first British occupation of the Cape, the Governor, Sir George Yonge, appropriated a portion of Riebeeck Square to build a theatre upon the site. This was opened on 17 November 1800 and by all accounts was considered by citizens of Cape Town to be a very fine building. However, it soon proved to be ineffective as a theatre and fell into disuse, and in 1838 Dr. Adamson, of the Presbyterian Church, resolved to

use it as a school for freed slaves. The proposal was supported by the Dutch Reformed Church, and the building, now named after St Stephen, the first martyr, was soon being used as a school during the week and as a place of worship and a religious school on Sundays. In 1857 its congregation was incorporated into the Dutch Reformed Church, and the building was purchased by its Elders, making it, reputedly, the only Dutch Reformed Church to bear the name of a saint. During the first half of the 20th century the changing nature of the surrounding area brought about a reduction in its congregation, and for a while it was proposed to demolish the structure and build a parking garage on the site. Fortunately, the space proved too small for the project and it was abandoned. Further difficulties arose when the apartheid Government proposed to declare the suburb a residential area for the exclusive use of the white group. This proposal too was eventually abandoned, and the church was declared a National Monument on 22 October 1965.

- *Sarah Baartman Human Rights Memorial* – Sarah Baartmann, a South African Khoi-San woman, was captured as a slave and taken to London where she became the object of racism and exploitation. She was subsequently displayed as a ‘scientific curiosity’. Baartmann was later moved to Paris, where she continued to be exhibited by an animal trainer in degrading displays for public amusement. When she died, her body parts were preserved and exhibited in the Museum of Natural History in Paris, where they remained on display until 1974 after which they were placed in storage. On 9 August 2002, the remains of Sarah Baartmann were laid to rest at Hankey, the area of her birth near the Gamtoos River Valley in the Eastern Cape. The government has decided to establish the Sarah Centre of Remembrance, the Sarah Baartmann Human Rights Memorial (in the Western Cape) and the Khoi-San Heritage Route as part of its efforts to address the historical imbalances in the heritage sector of the country.
- *Hurling Swinging Pump and the Slave Washerwomen’s Stream* – These sites are associated with the Camissa River. The Hurling Swinging Pump is situated at the corner of Prince and Sir George Grey Streets in Oranjezicht, and the Slave Washerwomen’s Stream is nearby in Oranjezicht. The latter is particularly important as it relates to the most tragic event in Cape History in 1713. This is when a Danish Ship arrived on which there had been an outbreak of smallpox. The contaminated clothing was given to the slave washerwomen who washed the clothes in the stream and thus unconsciously contaminated the water-supply. They too became contaminated and smallpox spread, causing great devastation amongst all communities. Hardest hit was the indigenous people whose numbers dwindled from around 160,000 to around 30,000. The growing prosperous class amongst the Free Black community were also wiped out as were many slaves. This single event must count as one of the most devastating occurrences in slave and indigene history.
- *Castle of Good Hope and the Grand Parade* – The Castle of Good Hope and the Grand Parade were built by slave labourers and the original Fort de Goede Hoop and the Castle de Goede Hoop were places of abode and places of imprisonment of Khoena and slaves,

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the Western Cape

including Kratoa and the first 11 slaves at the Cape. It is also the place of trials held by the Council of Policy, the place of treaties robbing the Khoena of their land, and the place of incarceration of leaders from Chief Autshumato right through to King Cetshwayo. Sheik Yusuf was kept here for some time on his arrival in the Cape.

- *Justitie Plaats and the Strafpaal* – The Justitie Plaats and the Strafpaal at the corner of Darling Street and Buitekant Street was a place of punishment and execution of slaves, Khoena, and others. Whipping, hanging, crucifixion and a host of other cruelties took place at this site, which is unmarked.
- *Slave Lodge* – The Slave Lodge in Adderley Street served as an abode for hundreds of Company (VOC) slaves at any one time for over 160 years. It was also a place of resistance. The earliest Lodge was burnt down in an act of arson by slaves. The Lodge was also the site of the first school for slave children in the Cape.
- *Slave Tree* – Around the corner in Spin Street was the site of the old Slave Tree where slave auctions took place just across the way from where a hippopotamus pool was located. Today the square holds the slave monument which is claimed to be the site of the Slave Tree.
- *Gallows Hill* – Gallows Hill is located where the Traffic Department is today situated. It was another place of execution and the slave graveyard is partially underneath the Traffic Department site. On cemetery maps it is shown as the ‘place of burial of slaves and heathens’. Gallows Hill was the place during the 17th and 18th century where the most barbaric executions of slaves took place, including hangings, crucifixions, impalement and dismemberment. From this point through to Buitengracht Street (where the Prestwich Ossuary is situated) was a series of graveyards of various religious denominations. This part of the city is known to some as the City of the Dead. Prestwich Street was also a place where the remains of persons identified as slaves were found. These remains are now interred at the Ossuary.
- *The Company Gardens* – The Company (VOC) Gardens and the site of Parliament is the site of the first plantation worked by Company Slaves. The VOC was the largest slave-owner at the Cape, owning up to 1,000 slaves at the peak of its power. An old Slave Bell memorial still stands in the VOC Company Gardens.
- *Parliament Street, Home of Freed Slave Armosyn Van Der Kaap* – Parliament Street in the grounds of Parliament was the site of the home of freed Slave Armosyn van der Kaap who during the time of her slavery was matron at the Slave Lodge. Her will shows her to have left part of the wealth that she earned as a free woman to be given to the poor in Cape Town. She thus stands out as the first black philanthropist of Cape Town.
- *Slave Church* – The Slave Church is situated at 40 Long Street and noted for being the first place of worship for slaves and Free Blacks but also a meeting place of the anti-slavery abolitionist movement.
- *Camps Bay, Farm of Freed Slave Swart Maria Evert* – The first founding farm of Camps Bay was established and owned by Swart Maria Evert, the free slave daughter of Anne and Evert of Guinea, two freed West African slaves who ran a successful smallholding in

the City Bowl. (The City Bowl address can be found in the records.) Swart Maria Evert died in the smallpox epidemic of 1713 as one of the richest women in Cape Town after rising above slavery.

- *Leeuwenhof Driekoppen (now Kopano Residence, University of Cape Town)* – There are a number of farms in Cape Town associated with slavery and slave struggles, and they have old slave lodge quarters on them. Leeuwenhof is one of these. But there are many others across the Southern Suburbs. A famous one was on the site of Kopano Residence at UCT where there was a violent slave revolt. Three slaves were beheaded and their heads placed on pikes. Thereafter it was called Driekoppen and later Kopano. Stellenberg House in Tellenberg Avenue, Kenilworth was owned by free slave Christina van Canarie and her freed slave husband Jacobus Hendrikz. Groot Constantia, after Simon van der Stel died, was owned by freed slave Anna de Koningh (daughter of Angela of Bengal) and de Hoop op Constantia by the grandson of Swart Maria Evert Johannes Colyn. Kronendal Main Road in Hout Bay was owned by one of the earliest freed slaves, Angela of Benhal (Maai Ansiela). There are many such sites which are often on tourism maps marked only as having European history and heritage.
- *Camps Bay Beach, Burial Site of washed up slaves* – Camps Bay beach is the site of burial of 200 washed up slaves who perished in the sinking of the San Jose in 1794 nearby off Oudekraal. The ship was carrying over 500 slaves.
- *Salt River Circle* – Salt River Road (perhaps the Circle) is the site where Lord Caledon's Dragoon forces halted the columns of revolting slaves (around 326) in 1808 who were marching in an uprising that was planned in Cape Town and started in the Swartland. The slave leaders were hanged. This uprising of slaves was led by Louis of Mauritius.
- *Strand Street* – A tavern in the vicinity of Strand Street was the place where Louis and the other slave uprising leaders met to plan the uprising. Strand Street also marks the original waterfront or first street area alongside the beach of Cape Town (most of the other land going towards the docks is landfill reclaimed from the sea. Strand Street thus marks the place of arrival by ship of many of the slaves.
- *Simonstown and Kalk Bay sites* – Simonstown and Kalk Bay both have slave sites and sites associated with the West African Kroomen, many of whom have graves in the old cemetery which are clearly marked. Kalk Bay is also the place of settlement of the Manillas who were refugees from the Philippine Revolution.
- *Old Slave Church in Paarl* – There is an old slave church (1737) in Paarl and the grave of the slaves Manissa and Christiana in Goeverwaght near Piketberg which has a great story linked to it. There are slave quarters in Worcester and Stellenbosch and sites of the first Free Black farmers in Franschhoek and the slave bell monument in Pniel. There are many of these sites dotted across the Western Cape. On the Cape Peninsula there are the Kramats, each of which has an amazing story behind it, including resistance stories against the Dutch in Indonesia.
- *Hangklip Cave* – The cave and mountain at Hangklip along the Kogelberg coastline was the place of escape for run-away slaves who set up a free maroon community. The name

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the Western Cape

maroons or drosters was given to run-away slaves. Robert Ross captures the story of this community in his *Cape of Torments*.

- *Silvermine* – Silvermine (OuKaapseweg) is the site of a silver mine worked by slaves between 1675 and 1685.
- *Mission Stations* – There are a number of important mission stations associated with both the slaves and the Khoena (Khoi). Among these are Genadendal, Elim, Goeverwacht, Mamre, and Pacaltsdorp.
- *St Phillips Church, Freed Slave Lydia Williams* – In District Six, Cape Town/Woodstock there is St Philips Church which is associated with the freed slave Lydia Williams.
- *Tana Baru ('New Ground' in Bahasa Malayu) Cemetery* – The Muslim burial ground on the slopes of Signal Hill in Bokaap. It is here that the pioneers of Islam in South Africa lie buried.
- *Massavana and Koesaaij of Madagascar and the Meermin slave mutineers*.
- *Sheik Yusuf of Macassar, 1694* – An important figure in the resistance movement against Dutch colonialism who was imprisoned and exiled to the Cape.
- *Abdullah ibn Kadi [Qadri] Abdus Salaam [Tuan Guru], 1766*.
- *Louis of Mauritius, 1808* – He led the first slave rebellion in the country. Louis was joined by two Irishmen, James Hooper and Michael Kelly, and four other slaves: Jephta of Batavia, Abraham, Adonis and an Indian slave. He led a march of over 300 from the farm Vogelgezang to Salt River where, confronted by the might of the colonial detachments, they surrendered. He was hanged together with the other leaders of the uprising.
- *Galant of the Cape, 1825* – He led the second of only two slave rebellions in the country on the farm Houdenbek at the foot of the Koue Bokkeveld Mountains. He too was hanged for his role in this uprising.

From armed resistance to protests and deputations

The late 19th and early 20th centuries marked a new chapter in the history of resistance to colonial occupation. It was a period of petitions, deputations and other forms of appeal to reason to the white establishment both internally and in the colonial headquarters in Britain. The organisation that took the lead in these activities in the Western Cape during this period was the African Political Organisation (APO). The APO was formed in 1902, eight years before the establishment of the Union of South Africa and a decade before the formation of the South African Native National Congress (later the ANC). The APO emphasized achieving unity amongst coloureds, promoting education, opposing 'class legislation' (i.e. discriminatory colour legislation) and defending the social, political and economic rights of coloureds. The APO focused its attention on the franchise question, and with it, the issue of education as a means to qualifying for the vote. It called for a qualified franchise for all men, regardless of colour. It nonetheless styled itself as 'an organisation of the coloured people only' with responsibility for 'the rights and duties of the coloured

people . . . as distinguished from the native races'.²⁰ In the decade before the establishment of the ANC, the APO had a membership of 20,000 in some hundred branches, effectively dwarfing the ANC until the 1940s.

The APO believed that a strategy of pragmatism and incremental improvement of the coloured community's socio-economic condition would break down white prejudice and eventually win blacks social acceptance and full political equality with whites. Coloureds would gain 'full political freedom and privileges' by bettering themselves, improving their education, modes of living and environment, become proficient in their jobs, and build up an honourable reputation as subjects of the British King.²¹ The APO later sent a delegation to London to lobby opposition to the draft South Africa Act for the establishment of a union. Western Cape leaders such as Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman begin to play a prominent role in liberation struggle history from this period on.²²

Dr Abdurahman was a medical doctor, Muslim community leader and president of the APO. He was born on 12 December 1872 in Wellington, Cape. His paternal grandfather, Abdul Jamalee, had been a slave who managed to purchase his own freedom and thereafter that of his wife, Betsy. Jamalee was a thriving greengrocer who by 1862 had assets of over £5 000.0.0d [five thousand pounds sterling]. Abdul Jamalee sent his son, Abdurahman, to study Islam abroad; he spent four years in Makkah and subsequently a few years in Cairo at the famous Al-Azhar University. Abdurahman in turn sent his son, 'Abdullah, to Scotland, to study medicine.

Abdullah Abdurahman attended the Marist Brothers College where he completed his secondary education, after which he was admitted to the South African College [now the University of Cape Town]. Soon thereafter Abdullah was admitted to Glasgow University in Scotland where he took his medical degree [MBCM] in 1893. In Scotland, Abdullah Abdurahman married Helen, daughter of John Cummings James, a solicitor of Glasgow. Dr Abdurahman became the first black person to be elected to the Cape Town City Council in 1904. During this time he lived and practiced medicine in District Six. He served as a Councillor until 1910. After the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, Dr. Abdurahman served for twenty-five years as a member of the Cape Provincial Council, until his death in 1940.

²⁰ G. Lewis, *Between the wire and the wall: A history of the South African Coloured Politics*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1987, 57. Among the early organisations formed in the Cape were the Native Education Association, which was formed in 1882 and protested against the pass laws two years later; and the Native Electoral Association, founded in 1884 to organise the Cape African vote. Refer to G. Carter, 152.

²¹ M. Adhikari, 'Coloured Identity and the Politics of Coloured Education: The Origin of the Teachers' League of South Africa', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 1994, 107.

²² www.sahistory.org.za.

Until the 1930s with the emergence of a more radical political organisation by the name of the National Liberation League, the APO and Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman dominated the landscape of black political opposition in the Western Cape. His daughter, Cissie Gool, was to play a prominent role in the politics of this region. Dr. Abdurahman's life and times were dominated by the struggle to prevent the erosion of the limited civil rights of black people at the time. He was influenced by the Cape liberal tradition and his own political philosophy centred on the belief that all citizens were equal in the eyes of the law, that the franchise should be colour-blind and that the state should ensure that all equally enjoyed civil liberties. At the time the colony still enjoyed some semblance of what was called 'equal rights for all civilised men'.²³

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

- *Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman* – Abdurahman, who was born in Wellington on 12 December 1872 and graduated as a medical doctor from the University of Glasgow in 1893, entered public life in 1904 when he became the first black person to be elected to the Cape Town City Council. Abdurahman retained a seat on the council until his death in 1940. It was as president of the APO that Abdurahman made his most important political contribution. The APO, the first substantive coloured political organisation, was founded in Cape Town in 1902 as segregation intensified at the turn of the century and forced coloured people to mobilise politically. Abdurahman joined the APO in 1903 and was persuaded by general secretary Matt Fredericks to be elected president in 1905 to prevent the fledgling organisation from being torn asunder by feuding political factions. Not only did Abdurahman unite the APO but he completely dominated the organisation for the thirty five years of his presidency. Under his leadership the APO grew into a body of several thousand members with a national network of over a hundred branches by 1910, making it the country's largest black political organisation of the day. For the next three decades the APO remained by far the most important coloured communal organisation, dominating coloured protest politics and co-ordinating wide-ranging efforts for the socio-economic upliftment of the coloured community. Organisations such as the South African Coloured Union formed in 1913, the United Afrikaner League founded in 1919 and the African National Bond established in 1925, all created with the express intention of challenging Abdurahman's influence with the coloured electorate, were ephemeral and drew little support. In 1914 Abdurahman became the first coloured person to be elected to the Cape Provincial Council, another seat he retained for the duration of his life. On the provincial council he sought in particular to influence policy on issues of health and education. Although an articulate advocate of coloured interests, Abdurahman's influence on this council was muted because coloured people formed a

²³ www.sahistory.org.za.

relatively small part of the electorate. It was only in the late 1930s with the emergence of a radical political movement in the shape of the National Liberation League that this dominance was challenged and it was only after Abdurahman's death that the APO was finally eclipsed. The basic principles of his political philosophy were that all citizens be equal in the eyes of the law, that the franchise be colour-blind and that the state ensure equal enjoyment of civil liberties. Abdurahman's credo is summed up in the oft-repeated sentiment that 'it is not race or colour but civilisation which is the test of man's capacity for political rights.' A great deal of Abdurahman's effort was expended on a futile struggle to stem the erosion of coloured civil rights. In 1906 and 1910 he played leading roles in delegations that unsuccessfully petitioned the British government to veto the denial of coloured franchise rights. In the 1920s and 1930s he led a rearguard action against state initiatives that undermined the economic and political status of coloured people, most notoriously the Pact Government's Civilised Labour Policy. While he had little success in arresting the tide of segregation, Abdurahman did bequeath an enduring legacy in the field of education. In 1913 he initiated the establishment of the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA), the first coloured teachers' association, which still exists today. The TLSA played a key role in mobilising the coloured teaching profession behind the drive to reform coloured education. Abdurahman also took the lead in establishing Trafalgar High School in 1911, the first institution in the country to offer secondary education to coloured students. He was also behind the founding in 1934 of Livingstone High School, only the second such school in Cape Town. Abdurahman, in addition, spearheaded the movement to set up primary schools to provide secular education for Muslim children. The Rahmaniyyeh Institute, founded in 1913, was the first of fifteen such schools established by the mid-1940s. Given the ineluctable racial divisions of South African society, Abdurahman's main efforts were of necessity directed at the advancement of the coloured community. As early as 1907 he recognised the need for black unity in the fight against white supremacy. He thus supported all attempts at inter-ethnic cooperation, often against the wishes of supporters. Abdurahman's thinking was well ahead of its time in this respect. It is thus not surprising that between 1927 and 1934 he convened a series of four Non-European Conferences of black political organisations jointly with D. D. T. Jabavu to formulate a co-ordinated black response to segregation. Although he was unable to turn this loose coalition into a permanent body because of organisational rivalries and personal jealousies, it is nevertheless significant as the first initiative at forming a united black political front. In the latter half of the 1920s Abdurahman also became involved in the politics of the South African Indian community. Though not an Indian himself, such was his reputation that in 1925 he was asked by the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) to lead a delegation to request that the Indian government intervene in the anti-Asiatic legislation about to be tabled by the Union government. This move was partly responsible for a series of round-table conferences between the two governments over the next two years and also the position of Indians in South Africa improving until the 1930s. As the struggle against

white supremacy within the coloured community intensified from the late 1930s onwards and as the centre of gravity of extra-parliamentary opposition shifted to the left, Abdullah Abdurahman and other moderate political leaders suffered increasing criticism for their adherence to liberal values and the ineffectiveness of their methods in the face of an intransigent ruling minority. Whatever their shortcomings, it needs to be recognised that people such as Dr. Abdurahman were pioneers in the fight against racial oppression and that their struggle was in many senses a necessary antecedent to later, more effective forms of resistance. In the four decades before his death on 20 February 1940, Abdurahman was far and away the most influential and popular political leader within the coloured community.²⁴

- *Alfred Mangena* – Alfred Mangena was born in 1879 in Escort, Natal. With a basic primary education he continued to study privately while living in Cape Town. Mangena completed his education in England where he studied law at Lincoln's Inn. He was called to the Bar in 1909 and in 1910 he returned home to South Africa. Mangena became the first African in South Africa to qualify as an attorney. In Cape Town, Mangena lived in Ndabeni Township and soon got involved in community struggles and became a leader of some of the early protests in this part of the country. In 1899 there were several thousand Africans living and working in the city in Cape Town. The white community of this city reacted by calling upon the government to act against this 'kaffir invasion'. At the time it was generally very difficult for Africans to get accommodation as white property owners would not rent out houses or rooms to them. The exceptions were District Six and Woodstock. Thus, most Africans working in Cape Town were left with no option but to build 'their own shacks on vacant pieces of ground or to live in caves or under bushes on the slopes of Table Mountain'.²⁵ And so it was in this context that, following the proposal of Francis Thompson, a so-called native expert, the government decided to 'enclose five and fifty or sixty acres of its land near Maitland with a fence 10 feet high, barbed wire, and, forcing all natives within that area, sound the curfew bell at eight o'clock, arresting under a Pass Law every native out and abroad after the bell...'. In 1900 the Stanford Commission, headed by Native Affairs Department official Walter Stanford, recommended that a state farm near Maitland called Uitvlugt be set up as an African township. In 1901 the city authorities used the outbreak of the bubonic plague as an excuse to move 500 Africans under the city's health regulations from District Six to Uitvlugt. And by March of that year, and using the same health regulations, about 5,000 people had been moved to what was later to be known as Ndabeni. The living conditions at Uitvlugt were described as 'five large dormitories, each housing 500 men; 615 corrugated iron lean-tos, measuring approximately 6 meter by 4 meter and housing seven or more people; and a smaller number of tents'.²⁶ There was strict control over movement of people in and out of the location, and among the restrictions 'no strangers

²⁴ www.sahistory.org.za.

²⁵ Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa: The Real Story, 1992, 314.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 314.

were allowed to stay longer than 24 hours; liquor was banned; women visitors were not allowed to stay overnight; and new arrivals had to present themselves to the superintendent, who would provide them with an identity card and a place to live.²⁷ The initial response of Africans to being moved was divided. Most hoped the rentals in the new location would be cheap and they would be able to buy land. However, there were those who were opposed to removals from the beginning, and even when they eventually moved began to organise against the living conditions in Uitvlugt. They were led by Alfred Mangena and soon embarked on 'a highly successful rent boycott',²⁸ so much so that by January 1902 the Department of Native Affairs' estimation of unpaid rent was at 12,000 pounds. At first the department responded by reducing the rent from 10 to 8 shillings a month. And when this did not break the boycott, the department introduced metal tokens issued to those who paid rent and ordered the arrest of anyone who did not possess a metal token. There is a story of a certain Arthur Radas, a 'well-known agitator', according to the government at the time. Radas was arrested for not paying rent and brought before the court. He took his case to the Appeal Court, arguing that 'he had refused to pay rent because he was forced against his will to live in the location'.²⁹ He won his case on a technicality. It was only through Act 40 of 1902 that the 'native location' at Uitvlugt was legalised as a 'native reserve location' and renamed Ndabeni. Thus, Ndabeni wrote its own chapter, however limited, in the annals of resistance in South Africa and among outstanding individuals is a certain 'well-known agitator' by the name of Arthur Radas, and an aspirant lawyer who was to later become a founding member of the South African Native National Congress by the name of Alfred Mangena.

- *Zonnebloem College, 1858* – The first deed of the estate on which the school stands was issued in 1704. It was one of three farms situated on the slopes of Devil's Peak – Zonnebloem (The Sunflower), Lilliebloem (The Lillyflower), and Rhodibloem (The Redflower). The manor house on Zonnebloem Estate was built around 1740. It is one of the original Dutch H-shaped gable houses in the country and as such is an historical building. The estate was a wine farm and the building which houses the college chapel was a wine store in the early days. The captain of the Garrison of the Castle once lived on the estate. At one time it was also the home of the port captain of the Cape Town harbour. It was also owned by a slave-trader by the name of Mr. Tennant who, when slavery was abolished, lost all his property and went bankrupt and was forced to sell the estate. It is after him that a street was later named in District Six. The church acquired the farm in 1860. In about the 1850s the conflict in the Eastern Cape between the indigenous people and the British colonial settlers was reaching a crisis point. The AmaXhosa and their independent economies had been weakened by the cattle killing incident inspired by the prophecies of Nongqawuse. Bishop Robert Gray was

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 314-5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 315.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 315.

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the Western Cape

consecrated the new bishop of the Anglican Church in 1847 and arrived in the Cape early in 1848. At the time the governor of the Cape colony was Sir George Grey. They conferred about establishing an educational institution for the sons and daughters of the paramount chiefs to give them a Christian education on the understanding that when they become the rulers of their communities they would be well-disposed towards the white settlers. And so Zonnebloem College was established. With a weakened economy the AmaXhosa had capitulated to the British and the chiefs had no choice but to send their sons and daughters to be educated at Zonnebloem. However, there was also a recognition on the part of the chiefs that the struggle against the British colonial government now required education in the ways of the British including their laws and systems of administration. The school opened its doors on the 11 March 1858. It was initially situated on the outhouses of the Bishop's house on the slopes of Table Mountain in Claremont. This was the original farm called Protea. The sons and daughters of chiefs came not only from the Eastern Cape but also from all over southern Africa. In 1860 the church bought the Zonnebloem farm for 6,000 pounds. The school moved here and has been at this estate ever since. The curriculum was geared toward trade education and the boys were taught carpentry, metalwork, woodwork and printing. And the girls were taught dressmaking and needlework. All learnt the basics of arithmetic and reading and writing as well as the study of the Bible. One of the first printing presses in the Cape colony was at Zonnebloem, followed by Lovedale, Alice, in the Eastern Cape. So in many ways Zonnebloem College represents the beginnings of a new phase of struggle of the African people in South Africa (and southern Africa); of recognising the key role of education in their struggle to adapt to and change their conditions under settler colonialism following their military defeat and land dispossession.³⁰

³⁰ This is based on an interview with John Ramsdale, conducted by the writer at Zonnebloem College, Wednesday 14 August 2013. Ramsdale is arguably a living historical and institutional possessor of memory of the Zonnebloem Estate.

Chapter 6

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the Eastern Cape, 1702-1910

Introduction

In the Eastern Cape, contact between the white settlers and the indigenous Khoi, San and isiXhosa prompted another wave of wars of resistance from the late 18th century. The very first phase of resistance, known as the Wars of Dispossession or the Hundred Years War (1779-1880), was led by African traditional leaders and is demarcated in terms of Nine Frontier Wars. This terminology excludes Khoisan resistance, as well as the later wars fought by the Thembu, the Mpondomise and the Sotho, which are usually referred to as 'rebellions.' Traditional leaders such as Koerikei ('bullet-dodger') of the Oeswana San and Makoai of the Matatiele Sotho count as unsung heroes, along with better-known Xhosa traditional leaders, such as Maqoma, Sandile, Hintsa and Mhlontlo.

San and Khoikhoi Resistance

Following the subjugation of the Khoi around what is present day Cape Town, the Dutch community increasingly settled in the interior of the region in search of land and labour. Various reasons have been given for the emergence of the 'trekboer' – or 'semi-nomadic colonial pastoralists' – including the traditional view that the backward nature of the Cape economy in the 19th century – based on a combination of mercantilism, monopolistic restrictions, over-production, corruption and a limited market – forced many colonialists to move into the interior. The process was also encouraged by the colonial authorities in 1700 when they granted farms and issued grazing licences to free burghers beyond the Berg River.¹

The area of the Tulbagh Basin became the site of the first wave of resistance by the Khoikhoi to settler intrusion in the 18th century. A group of San living in the Obiqua Mountains attacked a farm in April 1701 and stole 40 cattle. This was followed by another attack a month later on the Dutch East India Company's post near Twenty-Four Rivers. A commando was sent out with instructions to arrest the offenders and kill those who resisted. Thus began a process that initially resulted in people being shot in the tens and twenties, and eventually in the hundreds, in reprisal raids.²

¹ N. Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonists and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern Frontier in the 18th century*, Athens, Ohio, Ohio University Press, 2005, 30.

² A. Mountain, *The First People of the Cape*, Claremont, David Philip, 2003, 28.

The situation was exacerbated by a series of raids on settler farms carried out by Khoisan groups in the months that followed the initial raids. On 7 October a group of 300 Khoisan attacked a farm and took off with over 200 cattle. Two weeks later in another attack 40 cattle were driven off by the Khoisan. The pattern of raids, cattle being driven off and reprisals, interrupted by brief periods of 'peace', characterised the region for the first half of the decade. Meanwhile, the settler community was increasingly moving into the interior – displacing Khoisan communities along the way.

One of the leaders of the San people who played a prominent role in events in the 1770s was Koerikoei. He allegedly questioned the encroachment of the settlers on land used by the San and threatened to resist instead of being forced to move. This warning was ignored, and the trekkers moved further into the interior, with many moving into what is present day Cradock in the Eastern Cape.³ By 1774 relations between the Khoisan and the settlers had become so antagonistic that the Dutch East India Company appointed a commando in that year to capture and kill as many Khoisan as possible. About 503 San were killed and 239 captured in the first of several large-scale operations carried out by the commando that eventually led to the virtual annihilation of the San people in the south-western Cape. In the last decade of Dutch rule between 1786 and 1795, 2,504 San were killed and 669 taken prisoner.⁴

According to Mohamed Adhikari,⁵ the Dutch commandos became increasingly exterminatory in intent after the June 5, 1777, VOC Council of Policy that sanctioned the eradication of the San. Commandos were permitted to hunt the San with impunity and they consequently destroyed entire bands. They put San men to death on the spot and took San women and children captive as farm labourers. Adhikari argues that the assimilation of these captives also contributed to the genocidal process as those taken captive were effaced of their San identities. This was a process that the British accelerated when they took power in 1795, which they did through a process designed 'to acculturate the San to colonial society'.⁶

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

³ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵ M. Adhikari, *The Anatomy of a South African Genocide: The extermination of the Cape San peoples*, Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 2010.

⁶ J.E. Kelly, H-Net Review Article of M. Adhikari, *The Anatomy of a South African Genocide: The extermination of the Cape San peoples*. Available at www.h-net.org.

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the Eastern Cape

- *San and Khoikhoi Genocide Memorial at Graaff-Reinet* – The little-known memorial stands on a hill outside Graaff-Reinet. It was constructed as a reminder of the genocide of the Khoikhoi and San peoples in the Eastern Cape in the period 1702-1809. The memorial was originally erected as an initiative of the Eastern Cape Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture. It is now being upgraded and enlarged by the national government.
- *The Grave of Sarah Baartman* – Sarah Baartman came to symbolise the fate of indigenous women under colonialism.
- *Koerikoei ('Bullet-dodger')* – The last chief of the Oeswana San of the Sneeuwberg who were wiped out by Adriaan Van Jaarsveld in 1774.
- *Kogelbeen* of Tarkastad.
- *Vrolijk* – The last chief of the Molteno San who was buried alive with all his people in the 1880s.

Xhosa Wars of Dispossession

1799-1803 War

In 1779, allegations of cattle theft by Xhosas forced the trekboers to abandon their farms along the Bushmans River, and in December 1779 an armed clash between Boers and Xhosas ensued, apparently sparked by irregularities committed against the Xhosa by certain white frontiersmen. In October 1780 the Government appointed Adriaan van Jaarsveld to be field commandant of the whole eastern frontier. A commando led by him captured a very large number of cattle from the Xhosa and claimed to have driven all of them out of the Zuurveld by July 1781.

This led to considerable bitterness among the eastern frontiersmen, particularly since war among the Xhosas in 1790 increased Xhosa penetration into the Zuurveld, and friction mounted. In 1793 a large-scale war was precipitated when some frontiersmen under Barend Lindeque decided to join Ndlambe, the regent of the Western Xhosas, in his war against the Gunukwebe clans who had penetrated into the Zuurveld. But panic and desertion of farms followed Ndlambe's invasion, and after he left the Colony his enemies remained in the Zuurveld.

The failure of two Government commandos under the landdrosts of Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam to clear the Zuurveld of the Xhosa eventually led to peace in 1793. Although the northern part of the Zuurveld was re-occupied by Boer farmers by 1798, many Xhosa clans remained in the southern Zuurveld area, some even penetrating into Swellendam. The Government found it impossible to persuade the Xhosa clans in the Colony to go back across

the Fish River. Stock theft and employment of Xhosa servants increased tensions, and in January 1799 a second rebellion occurred in Graaff-Reinet.

A second rebellion occurred in Graaff-Reinet necessitating the Third Frontier War. In March of the same year, the British colonial authorities sent British soldiers to crush the Graaff-Reinet revolt. No sooner was this done (April 1799) than some discontented Khoikhoi revolted, joined with the Xhosa in the Zuurveld and began attacking white farms, reaching as far as Oudtshoorn by July 1799. Commandos from Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam were mustered, and a string of clashes ensued. In 1801, another Graaff-Reinet rebellion began, forcing further Khoi desertions. Farms were abandoned en masse, and the Khoi bands under Klaas Stuurman, Hans Trompetter and Boesak carried out widespread raids. Although several commandos took the field, including a Swellendam commando under Comdt Tjaart van der Walt, who was killed in action in June 1802, they achieved no permanent result. Even a 'great commando' assembled from Graaff-Reinet, Swellendam and Stellenbosch could not make any real headway.

In February 1803, just before the British government handed over the Cape Administration to the Batavian Republic, an inconclusive peace was arranged. The Batavian authorities propitiated the resentment of the eastern-frontier Khoi-Khoi but could not persuade the Xhosas to leave the Zuurveld.⁷

The 1811-12 War

During the 1811-12 war the British set out to expel the Xhosa from their lands west of the Fish River. The Gqunukhwebe chief Chungwa was shot dead as he lay ill and infirm. The Ndlambe and other Xhosa gave way before the British and, perhaps thinking that after hostilities they would be able to return, moved across the Fish River. In two months, some 20,000 Xhosa were expelled from the Zuurveld.⁸ The Cradock-Graham war of 1811-12 led to the establishment of a large number of fortifications in the Eastern Cape. Having adopted a military strategy to expel the Xhosa from their land in the Zuurveld, the only way to prevent them, at least initially, returning was to maintain a military solution of establishing several lines of fortifications. Trompetter's Drift Post and Committee's Drift Post represent the period of military confrontation that was initiated by the expulsion of the Xhosa from the Zuurveld in the 1811-12 war, and symbolise attempts to enforce the Fish River as a rigid boundary separating people.

The 1819 War

⁷ www.sahistory.org.za.

⁸ J. Milton, *Edges of War: A History of Frontier Wars (1702-1878)*, Cape Town, Juta, 1983, pp. 62-63.

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the Eastern Cape

On 22 April 1819, a Xhosa army of several thousand led by the warrior-prophet Makhanda (or Nxele) attacked the British base at Grahamstown, and were driven back with great loss of life. It is said that so much blood was spilt on that day that it created the furrow between the white and African residential areas of Grahamstown, now known as Egazini (the place of blood). Following the war, during which the British forces had assisted Ngqika to re-establish his authority, Somerset informed Ngqika that the land between the Fish and the Keiskamma rivers was being taken over as the Ceded or Neutral Territory.

Hintsas's War (1834-35)

Hintsas, the Xhosa king, entered the British camp near Butterworth to negotiate peace on 29 April 1835, having received assurances of his personal safety. Instead, he was held hostage against the delivery of 50,000 cattle. Searching for these cattle along the Nqabarha River, Hintsas tried to get away but was shot several times, apparently in cold blood. His body has disappeared, and it is commonly believed that his head was taken to Britain.

War of the Axe (1846-47)

The first battle in the War of the Axe was the Battle of Burnshill (1846), which was a significant victory for the Xhosa. In the tension prior to the outbreak of the 1846-47 war, the British decided to launch a pre-emptive strike against Sandile's great place near the Burnshill mission. They despatched a large column to try to snatch Sandile, but were attacked at Burnshill and heavily defeated. As the remnants of the column fortified themselves in a camp at Lovedale mission, the Xhosa took the war into the Colony. Farms and homesteads in the Colony were looted and torched, with refugees streaming into Grahamstown.

One of the factors contributing to the outbreak of the War of the Axe was British encroachment on Xhosa land. Royal Engineers looking to build a new fortification in the area crossed the Tyhume River boundary and began surveying for a fort on the flat land of what is now the University of Fort Hare. They were forced to withdraw, but this provocative action was one of the contributing factors to the outbreak of hostilities. During the war the fort was completed and named Fort Hare. It played a prominent part in the War of Mlanjeni and was attacked by the Xhosa in 1851.

Battle of Gwangqa: The Xhosa, who until then had been successfully fighting a guerrilla war against the British and had won a number of significant victories at Burnshill, were caught in the open at the Gwangqa River near Peddie. Estimates of the number of Xhosa killed range from 170 to 300.

War of Mlanjeni (1850-53)

In January 1851, whites in the area gathered at Fort Armstrong for safety, but rebel Khoikhoi succeeded in taking over the fort and the whites were allowed to leave. For a time the fort became the headquarters of the rebels under Uithaalder. A strong force of British troops was sent to capture this symbol of the rebellion, and Fort Armstrong was captured with considerable brutality. For three years during the war of Mlanjeni the Xhosa and Khoikhoi under the leadership of Maqoma fought a bitter guerrilla war against the British and colonial forces.⁹

War of Ngcayechibi (1877-78)

Battle of Gwadana: The war between the Colony and the Gcaleka opened with a humiliating defeat for the Colony. On 26 September 1877, a colonial patrol on the way between Bika and Dutywa came across Gcaleka raiding Mfengu homesteads at Gwadana. Intervening in support of the Mfengu, the colonial patrol was forced to retreat after the gun carriage of their artillery piece broke.

Battle of Bika: The Gcaleka were emboldened by this impromptu victory and adopted different tactics to those successfully used by the Xhosa in previous wars. Instead of fighting a guerrilla war they adopted the approach of large-scale massed attacks on fortified or defended positions. On 29 and 30 September 1877, the Gcaleka launched a massed attack on the fortified position at Bika over two consecutive days. British artillery, rockets and rifle fire wreaked havoc and the Gcaleka suffered a resounding defeat.

Battle of Centane: After war between the Gcaleka and the colonial forces erupted in Transkei, Sandile's Ngqika took up a strong position in the Tyityaba valley, forced the colonials to abandon Fort Warwick and drove them back to Komga. The Gcaleka and Ngqika armies converged on the colonial position at Centane Hill. The Gcaleka again launched a full frontal attack on the fortifications, the same mistake they had made at Bika, and with the same disastrous results. 260 Xhosa bodies were counted on the battlefield. The British forces rushed out in pursuit. The British retired to the fort, and the Ngqika, rather than risking an assault, retired to their natural fortresses in the Amathole Mountains.

The war then shifted to the Amathole mountains from which the Ngqika waged guerrilla warfare against the British in 1877 and 1878. Intensive fighting took place in the mountains and forests from near Burnshill through to near Stutterheim. The British found it difficult to dislodge the Xhosa from the valleys and mountains and eventually resorted to sending captured Xhosa women to Cape Town as forced labour. This, combined with the systematic

⁹ Refer to E. Elbourne, "'Race', warfare, and religion in mid nineteenth-century Southern Africa: The Khoikhoi rebellion against the Cape Colony and its uses, 1850-58", *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2000, 17-42.

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the Eastern Cape

destruction of livestock, forced the Xhosa into submission. Resistance collapsed when Sandile was killed in the forests at the headwaters of the Buffalo River and Seyolo was killed in the Fish River bush.¹⁰

Gungubele's War, 1878

The amaTshatshu branch of the abaThembu of Hewu (Whittlesea) had their lands confiscated and their chiefdom abolished in 1852 by Governor Cathcart to make space for the new colonial farming district of Queenstown. Chief Gungubele's attempts to repurchase his father's land failed when he was unable to keep up the payments. Although the Thembu were not initially involved in the War of Ngcayechibi, Gungubele joined in. He was captured, together with his cousin Mfanta, and served a sentence on Robben Island.

The Sotho Gun War, and the Mpondomise and Thembuland Rebellions (1880-1)

Makwayi, an uncle of King Moshoeshoe, settled close to Matatiele after losing his land in the 1866 war between Lesotho and the Orange Free State. Matatiele had long been regarded as part of the Sotho kingdom, and Makwayi took up arms when the Cape colonial army invaded Lesotho to enforce disarmament in October 1880. When war broke out with the Sotho, Hamilton Hope, the Qumbu magistrate, requested the assistance of Mhlontlo, the Mpondomise king. Mhlontlo said he could not fight because he had no weapons, and Hope agreed to bring him guns at Sulenkama, halfway between the Qumbu magistracy and Mhlontlo's Great Place at Qanqu. Mhlontlo, however, was determined to fight against the colonial forces, and Hope was killed shortly after his arrival in October 1880. Mhlontlo seized the town of Qumbu, and sent messages to all other African chiefs to join him, but very few arrived.

Ngqwarhu Hills (Snodgrass's Shop) Battle: Several Thembu chiefs, especially Dalasile of the amaQwathi, heeded Mhlontlo's call. Dalasile seized Ngcobo town and advanced in the direction of Queenstown. It is argued that 200 colonial soldiers encamped at Snodgrass's shop were defeated at the battle of Ngqwaru Hills on 14 November 1880.¹¹

Battle of Ndonga, near Askeaton: Chief Stokwe Ndlela of the amaQwathi attacked the town of Lady Frere, but fell back to Ndonga when the colonial forces arrived from Queenstown. He was fatally wounded, and it is not known exactly where he died.

¹⁰ C. Nienaber, M. Steyn and L. Hutter, 'The Grave of King Mgolombane Sandile Ngqika: Revisiting the Legend', *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 63, 187, 2008, 50.

¹¹ Chris Hani District Municipality, *Liberation Heritage Route* (Queenstown, Chris Hani DM, 2008), 50. See <http://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/corylibrary/documents/Icon%20Site%20Guide%20Electronic.pdf> (site accessed 13 June 2013).

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

- *Bethelsdorp Mission* – One of the significant sites which emerged from the 1799-1803 war was Bethelsdorp Mission. This early mission settlement was established for Khoikhoi people on the Cape's Eastern frontier in 1800 by the London Missionary Society. Several historic structures, including the Van der Kemp Memorial Church, alms houses, and David Livingstone Cottage, can be seen.
- *Ambush of Stockenstrom, Zuurberg* – In the 1811-12 war, Landdrost Anders Stockenstrom and 14 Boers were killed by imiDange whilst the British attempted to force amaXhosa out of the Zuurveld. The site is now in the grounds of the Zuurberg Inn. This incident, one of the few where a specific site can be linked to an incident from the war, also relates to an earlier frontier war. In attacking the Boers, Mdange warriors were seeking retribution for those who had been massacred by the 'tobacco trick' of a Boer commando in the first frontier war of 1781. In June 1781 Adriaan van Jaarsveld met with a large group of imiDange and, after scattering tobacco on the ground, ordered his commando to fire whilst imiDange scrambled to pick up the tobacco. About 200 imiDange were massacred.¹²
- *Trompetter's Drift Post and Committee's Drift Post* – During the 1811-12 war the British established several lines of fortifications, with a centrally-located depot for supplies and from which troops could be sent as reinforcements. Two lines of fortifications were established, with a few more scattered in the rear. Both Trompetter's Drift Post and Committee's Drift Post represent this period of military confrontation and symbolise attempts to enforce the Fish River as a rigid boundary, separating people.
- *The Egazini Memorial* – A memorial was constructed in 2001 in memory of the Xhosa warriors who fell during the Battle of Egazini in Grahamstown.
- *King Hintsa's Grave*
- *Battle of Burnshill Memorial*
- *Fort Hare, remains of fort and graves*
- *Battle of Gwangqa Memorial* – Near Peddie.
- *Fort Armstrong* – A large stone fortification consisting of high walls enclosing a number of buildings with a stone tower in one corner built in 1835. The fort became the headquarters of Khoikhoi rebels under Uithalder who had taken it over in January 1841. Except for the tower which remains as a physical reminder of the history of the Kat River rebellion, the fort was demolished.
- *Fort Fordyce and Waterkloof* – Fort Fordyce and the general area of the Waterkloof (Mtontsi) represent one of the most bitterly contested areas of the frontier wars. For three years during the war of Mlanjeni the Xhosa and Khoikhoi under the leadership of Maqoma fought a bitter guerrilla war against the British and colonial forces. The present Fort Fordyce is named after Colonel Thomas Fordyce who was killed there in November

¹² Milton, *The Edges of War*, 1983, 31.

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the Eastern Cape

1851; the British troops called it 'Mount Misery.' A large number of historical sites exist in the area, including the remains of a fort, graves, a military road and the cliffs and forests from which the Xhosa and Khoikhoi fought which are all located within a compact area. These sites provide a convenient platform for telling the story of the longest and bitterest of all the wars.

- *Post Retief* – This reasonably well preserved fortification is located at the foot of the Didima peak and guarded the entrance to the Blinkwater valley. It was established in 1836 on the orders of Sir Benjamin D'Urban and named after Piet Retief, the veldkornet in that part of the Colony. The remains of what is reputed to be his house are nearby. During the War of Mlanjeni the post became a refuge for the farmers who fled the surrounding areas in panic. Its location, although scenic, proved to be inadequate and it received considerable attention from rebel Kat River Khoikhoi who harassed the inhabitants of the fort. At one stage it was cut off for days from all supplies of food and water until it was relieved by a force of Mfengu and burghers.
- *Site of Theopolis Mission, near Port Alfred* – Site of the Khoisan Kat River rebellion during the Mlanjeni war.
- *Fort Murray* – When the land between the Keiskamma and the Kei was annexed in 1847 as the Crown Colony of British Kaffraria, Fort Murray, built in 1835, became the residence of Colonel John Maclean, its Chief Commissioner. From this fort, Maclean masterminded colonial operations during the War of Mlanjeni (1850-53) and the great Xhosa cattle-killing (1856-57). Nongqawuse, the cattle-killing prophetess, was confined and interrogated in Fort Murray before being taken to Cape Town.
- *Cattle Killing Mass Grave, King William's Town* – After the mass starvation that followed the Great Disappointment of February 1857, thousands of survivors made their way to King William's Town where provisions were made available by the colonial authorities. Unfortunately, they were compelled to sign up as migrant labourers before accessing that relief. Many died on the spot, and were buried in the old Edward Street Cemetery, where a memorial has been erected.
- *Battle of Gwadana Memorial*
- *Battle of Bika Memorial*
- *Battle of Centane Memorial*
- *Sandile's Grave, Isidenge*
- *Gungubele's War Memorial*
- *Moteri's Kop near Matatiele* – Scene of a failed negotiation between the chiefs and the colonial officials immediately before the outbreak of the Sotho Gun War.
- *Ngqwarhu Hills (Snodgrass's Shop) Battle Memorial* – After the abaThembu had seized Ngcobo town during the 1880 war, they advanced in the direction of Queenstown. Two hundred colonial soldiers of Kaffrarian Mounted Volunteers encamped at Snodgrass's shop under the command of Baron Van Linnsingen, one of the German military settlers of 1857. The Snodgrass's shop was used by the colonial forces to store arms in 1880. The shop still stands and was again utilised in the 1980s to store arms, but for a very

different purpose. The shop had passed into the hands of the Qongqo family, some of whom were APLA and others MK. Both armed formations used the place as a safe house during the armed struggle, doing their training exercises not far from the site of the former battle.

- *Battle of Ndonga Memorial* – Near Askeaton.
- *Grave of Ntsikana* – At Mhlangeni, eThwathwa, near Hertzog. Ntsikana – Saint Ntsikana to many Xhosa – was a most remarkable convert to Christianity. He was born of the Cira clan, a royal dynasty which had been overtaken by the Tshawes as Xhosa royalty. It is believed that as a young boy Ntsikana heard Van der Kemp when he preached to the Xhosa in the late eighteenth century. It is also likely that, either directly or indirectly, he was exposed to the preaching of the Rev. Joseph Williams. He appears to have been a man of restless and unresolved energies and a distinguished dancer and orator. His life took a dramatic turn when he had a vision in the entrance of his cattle kraal, which caused him to start preaching. He emerged in opposition to Nxele (Ndlambe's prophet) and became associated with Ngqika. Both Nxele and Ntsikana were, in their own ways, reconciling traditional Xhosa beliefs, Christian ideas and the state of affairs on the frontier. But their respective approaches were radically different. Ntsikana's message was one of submitting to God and using God as defence. Thus, essentially, the Xhosa should submit completely to the will of God in order to find peace and protection. He is said to have foreseen the defeat of Ngqika by Ndlambe at the battle of Amalinde in 1818. After this battle he spent much of his time preaching at home. He died in 1821, after having requested his family to bury him in the Christian manner. The original grave stone and memorial were vandalised in political protests around incorporation of Kat River area into Ciskei. The restored memorial was officially unveiled on 2 March 2002.

Organised political resistance in the Eastern Cape

The second phase of resistance was clearly signalled by the Xhosa defeat in the War of Ngcayechibi (1877-8), which ended with the death of King Sandile in the Hoho forests. This setback inspired Isaac Wauchope, the Christian poet, to urge his countrymen to throw away their obsolete old guns and use the weapons of the colonialists themselves. The mission-educated elite, personified by J.T. Jabavu, the editor of South Africa's first black newspaper, *Imvo Zabantsundu*, made full use of journalism, petitions, and the political weight they carried, as voters in the old Cape Parliament, to put forward the case of the oppressed. The emptiness of missionary promises and the hopelessness of polite tactics were mercilessly exposed by the formation of the white-ruled Union of South Africa in 1910. The Eastern Cape was also where the first African political organisation, *Imbumba yama Nyama* (Union of Africans), was formed in 1880. It articulated an African identity that transcended tribal identities. Some of the leading figures in its formation included clergymen such as Reverend Isaac Williams Wauchope, Philip William Momoti, Daniel Malgas and Peter Kawa.

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the Eastern Cape

The organisation had ten main objectives, including: to discuss and protect the rights of all Africans in South Africa with regard to legislation, land and education; to encourage Africans to become voters; to support the newspaper, *Isigidimi*; to watch the actions of the municipality; to encourage Africans to become eligible through education, discipline and civilisation for positions on the Town Council and Parliament; to encourage actions such as petitioning the authorities and using the press; and to overcome denominational and tribal divisions amongst Africans.¹³

In large part, these developments in the Eastern Cape were a result of the establishment of a number of mission stations that provided education to the emerging African elite, as well as the extension of the vote to some Africans in 1853.¹⁴ In the Cape Colony, a liberal tradition had produced a colour-blind franchise for all males who met certain educational and property requirements. Africans were barred from running for public office, but in some areas had become a significant enough electoral force by the 1890s to affect the outcome of white candidates' fortunes. In order to protect the few rights they had, the African elite in the Cape formed a number of locally-based organisations, which were often named 'Vigilance Associations'. In response to the discussions being held by the four British colonies about closer association, many local and regional associations came together to form the South African Native Congress under the leadership of the veteran Cape leader, Mpilo Walter Benson Rubusana.¹⁵

According to Heather Hughes, the African elite:

...played the vitally important role of connecting those below and above them, both socially and economically. Some were literal intermediaries such as court interpreters, working in the justice system to make understood the testimonies of the vulnerable and powerless, and interpreting the will of the state back to them; others were labour agents, recruiting workers for the mining industry, or clerics, mediating relationships between congregants and missionary bodies. Many chose to give evidence to government commissions, thereby speaking directly to government officials on behalf of broader constituencies.¹⁶

A review of the activities of some members of the African elite sheds light on the forms which political opposition took in the Eastern Cape at the time.

¹³ A. Odendaal, "'Even white boys call us "boy"!': Early black organisational politics in Port Elizabeth", *Kronos*, No. 20, November 1993, 5.

¹⁴ Refer here also to C.C. Saunders, 'The New African elite in the Eastern Cape and some late nineteenth century origins of African nationalism', unpublished paper, nd. Available at www.sas.ac.uk.

¹⁵ H. Hughes, 'Lives and Wives: Understanding African Nationalism in South Africa through a Biographical Approach', *History Compass*, Vol. 10 No. 8, 2012, 563.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 564.

Nathaniel Cyril Mhala, who studied at a Missionary Training College in Canterbury, England, became actively involved in bringing together the Cape vigilance associations in the late 1880s to oppose the Parliamentary Voters Registration Act of 1887. In 1897 he became editor of the East London based *Izwi Labantu* ('Voice of the People'), which became the organ of the South African Native Congress (SANC) formed in 1898. Mhala served as a vice-president of the SANC, and supported the Bloemfontein meeting of March 1909 which brought together Africans from the four colonies to oppose the South Africa Act.¹⁷

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

- *Grave and Memorial of S.E.K. Mqhayi* – S.E.K. Mqhayi is generally recognised as the greatest figure in isiXhosa literature, inspiring many, including the young Nelson Mandela.¹⁸ He was educated at Lovedale, but could not hold down a job because he refused to toe the missionary line. He eventually found a patron in Chief Silimela Makinana of the amaNdlambe, who provided him with a piece of land he called Ntab'ozuko. He died there in 1945, where a memorial was unveiled on 29 September 2011.
- *Grave of J.T. Jabavu* – John Tengo Jabavu, founder of the first independently-owned Black newspaper, *Imvo Zabanstundu*, and political leader in the late 19th century is buried in the King William's Town cemetery. From the time of his death to the centenary of the establishment of *Imvo* in 1984, the grave was without a tombstone. In 1984 the then owners of *Imvo* erected a tombstone without family involvement and changed his name to 'John Ntengo Jabavu'.
- *Healdtown* – Healdtown was founded in 1855 as a Methodist industrial school to rival the Presbyterian Lovedale. Many of the first literate African intellectuals were trained there, including J.T. Jabavu and Rev. Nehemiah Tile, the pioneer of the Ethiopian church. In later years, many prominent leaders, including Nelson Mandela and Raymond Mhlaba, schooled there before going on to complete their education at Fort Hare.
- *Lovedale* – Lovedale Mission was initially started on the Ncera River in 1824 by Rev. John Ross and Rev. John Bennie of the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS). It took the name of

¹⁷ D. Killingray, 'Significant Black South Africans in Britain before 1912: Pan-African Organisations and the Emergence of South Africa's First Black Lawyers', *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 3, 2012, 397-8. Refer also to L. Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society. The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa*, Madison, WI, Wisconsin University Press, 1993, 151-2; A. Odendaal, *Vukuni Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912*, Claremont, David Phillip, 1984, 41, 43 and 161; S. Trapido, 'White Conflict and Non-White Participation in the Politics of the Cape of Good Hope, 1853-1910', PhD. thesis, University of London, 1970, 302; P. Limb, *The ANC's Early Years: Nation, Class and Place in South Africa Before 1940*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010, 84-85 and 87; S.E.K. Mqhayi, *U So-Gqumahashe, Lovedale, Lovedale Press, 1921* (biography of Mhala in isiXhosa).

¹⁸ See N. Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, London, Abacus, 1994, Chapter 6.

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the Eastern Cape

'Lovedale' from Dr. J. Love, first chairman of the GMS. They built a church and school, but made little headway. In 1835, during the War of Hintsa, they abandoned the mission station which was burnt by Xhosa.¹⁹ After the war the GMS moved Lovedale to a site closer to Fort Thomson, to land offered them by Stretch, and possibly also because they saw the Mfengu as more likely to be amenable to their message. By the end of 1838, about 132 African children were attending school there. They then opened the first Presbyterian seminary to train African teachers and catechists. This expanded to an interdenominational seminary opened in 1841 with 11 black and 9 white students, and it became the first non-racial boarding school in Africa. Although it was a non-racial institution and students worked together in classes, black students were not treated equally to whites and, as one of the students noted, 'Racial prejudice nevertheless remained.'²⁰ Under the strong leadership of the Rev. Dr. James Stewart, Lovedale grew from strength to strength. It became one of the foremost educational institutions in southern Africa and made Alice famous across the continent. The publications of the Lovedale Press, not least *Isigidimi SamaXosa*, the *Christian Express* and *South African Outlook* contributed immensely to the educational and intellectual significance of both Lovedale and the town. The Lovedale Press was set up in 1861, as a means of advancing missionary activities and educating black South Africans. It provided opportunities for black authors to publish their work and pioneered printing African literature. Also, it provided Africans with the chance to receive training as apprentices in printing and book binding. John Tengo Jabavu, the proprietor of the first independent black newspaper, *Imvo Zabantsundu*, cut his teeth editing at Lovedale. Elijah Makiwane was at one time assistant editor of *Isigidimi SamaXosa*. One of the earliest projects was the translation of the Xhosa Bible. Other early activities included producing hymn books, school reading books and other Christian literature. Notably, Lovedale published works by numerous significant black authors such as A.C. Jordan, H.I.E. Dhlomo, Stephen Mlotywa, V. Poto Ndamase, I. Bud M'Belle, Shadrach F. Zibi, D.D.T. Jabavu, J.J.R. Jolobe, S.E.K. Mqhayi, H.M. Ndawo, A.Z. Mgani, Sol T. Plaatje, G.B. Sinxo, T.B. Soga, J.H. Soga, W. Soga and Violet Swaartbooi, making Lovedale Press in Alice 'one of the major mission publishing centres for African literature in Southern Africa.'²¹ The implementation of Bantu Education began the decline of Lovedale, which was eventually closed by the Ciskei government and then converted to a teacher training centre. When taken to visit Lovedale after the unbanning of the ANC, Chris Hani remarked to the media that the closure of institutions like Lovedale which had played a formative role on people was one of the greatest sins of the bantustans.

¹⁹ A. Brown, 'In the Beginning – the Roots of Alice and the University of Fort Hare', *Coelacanth*, 24, 2, Dec. 1986, 45.

²⁰ J.W. Macquarrie (ed.), *The Reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford*, Vol. 1, Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1958, 12.

²¹ L. Switzer and D. Switzer, *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho*, Boston, G.K. Hall, 1979; see also Rhodes University Cory Library website, www.ru.ac.za/corylibrary/collections/lovedalecollection (site visited 13 June 2013).

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

- *Clarkebury* – Clarkebury Institution was a Methodist mission founded on land granted by King Ngubengcuka in 1830, part of a chain of mission stations established by the Wesleyan Missionary Society throughout the Transkei, each roughly one day's horse ride from the other. It was also an industrial school where students were required to learn the dignity of labour by working in the garden. The school inculcated a strong sense of social responsibility, as evidenced by its school motto, 'Lift as you rise,' which greatly influenced future leaders such as Alfred Xuma and Nelson Mandela. Clarkebury, like many other missionary educational institutions, suffered greatly at the hands of Bantu Education after 1953 when the apartheid government took control of education.²²

²² Chris Hani District Municipality, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 45.

Chapter 7

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in KwaZulu-Natal, 1834-1910

Introduction

Present-day KwaZulu-Natal is the next arena in the wars of resistance. By 1824, King Shaka had firmly established his rule in Northern Nguniland. By far the most important trading contacts were those made between Shaka and the English traders at Port Natal from 1824. In that year three English adventurers from the Cape Colony came by boat to what has since been known as the Port of Natal with the intention of opening trade with the indigenous population. The adventurers were Lieutenant Farewell, Lieutenant King and Henry Fynn.

After some delays they were permitted to settle along the shore. The interaction between the settlers and the Zulu King grew as time went on. Dingane succeeded Shaka and continued the link with the settlers, especially John Cane and Henry Ogle. Another group of settlers came from the Cape in 1834 on an exploratory mission to the area. This was a small group of Voortrekkers who were sent by the Boers in the Cape Colony who were opposed to British rule. In the following year, another party of dissatisfied settlers led by Hendrick Potgieter and Piet Retief arrived in Natal. They initially met the English settlers and later travelled to eMgungundlovu to meet the Zulu King Dingane. Thereafter followed a period in which a series of wars finally culminated in the colonisation of Zululand.

The Wars of Resistance

The Battle of Blood River (Ncome)

On 6 February 1838, two days after the signing of a negotiated land settlement deal between Piet Retief and Dingane at UmGungundlovu, which included Voortrekker access to Port Natal, Dingane invited Retief and his party into his royal residence for a beer-drinking farewell. The request for the surrender of Voortrekker muskets at the entrance was taken as normal protocol when appearing before the king. While the Voortrekkers were being entertained by Dingane's dancing soldiers, Dingane suddenly accused the visiting party of witchcraft. Dingane's soldiers then proceeded to impale all the men.

Immediately after the UmGungundlovu massacre, Dingane sent out his impi (regiments) to attack several Voortrekker encampments at night, killing an estimated 500 men, women, children, and servants, most notably at Blaukraans. The Battle of Blood River (*iMpi yaseNcome*) is the name given for the battle fought between 470 Voortrekkers led by Andries Pretorius and an estimated 10,000-15,000 Zulus on the bank of the Ncome River on

16 December 1838. Casualties amounted to 3,000 of King Dingane's soldiers. Three Voortrekker commando members were lightly wounded.

On 26 November 1838, Andries Pretorius was appointed as general of a wagon commando directed against Dingane at UmGungundlovu. By December, Zulu Prince Mpande and 17,000 followers had already fled from Dingane, who was seeking to assassinate Mpande. In support of Prince Mpande as Dingane's replacement, Pretorius' strategy was to weaken Dingane's personal military power-base in UmGungundlovu. On 9 April 1838, a Voortrekker horse commando called the 'Flight Commando' had unsuccessfully attempted to penetrate the UmGungundlovu defence at nearby Italeni, resulting in the loss of several Voortrekker lives. Voortrekker leader Hendrik Potgieter abandoned all hope of engaging Dingane in UmGungundlovu after losing the battle of Italeni, and subsequently decided to migrate with his group out of Natal. On 15 December 1838, after the Voortrekker wagons crossed the Buffalo River, an advance scouting party brought news of large Zulu forces arriving nearby. Pretorius built a fortified wagon *laager* (circle) next to the Ncome River in the hope that the Zulus would attack. During the night of 15 December, 6,000 Zulu soldiers crossed the Ncome River, and, on 16 December, the Zulu regiments repeatedly stormed the *laager* unsuccessfully. After two hours and four waves of attack Pretorius ordered a group of horsemen to engage the Zulus. The Zulus eventually scattered, and the battle ended with victory for the Voortrekkers. Four days after the Battle of Blood River, the Trekker commando arrived at Mgungundlovu only to find it deserted and ablaze.

The Langalibalele rebellion

The Zulu kings had been friendly towards the amaHlubi kings during the reign of Bhungane and Mthimkhulu. Both Shaka and Dingane never attacked the amaHlubi. It is reported that Langalibalele was helped to the throne by Dingane, Mpande's enemy. When Mpande became King he regarded all those who were friendly to Dingane as his enemies. While Mpande was preparing to attack the amaHlubi, Langalibalele responded by rounding up the entire tribe and fleeing to Natal which by then was under the control of the British.

The amaHlubi were subjected to colonial laws. In 1873, a situation emerged which led to the destruction of the Hlubi chiefdom under Langalibalele. It began when the Resident Magistrate in Escourt ordered the Hlubi chief to hand in all the unregistered firearms his followers had acquired in exchange for their labour on the diamond fields. Langalibalele and a number of his people fled to Basutoland. After a skirmish with a large force of white volunteers and African militia,¹ in which three volunteers and two of Shepstone's *indunas* were killed, the Hlubi who had remained in Natal were driven out of the reserve, their land

¹ J. Wright and C. Hamilton, 'Ethnicity and political change before 1840', in R. Morrell (ed.), *Political Economy and Identities in KwaZulu Natal*, Durban, 1996, p. 48.

confiscated and later sold, and their cattle confiscated.² Almost 200 amaHlubi were killed during the reprisals, while the neighbouring chiefdoms that had harboured Langalibalele's cattle when he fled to Basutoland were found guilty of treason. Subsequently, Shepstone had their cattle confiscated, their kraals burnt, and every adult taken prisoner.³ Langalibalele, now deposed, was captured and brought to trial. He was found guilty of treason and rebellion and banished for life to the Cape Colony.⁴

The Battle of Isandlwana

In 1873 Cetshwayo succeeded his father as King of the Zulus. Theophilus Shepstone, now Administrator of the British Colony of Transvaal, advised the British government to wage war on the Zulu kingdom. Only when the king's power was broken would British rule be secure. The annexation of Zululand was advocated from April to July 1877 by both the press in Natal and the missionaries, and was justified on the grounds of humanity. Reports began to be received from March onwards of attacks on mission stations and the murder of converts. It was also said that King Cetshwayo was killing his subjects at the rate of fifty people a day. The colonial office in England instructed Shepstone to annex the Transvaal on 11 April 1877. With this act, Britain and colonial Natal conspired to annex Zululand, an action which was effected soon thereafter.⁵

The Zululand-Transvaal boundary dispute served as a pretext for Shepstone's proposed annexation of Zululand. The Battle of Isandlwana, on January 22, 1879, was a major defeat for the British army. Coming as it did at the very beginning of the Anglo-Zulu War, the defeat sent shudders of apprehension through the corridors of Whitehall and ultimately cost Lord Chelmsford his command. Chelmsford was in charge of one of three invasion columns that were supposed to sweep into Zululand and converge on Cetshwayo's capital at Ulundi. On 20 January, Chelmsford crossed the Buffalo River into Zululand, leaving behind a small force at Rorke's Drift to guard the column's supplies. Unknown to Chelmsford, the heart of the Zulu army – 20,000 men – had taken up a position just 5 kilometres away. Using Shaka's classic chest-and-horns formation, the Zulus swept toward the British positions. The battle hung in the balance until the Zulus' left horn outflanked the British. The fighting continued for two hours before the British fled the field, with the Zulus in triumphant pursuit. About 1,000 Zulus perished in the attack, as did 1,329 British troops. The British emerged victorious at Ulundi a few months later.

² B. Guest, 'Colonists, confederation and constitutional change', in A. Duminy and B. Guest (eds), *Natal and Zululand: From Earliest Times to 1910*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press and Shutter and Shooter, 1989, pp. 151-5.

³ D. Morris, *The washing of the spears: a history of the rise of the Zulu nation under Shaka and its fall in the Zulu War of 1879*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1965, p. 222.

⁴ Guest, 'Colonists, confederation and constitutional change', pp. 151-5.

⁵ N. Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835–1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand*, London, Royal Historical Society, 1978, pp. 24-46.

The Battle of Ulundi

The Battle of Ulundi took place on July 4, 1879, after the British forces crossed the iMfolozi River as they marched on the Zulu capital Ondini. Today the site is marked by a stone monument that pays tribute to the Zulu and British soldiers who fell during the short but pivotal battle. The British marched in a hollow square formation and halted on a low hill just 3 kilometres from Ondini. Their force of 5,124 troops, including 958 African volunteers, was confronted by several Zulu regiments numbering around 15,000 men. The 12 artillery pieces and two Gatling guns of the British cut through the Zulu advance and after half an hour the Zulu forces retreated, allowing the British to march on Ondini. On reaching the capital the British set fire to the many buildings, forcing King Cetshwayo to flee and seek refuge in the Ngome forest. Two months after the battle the king was captured and exiled to the Cape. In the wake of this victory, Cetshwayo was captured and deported, and the Zulu kingdom was divided into 13 chiefdoms whose chiefs were appointed by the British administration.

King Dinuzulu's Resistance

The Ceza Caves, on Ceza Mountain, were the scene of the final act in King Dinuzulu's resistance against the British annexation of Zululand. After the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879, Zululand had been partitioned into 13 sections which were parcelled out to individual chiefs. To stem the chaos which erupted, Cetshwayo was restored as Paramount Chief, but civil war broke out in Zululand and his son, Dinuzulu, succeeded him after his death in 1884. The young king was placed in the care of the Usuthu faction who established a refuge for him in caves located in the Ceza Forest. Dinuzulu eventually defeated his rival Zibhebhu with Boer aid and was installed as king. The Boers then claimed the land they had been promised for their services and, Dinuzulu, believing they wanted too much, appealed to the British for help. Instead, the British annexed the whole of Zululand and Dinuzulu retaliated in 1887 by mounting attacks against Zulus loyal to Britain and trying to drive white traders and missionaries out of Zululand.

The authorities in Natal appealed to the Cape for help and, in 1888, 2,000 British troops were sent to Eshowe to mount operations against Dinuzulu, who was besieging a fort at the mouth of the iMfolozi River. Six hundred men under the command of Major McKean, of the 6th Royal Dragoons, and a young officer called Robert Baden-Powell, marched to relieve the fort, which occurred with little trouble. Baden-Powell was detailed to track down Dinuzulu and eventually found him and his followers sheltering in caves on Ceza mountain. The Zulus managed to escape during the night before the attack and fled into the Transvaal Republic. Dinuzulu realised that he could not win against the British and surrendered to them some time later.

The Bambhata rebellion

In 1893, Natal was granted Responsible Government status, and the administration soon introduced laws further eroding the power of the chiefs. In 1894 the Natal Native Code resulted in two-thirds of Zululand being confiscated and the Zulu nation effectively confined to a native reserve. However, the Natal authorities were to face a final act of resistance on the part of the Zulu. In August 1905 the Natal parliament passed the African Poll Tax Act, imposing a poll tax of one pound on every adult African male in Natal. This caused great resentment, and soon developed into an open rebellion when Bambatha, a minor chief of the Greytown district, defied the white tax-collectors. Bambatha was deposed and a successor appointed by the colonial administration. Bambatha responded by kidnapping his successor and fleeing across the Tugela to avoid capture.⁶ There were rumours that Bambatha had held talks with King Dinuzulu in Zululand and that the latter had encouraged Bambatha to rebel. However, the Bambatha Rebellion was crushed by the Natal colonial troops in August 1906.⁷ During the rebellion, several Europeans and over 2,300 Zulus were killed, while almost 5,000 Zulus were brought to trial. Dinuzulu was brought to trial in Pietermaritzburg, was found guilty of treason and sentenced to four years imprisonment. He was first incarcerated in Newcastle, and then moved to the Transvaal in 1910.

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

- *Ncome Museum and Monument* – The site witnessed a major confrontation between the Voortrekkers and amaZulu on 16 December 1838. The site is named after a nearby river known as Ncome in isiZulu and Bloedrivier in Afrikaans. To the east of this river is the Ncome Monument and Museum Complex. These monuments were erected through the years to commemorate a significant battle in South African history. The granite Jaw-bone Monument was designed by Coert Steynberg and the bronze wagon laager was built on the original site of the 1838 wagon laager. It consists of 64 replica Voortrekker wagons cast in bronze and situated just as they were on the day of the famous battle. Also on display are replicas of the three cannons that proved so decisive in halting repeated Zulu charges against the laager. The museum offers a re-interpretation of the 1838 battle and Zulu culture in general. The rich symbolism of the Zulu language is captured through items on display. In the Museum grounds are a Zulu war horn formation display, isisivivane (cairn) and a reed ‘garden’. The museum is surrounded by a historical landscape directly relating to the 1838 battle. The Ncome-Blood River Heritage Site is located 43 km from Dundee, 24 from Nquthu and 72 km from Vryheid.
- *The Langalibalele Rebellion Memorial*.

⁶ T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A modern history*, Third edition, Johannesburg, MacMillan, 1987, p. 230.

⁷ Refer to www.sahistory.org.za/pages/library-resources/online%20books/search-freedom/chapter2.htm

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

- *The Battle of Isandlwana Memorial* – The Battle of Isandlwana, on January 22, 1879 was a major defeat for the British army. Today the battlefield is scattered with whitewashed stone cairns and memorials marking the resting places of fallen soldiers. The visitor centre houses a small but excellent museum of mementos and artefacts, following the course of the battle in detail. For years the site contained memorials to British soldiers, but nothing existed there to commemorate the Zulu warriors who won a decisive victory over the British in 1879. A small bronze sculpture was commissioned by the KwaZulu Monuments Council to commemorate the anniversary of the battle. The sculpture portrays King Cetshwayo not as a gloating victor, but as the monarch, lamenting the many lives lost in the battle. Another monument was created to honour the fallen Zulu warriors. The 'isiqu' or necklace of valour seemed an appropriate symbol: deserving Zulu warriors were permitted to wear a necklace which they generally carved themselves. The necklace is mounted on a circular base that symbolises unity and is reminiscent of Zulu kraals and huts. Set into the stone-clad perimeter wall of the base there are four unique bronze headrests representing the four Zulu regiments deployed in the battle. The group of claws at the top of the stairs in the base signify the 'head' or 'chest' part of the formation, the main body of the warriors. The warriors in the left 'horn' were engaged in heavy combat at the base of the hill. This is depicted by the inward curve of the left-hand section of the necklace. The right-hand section of the necklace opens out towards the hill, echoing the movement of the right 'horn' of the warriors around it to outflank the British soldiers retreating to Rorke's Drift.
- *Rorke's Drift museum and orientation centre* – This Museum retells the story of the Battle of Rorke's Drift, with electronic diagrammes, battle sounds, and dioramas. From the British perspective this was the most glorious battle of the Zulu War, the more so because it took place just hours after the disaster at Isandlwana. A pile of 50 bronze shields guarded by a life-sized leopard sculpture now commemorates for the first time the Zulus who fell at the battle of Shiyane/Rorke's Drift on January 23, 1879. An opening has been left on top of the memorial for the planting of an umLahlankosi (buffalo thorn) tree because of its cultural significance. Nearby, on one side, a cattle byre has been constructed to symbolise a traditional burial. The bronze shields evoke how the dead men were covered with shields by their comrades on the battlefield. Many were later buried in two marked mass graves. A total of eleven Victoria Crosses was awarded to the defenders of Shiyane/Rorke's Drift, the most for any battle in British history.
- *Ulundi Battlefield* – The Battle of Ulundi took place on July 4, 1879 after the British forces crossed the iMfolozi River as they marched on the Zulu capital, Ondini. Today the site is marked by a stone monument that pays tribute to the Zulu and British soldiers who fell during the short but pivotal battle.
- *Talana Museum* – The Talana Museum, set in a 20-acre heritage park, on the outskirts of Dundee, encompasses 10 buildings. Fascinating exhibits trace the history of the area, from the early San hunter-gatherers to the rise of the Zulu nation, the extermination of the cannibal tribes of the Biggarsberg, and, finally, the vicious battles of the South

African War. The museum stands on the site of the Battle of Talana (October 20, 1899), the opening skirmish in the South African War, and two of the museum buildings were used by the British as medical stations during the battle. The military museum here is an excellent starting point for the Battlefields Route, along which you follow in the footsteps of the Zulus, Brits, and Boers as they battled it out for territory and glory.

- *The Bambatha Memorial*.
- *The Ceza Caves* – The Ceza Caves, on Ceza Mountain, were the scene of the final act in King Dinuzulu's resistance against the British annexation of Zululand.

Organised Political Resistance in the Natal Colony

Like their counterparts in the Western and Eastern Cape, African intellectuals in the Natal Colony played a leading role in organising opposition to colonial rule. After the incorporation of Zululand into the British colony, all Africans were subject to 'Native Law'. The liberal tradition which prevailed in the Cape that gave some Africans political rights did not emerge in Natal. Very few Africans had political rights. In Natal, Africans could apply for exemption from 'Native Law' and to become a voter. According to Heather Hughes, a handful did qualify for exemption, but only about two or three ever made it onto the voters' roll.⁸

Among the key figures here was John Langalibalela Dube, who joined with like-minded leaders to form the Natal Native Congress (NNC) in July 1900. This was the beginning of his commitment to political action. The aim of the NNC was to find a way whereby African peoples' feelings, aspirations, and grievances could be brought to the attention of the colonial government. The concerns of the NNC were centred on the following issues: unobstructed land ownership; education; parliamentary representation; free trade; and freedom from enforced labour.

The Congress became the main political organ of the African people throughout the period that Natal remained a separate colony. Through the NNC, Dube advocated equality and justice for all. He hoped to close the widening gap between the white and blacks of South Africa. He played a leading role in black resistance to the Union of South Africa, from whose legislature Africans were to be excluded.

Dube launched the first indigenous Zulu newspaper, *Ilanga Lase Natal*, in April 1903, with the intention of making it a mouth-piece for the black population, and to propagate the idea of a united African front. He used his newspaper to expose injustices and evil deeds from all quarters and made black people aware of their rights and privileges. Occasionally he would

⁸ H. Hughes, 'Lives and Wives: Understanding African Nationalism in South Africa through a Biographical Approach', *History Compass*, Vol. 10, No. 8, 2012, 563.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

feature editorials and articles in English which were intended for the white settler community, the department of Native Affairs and the Natal Government. Dube hoped in this way to keep them connected to black opinion at the time. As time progressed, black people used the newspaper to criticise government policies, and at one stage Dube was accused by the authorities for inciting resentment against the government. *Ilanga Lase Natal* focused on issues pertaining to:

- land controversies (including taxes and land ownership);
- laws and acts, such as the poll tax;
- reports such as those of the South African Native Affairs Commission; and
- political and social developments.

When Dube returned from the United States in 1905 (after his third visit), tensions arose between him and the white missionaries. *Ilanga lase Natal* attacked the missionaries' views on land allotment in the Reserves, the Mission Reserve rent, the social aloofness of missionaries and their lack of trust for the converts, inadequate selection of African officers, and failure to defend African interests. By September 1906, Dube was calling for a meeting of the Transvaal, Cape and Natal congresses and 'welcoming signs that tribal antagonisms are dying down as indications of progress'.

Dube bitterly opposed the arrest and trial of King Dinuzulu in connection with the 1906 Bambatha rebellion and actively assisted in raising funds for his defence. Dinuzulu, son of the last Zulu king, was for African people in South Africa the symbol of their former independence and their identity as a people. Dube, with his recollections of and pride in his African past, understood the significance of Dinuzulu and his place in Zulu history. Dube publicised Dinuzulu's arrest. The Natal government attempted to suppress *Ilanga Lase Natal* before and during the Bambatha Rebellion – the newspaper was the object of constant suspicion.

However, Dube had no desire to end British rule and the spread of Christianity, and Bambatha represented the heathen way of life, something Dube had no desire to return to. Nevertheless, he defended the behaviour of the African elite during the rebellion and refused to take responsibility for the violence. Kholwa chief representatives distanced themselves from the disruptive activities of Bambatha.

At the same time numerous meetings were held by Africans, coloureds, and Indians to protest the whites-only nature of the constitutional discussions that took place from 1908 to 1909. Dube was part of a delegation that left South Africa in 1909 to present a petition by blacks to the English House of Commons in London against the Act of Union of 1909, but the deputation was unsuccessful. These activities culminated in a South African Native

Convention in March 1909, where delegates called for a constitution giving 'full and equal rights' for all Africans, coloureds, and Indians.⁹

Josiah Tshangana Gumede was another founding member of the NNC, and for some time he served as its secretary and vice-president. In 1905, Gumede took up a position as a land agent with the firm of Thackeray Allison and Albert Hime solicitors, where he assisted in the investigation of the land claims of two Sotho tribes in the new Orange River Colony. Gumede played a significant role in their legal struggle and the drawing up of their petitions to the British government in London to regain land taken away from them before the war. Gumede accompanied the chiefs on their deputation to England to petition the British government to support their land claim. Unfortunately, this deputation was not successful.

In 1907, Gumede involved himself in *Iliso Lesizwe Esimnyama*, an organisation formed by Wesleyan Methodist converts and chiefs from the Dundee and Newcastle areas in Natal. He served as secretary for the organisation during 1908. The aim of *Iliso Lesizwe Esimnyama* was to unite the African people of Natal-Zululand and to advance their prosperity.

The publication of the draft Constitution of 1909 signalled to Gumede that Africans' interests were being ignored. Although the revised draft of the South Africa Act received the overwhelming approval of white, nearly all politically conscious Africans denounced it. Despite all the odds, Gumede was still determined to continue to press the issue that Africans' aspirations be addressed.

Throughout 1909 and 1910, the plight of the two Sotho tribes took up most of Gumede's time. Unfortunately, following the failure of the African deputation to England in 1909, *Iliso* had ceased to meet on a regular basis and the organisation soon faded out of existence. In 1910, Gumede rejoined the Pietermaritzburg branch of the NNC. Disappointingly, there was no working relationship between the Pietermaritzburg and Durban branches due to personal differences between Gumede and Dube, who was part of the Durban NNC branch.

Others from Natal who were to later play a prominent role in the nascent political organisations were Pixley Seme, Alfred Mangena, and H. Selby Msimang and his brother Richard. Etherington argues that such leaders were to play a prominent role because of the war on African Christianity waged by the white supremacist regime of Natal in the decade prior to the formation of the Union of South Africa. This convinced Christian intellectuals that the hopes formerly held out for equality before the law were unrealistic, prompting them to form political organisations such as the NNC, which strived vigorously for religious values as well as political representation and land ownership.¹⁰

⁹ www.sahistory.org.za.

¹⁰ N. Etherington, 'Religion and Resistance in Natal 1900-1910', unpublished paper accessed from www.sahistoryorg.za.

Another prominent leader in Natal at the time was Mohandas Gandhi, who arrived in Durban in 1893. Soon after arriving in South Africa he left for Pretoria by train. He purchased a first-class ticket, boarded the train and was soon confronted by a white passenger who complained about sharing a compartment with a 'coolie'. Gandhi was asked to move to a third-class carriage. On his refusal he was forcibly removed from the train at Pietermaritzburg Station.

The right to self-government had been granted to Natal in 1893 and two bills were passed in the following two years restricting the freedom of Indians severely. The Immigration Law Amendment Bill stated that any Indian had to return to India at the end of a five-year indenture period or had to be re-indentured for a further two years. If he refused an amount of £3 annual tax had to be paid. A Franchise Amendment Bill of 1894 was designed to limit the franchise to Indians who had the vote. Although there were only 300 of them, in comparison to 10,000 white voters, the Bill caused outrage among Indian leaders. They decided to contest the measure by any means available to them.

Mohandas Gandhi played a prominent role in their planned campaign, and was assigned the task of compiling all petitions, arranging meetings with politicians and addressing letters to newspapers. He also campaigned in India and made an initially successful appeal to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Ripon. The formation of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) on 22 August 1894 marked the birth of the first permanent political organisation to strive to maintain and protect the rights of Indians in South Africa. In 1896 Gandhi undertook a journey to India to launch a protest campaign on behalf of Indians in South Africa. It took the form of letters written to newspapers, interviews with leading nationalist leaders and a number of public meetings. His mission caused great uproar in India and consternation among British authorities in England and Natal. Gandhi embarrassed the British Government enough to cause it to block the Franchise Bill in an unprecedented move, which resulted in anti-Indian feelings in Natal reaching dangerous new levels.

On his return to South Africa, Gandhi and 800 fellow passengers were kept from disembarking for nearly a month as a result of daily dockside demonstrations and government quarantine regulations. White hostility against Indians was turning violent and on leaving the ship Gandhi was assaulted by a group of protesters. The British government, alarmed at the uproar, allowed the passing of the Franchise Bill on condition that Indians were not specifically mentioned in the provisions. The Bill was rushed through parliament in 1896, followed by two more bills aimed at 'Passenger' Indians. The Immigration Restriction Bill and the Dealers' Licences Bill stated that prospective immigrants had to possess £25, and had to speak and write English, and also empowered municipal authorities to refuse

trading licences on the ground of 'insanitation'. Authorities began refusing any Indian applicants licenses and many merchants accused Gandhi of pushing the authorities too far.

In 1903 Gandhi founded the 'Indian Opinion' newspaper. The publication played a prominent role in the spreading of the philosophy that resulted in the passive resistance campaign. Gandhi was also responsible for the opening of the Phoenix self-help settlement scheme near Durban. The political campaign Gandhi embarked on was the British Indian Association (BIA). The movement was to prevent proposed evictions of Indians in the Transvaal under British leadership. In 1906 the Transvaal Government passed a law making it compulsory for Indians over eight years of age to carry a pass bearing their thumbprint. This caused outrage among the Indian population and it was decided at a mass meeting attended by more than 3,000 people that no Indian would apply for registration and that attempts to enforce the law would be met with passive resistance. Gandhi travelled to London to further his protest and Lord Elgin, the Colonial Secretary, agreed to withdraw the Act. Unfortunately the Transvaal was granted self-government in 1907 and the Pass Law (Act 2 of 1907) was re-introduced.

On 28 December 1907 the first arrests of Asians refusing to register was made, and by the end of January 1908, 2,000 Asians had been jailed. Eventually Gandhi and the leader of the Chinese population in South Africa, Leung Quin, reached agreement with Jan Smuts, Transvaal Colonial Secretary, whereby the Act would be repealed if everyone registered voluntarily. He was severely criticised for the compromise and even offered to be the first to register. Smuts denied any promises made to Gandhi and on his way to the registration office he was assaulted. In June 1909 Gandhi left for London after having defended his position as leader of the Transvaal merchant community.

Gandhi returned to South Africa in December 1909 to find that his fellow members of the NIC were openly plotting against him. He was fighting for his political survival and withdrew to Tolstoy, a farm he had purchased to support the families of jailed resisters.¹¹

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

- *Adams College* – Adams College is one of the oldest schools in South Africa. It was founded in 1853 at Amanzimtoti by the Reverend David Rood, missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The settlement there is known as Adams Mission. The college's alumni include Presidents of Botswana and Uganda, several ministers and leaders of the African National Congress, including J.L. Dube. It is

¹¹ www.sahistory.org.za. Refer also to B.M. du Toit, 'The Mahatma Gandhi and South Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 4, December, 1996, pp. 643-660.

recognised as a historic school. It has been called Adams School, Amanzimtoti Institute and the Amanzimtoti Zulu Training School. Reverend Newton Adams arrived in South Africa 1835 with two other missionaries, but after being rebuffed by the local chief they had each set out to establish three complementary missions. Adams had chosen a site south of Durban where he founded a 'family school' within months of his arrival. The school attracted both adults and children.¹²

- *Inanda Seminary* – Founded by the American Board of Missions (ABM) in 1869, it became the first secondary school exclusively for African girls in southern Africa, and soon attracted students from across the continent. American missionaries Daniel and Lucy Lindley opened the school to train girls to be teachers and 'good wives' for the young men being trained at Adams College in Amanzimtoti. After the departure of the Lindley family in 1873, the school was entrusted to the Rev. James Dube, father of Dr John L. Dube.
- *The J.L. Dube Legacy Project* – This project to commemorate the contribution of John Langalibalele Dube to the liberation struggle involves the restoration of John Dube's grave-site and the unveiling of a Dube statue at the Dube Tradeport at King Shaka International Airport. The development of the Dube grave-site will include the construction of an interpretative centre and a Tower of Hope dedicated to the first president of the African National Congress (the South African Native National Congress when it was formed). The interpretive centre, to be located in what was Dube's house, will focus on his role in politics, education, culture, economics and religion. This will be captured in an exhibition that will be installed in the interpretative centre.
- *The Ohlange Institute* – The Institute was founded by John Langalibalele Dube in 1900. The idea of the school was conceived when Dube returned to the United States of America in 1897 for further training. During this visit Dube was profoundly influenced by Booker T. Washington, an African American educator who propagated the philosophy of self-reliance. Washington encouraged his students at Tuskegee to become self-reliant by teaching them skills such as printing, farming, shoemaking, and cooking, amongst others. Dube increasingly saw education as a means for African social and economic advancement. This inspired him to develop a similar kind of initiative aimed at advancing the rights of African people in South Africa. Upon his return, Dube established the Zulu Christian Industrial Institute on 8 August 1900. The institute became the first African-directed institution and emulated Washington's Tuskegee Institute. On 20 August 1900, the school opened with 63 male students, half of whom lived on the campus. Within three weeks the school had close to 100 pupils. The institute was renamed the Ohlange Institute in 1901. Through the institution, Dube sought to create a class of independent and educated entrepreneurs who would represent the political and economic ideas of a specific class of Africans in South Africa. This class was to be an educated, self-sufficient 'kholwa' elite.

¹² For more details on the college refer to P.W. Stempowski, 'The making, experiencing and memorialisation of space', BA Hons dissertation, University of Natal, 1999.

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in KwaZulu-Natal

- *The Phoenix Settlement* – Established by Mahatma Gandhi in 1904, it is situated on the north-western edge of Inanda, some 20 kilometres north of Durban. The Settlement, devoted to Gandhi's principle of *Satyagraha* (passive resistance), has played an important spiritual and political role throughout its long history, promoting justice, peace and equality. Gandhi established the settlement as a communal experimental farm with the view of giving each family two acres of land which they could develop. He believed that communities like Phoenix, which advocated communal living would form a sound basis for the struggle against social injustice. Market gardens were established, their dairy supplied milk to all the homesteads on the settlement as well as the neighbourhood, and they produced their own butter and ghee for domestic use. Everybody on the settlement had to participate in communal activities, such as the daily prayers and singing of hymns which Gandhi himself had instituted.
- *St Aidan's Hospital* – Where Mahatma Gandhi and 100 others were provided with first aid training before going into action in the South African War.

Chapter 8

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in the North West Province, 1830-1910

Introduction

The Voortrekkers irrupted into the western Highveld in 1838 under the leadership of Andries Potgieter. The situation when they arrived was unlike that which prevailed elsewhere in the sense that they had entered into a military alliance with the local Batswana communities and the Griqua to remove the common threat of the Ndebele under Mzilikazi. This was achieved at the Battle of Mosega in 1838, at which Mzilikazi was defeated and embarked on his own trek to what became known as Matebeleland. Those Batswana living (or formerly living) in the Ndebele conquest area were thus partly beholden to the superior fire-power of the Boers, who simultaneously were able to claim the land between just east of Mafikeng to the Magaliesberg mountains, and dictate terms to the African residents living there. Consequently, it took at least a decade for any resistance to emerge against Boer overrule in this region.

When it did, it was largely due to the reaction of Batswana chiefdoms living across the border in what became the Bechuanaland Protectorate (now Botswana), who fought off intrusions into their domain by the Trekkers. As will be seen, this sparked some resistance by those border communities living along the line with the independent Batswana to the north-west. Apart from a brief period during the South African War, the authorities of the western Transvaal were, for the most part, able to control the African residents of this region, though relations were often fraught. This did not mean there was no resistance. As a significant body of literature on the subject has shown, resistance assumes many shapes – from military action to more subtle forms of resistance (e.g. evasion and refusal to obey colonial laws) to strategic political collaboration.

The position was somewhat different to the west, outside the borders of what became the Transvaal, and north of what became Griqualand West. This territory, from about 1840 and during the ensuing half century, remained a frontier that the Batswana clung onto tenaciously. Anti-colonial resistance thus took the form of various strategies by the Batlhaping, Batlharo and Tshidi-Barolong to defend their land from colonial intrusion. Here, military encounters were frequent and brutal. This culminated in the Langeberg rebellion of 1896 which was the final attempt by a desperate people to ward off complete colonial domination.

It is thus convenient and clearer to divide anti-colonial resistance in the North-West into two sections:

- resistance by the 'independent' Batswana *against* impending colonial occupation and authority *before* final colonisation; and
- resistance by Africans *to* colonial control *after* colonisation.

Nevertheless, these were not completely discrete periods, as the process of colonisation was not necessarily immediate or total, but was rather a prolonged process. It should also be noted that the resistance of the southern Tswana and the Bechuanaland Wars of 1880-1884 cuts across the geographical span of today's North-West Province and the Northern Cape, which is largely an artificial distinction.

Resistance by Africans to the advance of the colonial frontier

This occurred primarily during the years of early Boer occupation of the western Highveld or former western Transvaal. The Tswana living in this area had been under the sway of Mzilikazi's Ndebele from the early 1830s and had been weakened by successive invasions of their land during the period of turmoil known as the *difaqane*. Others had fled the area to avoid the harshness of Ndebele rule. The Trekkers who arrived on the Highveld in significant numbers in 1837 were largely responsible for displacing Mzilikazi who trekked away to settle in southern Zimbabwe. Thus, the Trekkers were able to claim the area almost by right of conquest. This placed the Batswana in a subordinate and vulnerable position. The Trekkers set up their own Republic and forced many Batswana, including young captives, to work for them or to pay taxes and/or tribute.

The resistance shown by the Tswana thus mostly consisted of the various ways in which they avoided the excesses of settler control. This took several forms. Some of the *dikgosi* (chiefs) opted to flee and seek refuge among the 'independent' Batswana in modern Botswana. Others refused to pay tax or to volunteer men to work for the Boers. One such chief, Kgamanyane of the Bakgatla, living in the Pilanesberg, was flogged by Paul Kruger because his men refused to provide him with forced unpaid labour. Mortified and insulted, Kgamanyane in 1870 led his followers out of the Transvaal and settled in Botswana on land occupied by the Bakwena.¹

On a few occasions, the Tswana were able to offer more direct and less subtle resistance. Perhaps the best known was that of the Bakwena under Setshele living just across the Transvaal border. The Bakwena threatened 'war' against the Transvaal in 1852 following frequent transgressions by Boer hunters entering Kwena territory on their way to hunting

¹ This story is much more detailed in Bernard Mbenga, 'The Flogging of Chief Kgamanyane by Commandant Paul Kruger, Saulspoor, April 1870', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, No. 1, March 1997.

grounds to the north. It needed only an incident to trigger open conflict between the two factions. In July 1852, a Kgatla community living in the Transvaal but close to the Bakwena refused to avail themselves for compulsory labour. Threatened with attack, the Bakgatla sought refuge with Setshele. Setshele was warned to deliver up the Kgatla chief but refused to do so. A commando was sent against the Kwena, and his capital at Dimawe was burned to the ground. The Boers went on to sack David Livingstone's mission station at nearby Kolobeng. For good measure the commando also attacked other Tswana chiefdoms in the Molopo region, the Barolong and Bangwaketse, who refused to provide men to join the Boer militia. However, once the commando had disbanded, the Boers were faced with continuing reprisal attacks by the Bakwena and Barolong.² Cattle were raided from Boer farms and three Boers lost their lives during these incidents. During 1853-1854, the Marico Boers abandoned the district, a situation similar to that in other parts of the Transvaal where the Boers were forced to retreat from newly established centres of occupation.³

The Independent (southern) Batswana

The colonial frontier advanced from the south with the establishment of the Crown Colony of Griqualand West in 1871. The Batswana essentially were caught in the cross currents of Imperial interests in south-central Africa. The colonisation of Griqualand West ensured that Britain had an all-important bridgehead that secured further imperial advance into present-day Botswana and Zimbabwe. By 1880, the access provided by this 'hunters' and missionaries' road to the north' was threatened from two fronts.

Firstly, by land hungry citizens of the Transvaal who coveted Tswana occupied territory to their west. This land, sometimes referred to as the Cis-Molopo, had long been settled by the various factions of the Barolong. From 1851, it was re-occupied principally by the Tshidi-Barolong following the disturbances of the *difaqane*. However, the constant threat of attacks and transgressions by mercenaries and Boer commandos in the Transvaal prompted the Tshidi *kgosi* Montshiwa to trek northwards out of harm's way. He left his brother Molema to retain a presence in the region. The Rapulana and Ratlou clans of the Barolong, who had chosen to settle within the Transvaal, felt excluded from occupation of land in the Cis-Molopo, and sought the assistance of the Transvaalers in getting their land back – it was (to begin with) a relationship of mutual assistance. Montshiwa returned with the majority of his followers in 1877, but he felt no more secure than he had been previously. He thus took the diplomatically sensible option of siding with the British in the hope that they would offer some protection from Transvaal expansionism. The other threat to British ambitions was caused by German occupation of South West Africa and the potential for imperial expansion from that region.

² See J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton, *The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers*, Cape Town, 1938.

³ A. Manson, 'The Huruhtshe in the Marico District of the Transvaal, 1848-1914', Ph.D thesis, UCT, 1990, 109-111.

Matters came to a head in 1881 during the Anglo-Boer War, and prompted the outbreak of the so-called Bechuanaland Wars (1881-1884). The general conditions of war prompted more determined efforts by the Boers and other Barolong allies (who hoped to regain access to land that the Tshidi now occupied) to force the Tshidi into submission. British victory, however, assured Montshiwa some breathing space, and he went on the offensive by attacking Barolong clans in an attempt to exert full control over the Molopo region. However, the retrocession of the Transvaal and withdrawal of imperial protection rendered the Tshidi suddenly even more vulnerable.

Montshiwa was placed under direct attack by white mercenaries (or 'volunteers') and their Batswana allies based in the Transvaal. He held on to Sehuba, east of Mafikeng, through most of 1881, but was eventually driven back to his capital in Mafikeng. The mercenaries (who were basically using the Rapulana and Ratlou for their own ends), received a share of the cattle looted from Montshiwa's followers. In 1882 these attacks continued. Mafikeng was placed under siege, predating the better known siege of Mafikeng during the South African War of 1899-1902. Montshiwa, assisted by a number of white volunteers he had recruited, among them the former British Lieutenant Christopher Bethell, constructed a redoubt a few miles outside the town and tried to break out of the encirclement. This was almost impossible, and the residents of Mafikeng were reduced to starvation by August 1882.

Montshiwa responded by appealing for British intercession while simultaneously trying to enlist the support of Batswana allies sympathetic to his cause. He approached the Bahurutshe under Ikalafeng in the Marico district, who sent a regiment under his uncle to assist the Tshidi Barolong. As the Hurutshe were resident in the Transvaal, this did not sit well with the Boer authorities. Anticipating an attack, Ikalafeng placed stone fortifications around his capital at Dinokana. General Joubert summoned Ikalafeng to appear before him and the Ratlou to answer for this conduct. Consequently, in February 1882 a commando was sent against the Bahurutshe. The stone fortifications were pulled down and piled up as a so-called 'monument to peace'. The Hurutshe were punished. Unable to pay a fine of £1,800 they were stripped of approximately 7,000 head of cattle and 4,000 sheep and goats, in value considerably more than the original fine. The loot was divided among a number of Marico Boers.

In Mafikeng the situation worsened as the town was bombarded by canon fire. The Tshidi were unable to obtain either food or ammunition and weapons to defend themselves. The upshot was that Montshiwa was forced to sign a treaty by which he was forced to cede

most of the Sehuba lands. The mercenaries then occupied this land and proclaimed it as the Republic of Goshen in 1884.⁴

A similar pattern emerged further south among the Batlhaping under chief Mankurwane. Transvaal mercenaries intervened in a dispute between the Kora and the Batlhaping by siding with the former and invading Mankurwane's territory. They hoped of course to loot as much livestock as possible and to occupy Tlhaping land which lay across the Transvaal border. By June 1882 about 600 mercenaries laid siege to Taung, the Batlhaping capital. Unable to obtain arms and sufficient white volunteers to assist him, Mankurwane, like Montshiwa, was forced to sign a peace agreement with the Transvaal. The result was that the mercenaries, or freebooters, proclaimed the Republic of Stellaland in some of the best lands owned by the Batlhaping.

The British, who up to this point in time had refused to come to the assistance of the Batswana despite frequent appeals by the chiefs for protection and intercession, became alarmed that allies of the Transvaal had now occupied territory in their sphere of influence. In 1885 they dispatched an expedition under General Charles Warren to clear the freebooters out of Bechuanaland, and annexed the territory, which became the crown colony of British Bechuanaland in 1886. However, the collapse of the Goshen Republic was due not only to British intervention. Montshiwa made an effort to recruit other Tswana groups to assist him, this time approaching the Kwena and Ngwaketse in present-day Botswana, a tactic that alarmed the white residents of Goshen.

The Tswana thus successfully resisted white occupation of their land for some twenty years, opting to settle for a second best option to accept British protection. This implied that they were simultaneously being colonised by the British. Just under ten years later British Bechuanaland was annexed to the Cape. Tswana resistance thus took on several forms that included direct military response, compromise and accommodation in an attempt to prolong the period of their independence.

Bakgatla ba Kgafela Resistance in the South African War, 1899-1902

There is no longer any doubt that many African communities participated in armed combat on both the Boer and British sides during the South African War of 1899-1902. It is also clear that the majority of African communities that participated on the side of the British against the Boers were strongly motivated by deep-seated historical grievances. One of the baKgatla grudges was the Boers' incessant demands for their labour over several decades

⁴ This account is drawn from K. Shillington, *The Colonisation of the Southern Tswana, 1870-1900*, Johannesburg, Ravan, 1985; K. Shillington, *Luka Jantjie: Resistance Hero of the South African Frontier*, Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2011; and S. M. Molema, *Montshiwa, 1815-1896: Barolong Chief and Patriot*, Cape Town, Struik, 1966.

which finally culminated in the public flogging of their chief, Kgamanyane, by Commandant Paul Kruger in April 1870, resulting in half of the community relocating to what is today Botswana.⁵ The baKgatla thus saw the war as an opportunity to take revenge on the Boers. Moreover, the baKgatla desired to regain their land in the Pilanesberg which they had lost to the Voortrekkers earlier on and to reunite their divided people.⁶

In mid-November 1899, three baKgatla regiments gathered and prepared for war in Mochudi, the capital of their paramount chief, Linchwe. They were commanded by their own men, Segale, Ramono and Modise. They asked for and received Martini-Henry rifles and ammunition from the British military authorities in Mafikeng. On 25 November 1899, they attacked the nearby Boer settlement of Derdepoort whose defenders were routed, the survivors fleeing to the safety of Rustenburg. The baKgatla regiments entered the Transvaal to prosecute the war against the Boers forces.

At Kayaseput, half-way between Derdepoort and the Dwarsberg mountains, on 16 February 1900, two baKgatla regiments, the Makoba and the Mojanko, under Ramono and Motshwane, respectively ambushed a large convoy of Boer troop reinforcements and supply wagons from Rustenburg, bound for Derdepoort. In the ensuing attack, 'many Boers' were killed, and their wagons and supplies captured. The news of this incident was so unsettling that a Boer commando at nearby Sepitse abandoned their laager when they heard about it.⁷ Soon after the Kayaseput ambush, Commandant P. Steenkamp and some of the Rustenburg commando went to Derdepoort and escorted back the remaining Boers. As a direct result of that ambush, Derdepoort was abandoned and remained unoccupied for the remainder of the war.

Further Boer-baKgatla military engagements soon followed. At Moreteletse in the Mabeskraal area, the baKgatla captured 300 Boer trek oxen and two wagons. However, in this encounter, Tlatsi, Linchwe's *Ntona* (confidential assistant), was killed in action. With a new supply of 250 Martini-Henry rifles from the British authorities in the middle of 1900, the baKgatla were clearly on the war-path.

Operating south of the Kgetleng River, as far as Rustenburg, the baKgatla were so militarily effective that, in the words of the Senior Native Commissioner (SNC) at Saulspoort, F. Edmeston, 'the Military Authorities were relieved of all anxiety as to this district, which was held by these [baKgatla] people, as far north as Palla [Pella]'. The triumphant baKgatla now had occupation of all land between the Crocodile and Elands Rivers, which became a no-go zone for the Boers.

⁵ Mbenga, 'The Flogging of Chief Kgamanyane by Commandant Paul Kruger, Saulspoort, April 1870'.

⁶ See F. Morton, 'Linchwe I and the Kgatla Campaign in the South African War, 1899-1902', in *Journal of African History*, Vol. 26, 1985, 169-191.

⁷ I. Schapera (ed.), *DitirafalotsaMerafeya Batswana*, Lovedale Press, Alice, 1940, p. 182.

During the war in the Pilanesberg, the baKgatla looted Boer cattle on an enormous scale. As the Native Commissioner (NC) in Rustenburg reported at the end of the war, '99% of the cattle looted from the Boers' was by the baKgatla, most of it 'at the instigation and with the cognizance of the [British] military authorities.'⁸ The looted cattle were carted off to the safety of Mochudi. As a way of intimidating them into leaving their farms, the baKgatla looted Boer property on a large scale, resulting in the latter fleeing to Rustenburg for safety. The baKgatla then occupied the abandoned Boer farms, convinced that their owners would never return.

Following the Boer defeat and peace agreement between the British and the Boers at Vereeniging in April 1903, however, the new British administration under Milner ordered the baKgatla to vacate the Boer farms and ensured that they were speedily and safely reoccupied by their owners. BaKgatla resistance to the Boers continued. Unlike before the war, they had become 'disrespectful' to their former Boer masters, refused to render compulsory unpaid labour and demanded to be paid more for it.

In conclusion, the enormous herds of cattle the baKgatla had looted more than compensated for their losses of cattle during the rinderpest epidemic a few years earlier, and during the forced migration of thousands of followers of Kgamanyane in the 1870s. Thus, the baKgatla successfully exploited the opportunities the war presented to re-build their cattle stocks. After the war, these cattle became extremely important as a capital resource with which to buy the badly needed additional land in the Pilanesberg. The same looted cattle also contributed to a general baKgatla prosperity that lasted for almost two decades from the end of the war. The journalist, E.F. Knight, who visited the area just after the war in 1903, observed the following about the baKgatla heartland, Saulspoot: 'Many of the leading men live in well-built houses of red brick. Signs of considerable prosperity and a relatively civilised condition are everywhere apparent.'⁹

Tshidi-Rolong Resistance to the Boers in the War¹⁰

So the Barolong fought on. They were provided with guns, but there were not enough to go round. Many of them had, however, their own guns and munitions, and these were taken out for good use. The south-western side was defended by the Barolong, and the north-western sector of the perimeter was maintained by them and

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁹ E.F. Knight, *South Africa After the War: A Narrative of Recent Travel*, Longman, London, 1903, p. 267.

¹⁰ This whole section on the Tshidi-Barolong and the South African War of 1899 – 1902 is based on B. Willan's Chapter 6, "Blacks in the Siege," in I. R. Smith, (ed.), *The Siege of Mafeking, Vol. 2*, Johannesburg, The Brenthurst Press, 2001; and H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, Cape Town, Tafelberg: 2007, 218.

the British garrisons. The cooperation of the black and white troops was unique throughout the siege.¹¹

We have much firmer evidence about Barolong involvement in the war due to the publication in 1973 of Sol Plaatje's Boer War Diary. This is the only known account of the famous Siege of Mafikeng from an African perspective.

On the eve of the South African War, the baRolong bo Ratshidi of the Mafikeng area of what was then the northern Cape sided with the British forces because of two decades of conflict with the Boers over land. From the late 1860s, the Boers in the Zeerust area of the South African Republic persisted in expanding westwards and thus usurping the ancestral lands of the Ratshidi. This resulted in several battles and six Boer sieges of Mafikeng during the 1870s and 1880s (see above). Consequently, in October 1899, when Boer forces under Commandant Piet Cronje were poised to invade Mafikeng, baRolong chiefs requested the commander of British forces in the area, Colonel Robert Baden-Powell, for arms and ammunition for their defence.

At first, the British prevaricated because this was a 'white man's war' and 'blacks should not be armed, and should not serve with the British forces in a combatant capacity'. But eventually, the obvious danger posed by Cronje's forces changed this policy and Baden-Powell gave Snyder rifles and ammunition to about 400 baRolong men. The coloured community in Mafikeng also formed their own resistance contingent, the 'Cape Boys', while the Indians in the town were also armed and incorporated into the white Town Guard. Another two African groups, the Mfengu contingent and the Black Watch, were also provided with arms and ammunition. Each of these groups was assigned a specific portion of what is today greater Mafikeng to defend.

Brian Willan has recorded that on 25 October 1899 the baRolong repulsed a Boer attack, killing an undetermined number of the attackers. This action encouraged Baden-Powell to give the baRolong defenders more rifles and ammunition and increased their number to about 500. On numerous occasions, the baRolong, out of their own volition, went on 'offensive operations against Boer positions, sometimes capturing guns and equipment'. Nominally, the baRolong were under the authority of Sergeant Sydney Abrams, but in practice, they conducted their own operations of defence and resistance against the Boers, under their own command structure. Their commanders even used British-style military titles. Thus Wessels Montshiwa was 'field-marshal', Lekoko Marumolwa a 'general', and others were 'sergeants' and 'corporals'. Blacks also generally acted as spies and dispatch runners, supplying the British military authorities in Mafikeng with much-needed intelligence about Boer commando activity. Those who got caught by the Boers, of course, ran the risk of being shot – and many of them were.

¹¹ S. M. Molema, quoted in Smith, *The Siege of Mafeking*, p. 285.

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

- *Chief Besele Montshiwa* – Of the baRolong bo Ratshidi, head of a regiment that fought on the side of the British forces during the South African War (Anglo-Boer War). The monuments were erected by the baRolong chieftaincy with funds collected from the baRolong people.

Chapter 9

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in Limpopo Province, 1840-1910

Introduction

In the Northern Transvaal, resistance to colonial occupation and subsequent segregation under the apartheid regime has a long history. The chronology of events that led to the subjugation of the northernmost part of the country occurred last probably because the Voortrekkers movement emanated gradually from the Cape to the north hinterland. Geography thus played an important role in that regard. It is important to understand the dynamic of political change which unfolded in the second half of the 19th century as tension grew between polarised forces. Tempelhoff and Nemudzivadi speak of two axes, namely the horizontal axis in which the Afrikaner Republics tried to secure their continued independence from the British by negotiating individualised relations with strong African states.¹ The vertical axis comprised the successive British governments and the colonies of the Cape and Natal. African polities found themselves grappling for their freedom through armed resistance and finally losing it and becoming subjects of the Union of South Africa in the beginning of the 20th century when the two axes joined forces.²

Pre-1900 Wars of Resistance to Colonialism by Northern Transvaal Populations

The Bapedi

For a very long time the Pedi had withstood external pressures mostly because of their centralised governance structure. After the wars of Mfecane during the early 19th century, the Pedi under Sekwati had almost disintegrated under the strain of internal division and the wars. Sekwati avoided an excessive centralisation of authority, but swelled the ranks of his followers by incorporating refugee groups. However, the advent of the Trekkers in this region during the mid-1840s was soon to lead to their subjugation at the turn of the 20th century. This began with the role of Potgieter who was the Boer leader. In particular, in 1845 Potgieter negotiated an agreement with Sekwati in which the Pedi supposedly granted land rights to the Trekkers.³ Potgieter began to make more demands on the Pedi for labour and tribute, which soured relations between them. An offensive was launched by the Boers on Sekwati in 1852 at Phiring. Although the siege failed the Boers did capture a large

¹ J. Tempelhoff and H. Nemudzivadi, 'Riding the storm of change: Makhado, Venda and the South African republic (1864-1895)', *New Contree*, No.45, 1999.

² *Ibid.*

³ P. Maylam, *A history of the African people of South Africa: From the early iron age to the 1970s*, London, Croom Helm, 1986, 128.

quantity of Pedi cattle and goats. This prompted Sekwati to move his capital to another mountain fortress called Thaba Masego, where he managed to maintain uneasy peace with his hostile neighbours until his death in 1861. Sekwati was succeeded by his eldest son Sekhukhune, who soon faced serious opposition a year later from his younger brother Mampuru. The latter would capitalise on the internal rifts within the Pedi polity and forge external alliances. This division was further worsened by the missionaries, such as the Berlin Missionary Society in the 1860s, who converted Sekhukhune's brothers, wives and other members of his family.

In retaliation, Sekhukhune began a campaign to stop the spread of Christianity while one of his converted half-brothers. Dinkwanyane sought refuge among one of the paramount's enemies, Botshabele – something which exposed the cracks in his polity. Pressure from the Transvaal was also imposed on the Pedi such that by 1876 there was war looming among the two.⁴ By early 1876 armed Pedi warriors were raiding farms in Mac Mac district and approaching within six miles of Lydenburg.⁵ According to Maylam, this conflict needs to be viewed as having been driven by the Transvaal's land and labour requirements, which were growing amidst competition from the diamond fields that were lucrative to African migrant workers, including the Pedi.⁶ Coercive labour recruitment drives were ushered in by the Transvaal, including legislation in which taxes and passes were implemented to restrict African settlement on state or private land. War broke out between the South African Republic army (which included Swazi warriors, Transvaal Africans and burghers) and the Pedi in 1876. The results of the war were devastating for both sides as there were losses of human life and the Pedi in particular lost cattle, while drought strained their food supply and a number of chiefdoms shifted their allegiance to the Republic. A subsequent peace settlement was rejected by Sekhukhune on the grounds of its unfavourable conditions for the Pedi. This meant that at the time the British annexed the whole of the Transvaal in 1877, the Pedi still enjoyed their independence. It was only a few years later in 1879 that the British finally launched an assault which ended Sekhukhune's rule through his capture and imprisonment in Pretoria. They appointed his half-brother Mampuru who later on fell out of their favour and took refuge among the Nzdundza Ndebele. Mampuru was captured and hung in 1883. Thus, the last decade of the 19th century saw the end of Pedi independence.

Owing to the richness of Bapedi history, the Limpopo Provincial government recommended that the battlefield where Kgosi Sekhukhune fought against the Boers and the British be developed into a heritage site, while other resources may include the graves of Bapedi chiefs, missionary buildings, and other related heritage resources.⁷

⁴ This was the same period when gold was discovered in South Africa.

⁵ T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A modern history*, Johannesburg, Macmillan, 1977, 107.

⁶ Maylam, *A history of the African people of South Africa*, 128.

⁷ Limpopo Provincial Government, Mapungubwe News Special Edition-Heritage Month, Department of Sports and Culture, 2009.

The Venda

The Venda were largely able to withstand the impact of two major population upheavals of the 1820s and 1830s namely, the *Defacane* and the Great Trek. The mountain strongholds of the Soutpansberg provided a safe haven for the Venda such that refugee groups fled there and were absorbed by the Venda. In addition, Tsetse flies and mosquitos deterred the Trekkers from settling in this area. Nevertheless, the Venda came into contact with the Trekkers as labourers and traders, while some of them worked as porters since horses and cattle could not survive the Tsetse fly. First contact with the Trekkers came with the arrival of Louis Trichardt and Hans van Rensburg in the 1830s in the Soutpansberg area. Later on, in 1848, Andries Hendrick Potgieter settled in the region and named their settlement Soutpansbergdorp, later on changing it to Schoemansdal after Stephanus Schoeman who took over from Potgieter. The latter was killed by the Matebele during the siege of the Kekana of Mokopane in 1854. Schoemansdal only existed for less than twenty years as it collapsed with the assault by the Venda of Khosi Makhado in 1867.

Khosi Makhado was regarded by colonial forces, especially the Boers, as 'the troublesome Venda chief' owing to his power and their inability to defeat him. In the same year the Boers assembled an army under the command of Paul Kruger to attack the Venda. However, they were defeated by the Venda and retreated to Marabastad – something which greatly elevated Makhado's status. In 1895 when Makhado died from poisoning, the Boers saw an opportunity to return and take on the weakened Venda people in the absence of their arch rival. Internal struggles of succession among Makhado's three sons, namely, Maemu, Sinthumele and Mphephu, rocked the nation as they split and re-settled elsewhere with their own followers. Maemu took the monarchy's capital to Nzhelele, while his brothers Sinthumele and Mphephu launched physical attacks on him. This presented an opportunity for the Boers to face a disunited Venda chiefdom by fuelling the feud and taking Maemu into their care when he fled to Pretoria. Even though Mphephu took over power from his brother, he consistently received dissent from Sinthumele. The former fled across the Limpopo River after being attacked by Commander Piet Joubert in 1898, thus signifying that the Venda had been formally subjugated by the ZAR government. Land expropriation from the Venda ensued and the people were dispossessed of the land.

Considering the resilience of the Venda of 'riding the storm of political change on the northern frontier of the South African Republic', one would concur with Tempelhoff and Nemudzivadi who argue that:

For some reason Makhado's accomplishments are hardly acknowledged in the works of nineteenth century South African history. Perhaps it is a result of the general lack

of knowledge of the history of the Venda. Perhaps it is a result of a discourse of South African history, which was part of a colonial tradition.⁸

They thus conclude that 'it is perhaps justified to make a plea for the recognition of Makhado and his role on the northern frontier of the South African Republic during the second half of the nineteenth century'.⁹ One way in which this recognition has been observed is through the change of name of Louis Trichardt town to Makhado.

The Ndebele

The south Ndebele were Nguni-speaking group who possibly settled in the Transvaal as early as the 16th century, unlike the Matebele of Mzilikazi who entered the region in the 19th century at the time of the Mfecane.¹⁰ These Transvaal Ndebele are offshoots from a group under chief Musi, the son of chief Mhlanga who had seven sons, among them, Manala, Ndzundza, Mhwaduba, Dlomu, Mthembeni (Kekana), Skosana, and Sibasa. As a result of a succession dispute between Manala and Ndzundza, Musi's chieftom became divided between the two sons. After suffering heavily at the hands of Mzilikazi during the 1820s, Manala fled and sought refuge at the Wallmansthal mission station, while Ndzundza regrouped under chief Mapoch, eventually settling east of the Steelpoort River. Like other societies in the region, the Ndzundza developed fortified mountain strongholds such that by the 1860s their capital, Erholweni, 'was probably the most impregnable single fortress in the eastern Transvaal'.¹¹ By the late 1870s the chieftom had a population of about 10,000 and exercised influence over a considerable area.

Regardless of their strength they remained in the shadow of the paramount Pedi chief. For the most part they lived peacefully beside the Boer Trekkers with a few disputes over land, labour, and taxes. However, the British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 resulted in a restructuring and strengthening of the state, and in 1879 a British-led army (with Swazi and Ndzundza assistance) finally defeated the Pedi paramountcy. The defeat of the Pedi in 1879 meant trouble for the Ndzundza because it made them vulnerable to Boer rule. Delius explains their predicament as follows:

As the balance of power swung away from the African states in the region, landowners and speculators started to press claims to formerly unoccupied farms and to those which had been worked only on sufferance of the Ndzundza rulers.

⁸ Tempelhoff and Nemudzivadi, 'Riding the storm of change'.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ S.N. Phatlane, 'The farce of homeland independence: Kwa-Ndebele, the untold story', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 37 (3-5), 2002.

¹¹ P. Delius, 'The Ndzundza Ndebele: Indenture and the making of ethnic identity', in P. Bonner, I. Hofmeyr, D. James and T. Lodge, *Holding the ground; Class, locality and culture in the 20th century South Africa*, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1989, 229.

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in Limpopo

Shortly after retrocession, the Ndzundza and the restored Republican administration found themselves at loggerheads over competing land claims and over whether the chiefdom fell under the authority of the ZAR.¹²

Under Chief Nyabela, the Ndzundza refused Boer demands to cede land to the settlers, provide labour and pay rent as well as taxes. Added to this was their refusal to hand over chief Mampuru who had sought refuge from his brother Sekhukhune. Subsequently, Sekhukhune and the Boers lodged an offensive against them for eight months until starvation forced the Ndzundza to surrender. This led to their subjugation under white rule.

The war that followed was one of attrition. The Boer force and their African- mainly Pedi- auxiliaries balked at direct attacks on the Ndzundza strongholds and adopted a policy of siege. Ndzundza crops were destroyed, their cattle were seized, and a number of their smaller refuges were dynamited. By the middle of 1883 widespread starvation made it impossible for them to continue the struggle, and in July Nyabela surrendered. His subjects streamed out in desperate condition while behind them their abandoned capital – torched by the victorious burghers – provided ‘glorious illumination’ of their plight.¹³

By 1883 the ZAR had reached a decision that the Ndebele should be dispersed throughout the Republic to prevent future resistance. Most were distributed among the Boer farmers in areas such as Lydenburg, Middleburg, Standerton, Wakkerstroom, Potchefstroom and Pretoria as indentured labourers for a period of five years. However, as indentured labourers, the separated Ndzundza people continued to resist by fleeing whenever they could from the farms. Some also changed farms in pursuit of their families which they were separated from during the translocation period. Nevertheless, it became difficult, even after the abolition of indenture in 1887, for the Ndebele to regroup as a united chiefdom except for attempts by Chief Mayisha Cornelius Mahlangu in 1923 to unite the Ndebele chiefdom on a farm he had purchased, Weltevreden, northeast of Pretoria in the Globblersdal district.¹⁴

The Tsonga of the Gaza Empire

The Gaza-Nguni Empire was founded by the Nguni people who had fled the Mfecane wars under the leadership of Soshangana who entered Mozambique around 1820. On their way they eventually incorporated the Tsonga, Ndzawu (Ndau), Vahlengwe, Vanyai, Varhonga, Vachopi (Chopes), Vatshwa, Mashona, Vahlave, Vadzonga (Bitongas) and other groups. Soshangana led a kingdom populated by between 500,000 and 2-million subjects stretching

¹² *Ibid.*, 231.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ S.N. Phatlane ‘The Kwa-Ndebele independence issue: A critical appraisal of the crises around independence in Kwa-Ndebele 1982–1989’, *Kleio*, 33:1, 2001, 61-85.

from close to the Nkomati River in the south, to the Zambezi and Pungwe Rivers in the north, and from the Indian Ocean in the East to the Drakensberg and Zoutpansberg, and eastern Zimbabwe in the west; a total of approximately 240,000sq km. at the height of its power in the 1850s/1890s with the direct authority of its rulers extended over what is today southern Mozambique, large parts of western Zimbabwe, and the Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces of South Africa.¹⁵ They were referred to as MaShangana after Soshangana. What is important to note is that regardless of this rich history, of relevance to this literature survey is the wars of resistance that took place in the northern Transvaal part of the Gaza-Nguni Empire against imperial domination.

Nghunghunyani (also spelt Ngungunyane) ascended to power on the eve of the Berlin Conference in which the partitioning of Africa by the colonial masters was decided. Nghunghunyani understood the fate he had at the hands of three domineering powers, namely, the Portuguese who had great interests in effectively occupying Mozambique, the British in Zimbabwe and the Boers in parts of the Transvaal where his empire straddled boundaries, so he opted to use both military and diplomatic tactics.¹⁶ One of the critical steps he took was to negotiate diplomatic ties with the British and Boers whom he considered to be greater threats compared to the Portuguese. At the same time, the latter wanted the Gaza king to reject swearing allegiance to England or to bear arms against Portugal. Cecil Rhodes, representing British interests, also swayed Nghunghunyani, forcing him to sign agreements to help him defend his independence from the Portuguese around the late 1880s.¹⁷ This also included exploration and mining rights in the Gaza empire's territories. During the same period, Nghunghunyani moved his capital from the north to Bileni fearing that he may lose control of the Limpopo valley as well as the coastal region between Limpopo and Inhambane.

Several battles are recorded, among them the Magule War of 1895 in which Portuguese armed forces of Captain Andrade and Couceiro were attacked on route from Lorengo Marques to Mandlakazi by African regiments. Although the Africans retreated after massive casualties, these were the first attempts to resist Portuguese attempts to rule over them. In the same year another battle broke out at Coolela (Khuwulela) in November when the Portuguese under the command of Colonel Garlhado with 600 military officers, 500 African assistants and other Portuguese soldiers tried to capture the Gaza capital. Nghunghunyani and his forces were divided as he managed to only fight with a third of his original army, experiencing heavy casualties, and were thus forced to retreat. The Portuguese proceeded to enter Mandlakazi with little opposition, forcing the king to retreat into exile in his sacred village of Chaimite. The Portuguese then appointed their own Governor of Gaza in December of that year. They proceeded to capture the Gaza king finally, and in 1896 King

¹⁵ Limpopo Provincial Government, *Mapungubwe News* Special Edition-Heritage Month, 2009.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in Limpopo

Nghunghunyani was exiled to Portugal only to die in a Portuguese hospital at the age of 61 in 1906. No chief was appointed to replace him. The whole of Gaza land was divided into districts under Portuguese rule, while some parts fell in the colonies of Rhodesia and parts of northern Transvaal which was Boer-controlled territory. Nghunghunyani's remains were repatriated to Mozambique in 1985 following a request made by President Samora Machel and were buried at Fort Maputo.¹⁸

The Bagananwa

The Bagananwa (also spelt Bahananwa) originated from the Bahurutse branch of the Batswana nation and their roots are in present day Botswana. They moved throughout the years until settling in parts of northern Transvaal in an area called the Bochum-Blouberg Mountains, which they turned into a permanent home. Under their founding chief, Sebudi Lebogo (Mmalebogo), the Bagananwa named their Blouberg stronghold *Thaba e tala le Selema* (the Evergreen Mountain).¹⁹ Shortly afterwards, in the 1820s, a racially mixed community called the Buys people led by Coenraad Buys settled on the western side of the Soutpansberg in an area called Tswaing (The Place of Salt).²⁰ A decade later in 1836 the Boers arrived in the area and settled to the south and east of the Bagananwa. Due to the lack of documented evidence, much of their early history remains oral, while from the second half of the 19th century missionary writings on the Bagananwa under Kgosi Matsiokwane became available. These missionaries arrived in the territory in 1868 under Reverend Beyer of the Berlin Missionary Society (BMS), who was given a piece of land to pursue his missionary work of converting Christians. The BMS established two main stations namely Leipzig (1868) and Makgabeng (1871). The Kgosi and his people welcomed missionaries not only for their religious purposes but saw them as important agents in the changing political environment of the late 19th century.

The early years of living together were cordial as these communities depended upon each other for their livelihoods. The economies of the Bagananwa, Buys and Boer societies were also commonly based on extensive pastoralism and agriculture, with hunting and trade as supplementary activities. Their early exploitation of resources such as land, water, grazing, hunting grounds and labour, exhibited relationships of exceptional co-operation and accommodation. For instance, cross-racial and class relationships which included hunting partnerships, exchange of commodity products and cattle-clientage emerged between 1836 and 1877.²¹

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ T.J. Makhura, 'Mercenaries and missionaries in the Boer subjugation of the Bagananwa in the Northern Transvaal, 1894-1895', *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 36, Issue 1, 1997, 193-219.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

Tensions with the missionaries came to a head when Kgosi Matsiokwane was assassinated in 1879. Their involvement was evident as it complicated the power struggle between Ramatho (Kibi) and Kgalusi (Ratshatsha/Masilo/Leketa). It was Kibi, with the help of Christian missionaries, who assassinated the Kgosi; but this did not yield any positive outcome for them because Ratshatsha took over the reins of power.

The missionaries had also played a role in facilitating the land dispossession of the Bagananwa, who lost their land and mineral rights to the Boers. This led to a situation where the BMS leader, Rev C.H.C. Stech, was expelled from Blouberg in 1892. At the same time the Buys began to play a controversial role in shaping Boer-Bagananwa relations, especially when they joined the ranks of the Boer administration as tax collectors and commando assistants that exercised authority over all African communities. The Boers and Buys, together with their Portuguese neighbours from Delagoa Bay, began to raid and seize labour among African communities, including the coercion of a number of Bagananwa young men and children who were forced into the Boer system of domestic slavery called *inboekstelsel* (apprenticeship).²² The Boer republic continued to demand labour from the Bagananwa, as well as tax, livestock, and land, which they resisted. According to Makhura, this resistance was not surprising for the Bagananwa were not yet located in the ambit of colonial conquest and had begun a process of arming themselves with ammunition that had been brought into their area from Kimberley and Witwatersrand labourers.²³ This level of arming intimidated the Boers to such an extent that they began their own call-up to create the largest force to mobilise against the troublesome Bagananwa.

In 1894, a contingent of 4,000 European fighters and about 3,000 African or coloured mercenaries came together to form a 7,000 strong Boer-led force against the Bagananwa, who were about 2,000 residing in the mountain capital (comprising women and children as well). Although the Bagananwa were about 40,000 people by 1894, they lived in areas far away from the capital. This turned out to be one of the most uneven contests to ever occur in the Transvaal. War broke out in May 1894, when the Boers led by Vorster attacked the peripheries of the Blouberg capital to eliminate any attacks from behind, as well as cutting off the capital from supplies by paralysing its peripheral communities. Due to the strong and stubborn resistance of the Bagananwa, the Boers resorted to many desperate and inhumane warfare tactics, including the use of dynamite to kill women and children who had taken refuge in the caves. Even though the Bagananwa eventually surrendered, Boer victory was not an easy task, as Makhura points out:

Considering the nineteenth century practical weaknesses of the emigrant white farmers in the northern Transvaal in particular, it may perhaps be no exaggeration to argue that without these mercenaries and missionaries, as well as the breakdown of

²² *Ibid.*, 200.

²³ *Ibid.*, 202.

ecological resources, the Boer military victory over the stubborn Bagananwa would have remained a mirage for a longer period of time than it turned out to be.²⁴

Nevertheless, the Hananwa today remember Mmaleboho, better known by them as Kgalusi Sekete Lebogo, or Masilo, as the leader who gallantly led their ancestors in a courageous defence against Boer aggression.²⁵

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

- *Chief Sekhukhune* – After the death of Chief Sekwati in 1861, his sons Mampuru and Sekhukhune both became rivals for the succession to the chieftainship of the BaPedi. Sekhukhune executed all Mampuru's councillors, and declared himself ruler. Mampuru swore vengeance, although his life had been spared. Between 1876 and 1879, conflict broke out, first between the Boers and the Pedi and then between the British and the Pedi. The Pedi did not undergo extensive conversion to Christianity, as did the Tswana. This was a result of conflict between the Berlin Missionary Society and Bapedi kingdom. The Berlin missionaries believed that African kingdoms were obstacles to Christianisation. As a result, they systematically undermined chiefly authority among the Bapedi. Chief Sekhukhune was also against conversion to Christianity and from 1864 he began to persecute Christian converts. As a result, Christian converts fled from the kingdom and established Botshabelo (place of refuge) mission place. It was during the Anglo-Pedi war that Sekhukhune was defeated and captured in 1879. In 1881, the Boers, who had regained their independence, set him free. Soon afterwards, Mampuru murdered Sekhukhune and fled to Nyabela, an Ndebele chief, for asylum. This action brought the downfall and imprisonment of Nyabela, and Mampuru was executed in Pretoria in 1881. Regents ruled the Pedi until Sekhukhune II came to power in the 1890s.
- *The battlefields during Sekhukhune's wars of resistance* – On April 12, 1877, Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the Transvaal on the pretext, inter alia, that a Boer Republic that failed to 'pacify' the Bapedi threatened, by its very existence and weakness, to destabilise the British colonies of the Cape and Natal. Up to 1877 the British had 'supported' Sekhukhune's attitude to the Boers. Sekhukhune's attitude was that his Empire fell outside the jurisdiction of Pretoria; that the land between the Vaal and the Limpopo Rivers belonged to him, and that although he would never accept Boer rule, he might as a last resort, like Moshoeshoe, accept Protectorate status under the British Crown. However, after the British Annexation of the Transvaal (April, 1877) British attitudes changed. James Grant, a Briton, confirmed: '...the view taken by our

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 219.

²⁵ L. Kriel, 'Same war, Different story: A century's writing on the Boer-Hananwa war of 1894', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol, 30, No. 4, 2004, 792.

government was that Sekhukhune was not a real rebel against the Transvaal, in-as-much as his territory formed no part of that dominion (Transvaal Republic), and that the war waged against him was an unjustifiable aggression against an independent ruler; but when, in 1877, the Transvaal was annexed, Sekhukhune's country was included, without any question, in the new territory added to Britain's possessions'. Sekhukhune rejected this new British position scornfully. By March 1878 drums of war were beating again in Sekhukhuneland – this time it was against the British. Captain Clarke, who was sent to subdue Sekhukhune, was routed with heavy loss of life and barely escaped with his life at Magnet Heights. Immediately after this first British failure to subdue Sekhukhune, a fully equipped force of 1,800 men under Colonel Rowlands made another attempt from August until October 1878, to reduce Sekhukhune to submission. The mission failed (again with much loss of life on both sides) and had to be abandoned on October 6, 1878. The British made a third attempt at subduing Sekhukhune in June/July 1879, under the command of Colonel Lanyon. This too failed. There was little more the British could do at that time since they had on their hands colonial wars in the Eastern Cape Colony, in the Colony of Natal, in Lesotho (the Gun war), in Ashanti (Ghana), Afghanistan and Cyprus, and military logic forced them to await the outcome of these wars before challenging Sekhukhune again. This stage was reached after the Battle of Ulundi and the exile of King Cetshwayo to Britain. Thereafter, Sir Garnet Wolseley moved his motley troops of Britons, Boers and Africans (10,000 Swazi troops) to bring down Sekhukhune. This was the fourth British attempt to reduce Sekhukhune to submission. Wolseley chose November 1879 for his move. It was a major military operation. Sir Wolseley's men moved in a pincer movement from Fort Kruger, Fort MacMac, Fort Weeber, Jane Furse, Bebo, Schoonoord, Lydenburg, Mphahlele, Nkoana, Steelpoort, and Nchabeleng, Swaziland – literally from all sides – to Thaba Mosega. The battle raged furiously from November 28 to December 2, 1879. Sekhukhune fought with muskets obtained from Lesotho where he had royal support and French Missionaries as friends; from Kimberley Diamond fields where his people worked; from Delagoa Bay (Mozambique) with which he had close trade and other links. The British used their more modern Mausers. Much life was lost. Sekhukhune himself lost his son and heir, Moroanoche, and fourteen other members of his immediate family. As the battle raged, Sekhukhune was taken by surprise in the form of an attack from behind by 10,000 Swazi troops in the service of the British. This surprise attack virtually brought the war to a close. Sekhukhune took refuge in Mamatarnageng, the cave on Grootvygenboom (high up in the Lulu Mountain), some 15 miles from Thaba Mosega. There he was cut off from all sources of food and water. So, when on December 2, 1879, Captain Clarke and Commandant Ferreira were led to the cave and called him out, Sekhukhune had no choice but to comply. He was accompanied by his wife and children, his half-brother, Nkwemasogana, Makoropetse, Mphahle (a Swazi national) and a few attendants. Commandant Ferreira, who was obsessed with the myth that Sekhukhune owned large quantities of gold and diamonds, searched diligently but found nothing. This brought to an end the colonial war against

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in Limpopo

Sekhukhune. On December 9, 1879, Sekhukhune (then 65 years old), his wife, a baby, a child, Nkwemasogana, Mphahle, Makoropetse and a few generals were led to prison in Pretoria. He remained there until the Pretoria Convention of 3 August 1881 was signed between Britain and the Boers after the first South African War. Article 23 of the Convention provided that Sekhukhune be set free and returned home. He could not return to Thaba Mosega, which had been burnt down in the war and which had fresh military associations, but to a nearby place called Manoge.

- *King Makhado* – King Makhado was a king of the Venda people who ruled from 1864 until his death in 1895. His fortress was on the mountains immediately north of the site where the city of Louis Trichardt would be located (less than two kilometres away). Makhado played a major role in resisting settlement in the area by Trekboers, who came to refer to him as the ‘Lion of the North’. After coming to power, Makhado challenged further encroachment on his people’s land and was considered as ‘the troublesome Venda chief’. After the 1864 death of the VhaVenda chief, Ramabulana, white involvement in the succession dispute between his sons, Makhado and Davhana, caused conflict. Makhado, the eventual victor, retaliated by withholding labour from the Boers and instructing his marksmen to retain the guns of their white employers until the pro-Davhana whites recognised his claim. It is for these reasons that he was honoured with a major town in the Soutpansberg area by the Limpopo provincial government. King Makhado’s statue has been placed in the centre of what was known as Louis Trichardt town and the statue of Louis Trichardt was subsequently removed.²⁶
- *The Mapoch Wars* – When Nyabela became regent chief in 1875, KoNomtjarhelo was the royal headquarters of an area covering 84 square km and with a population of 15,000. The amaNdebele clan-state delegated its administrative powers to a number of sub-chiefs such as Malgas, Magelembe and Tappies Mahlangu. There is a controversy as to what precipitated the ‘Mapoch War’ of 7 November 1882 till 8 July 1883. On the one hand, African royals sought to keep Europeans in check by playing English against Afrikaner. On the other hand, Europeans were determined to influence African royal politics. King Sekhukhune of BaPedi fought and defeated the British, but was later murdered by his cousin, Mampuru. This embittered the Afrikaners, who saw Sekhukhune as their ally. They intended to avenge this killing. Chief Nyabela offered asylum to Chief Mampuru. He defiantly stated that Chief Mampuru was in his stomach, as he had swallowed him. The Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek had attempted and failed three times to subdue amaNdebele: in 1849, in 1863 and in 1864. The Mampuru crisis was a new opportunity. Commandant Piet Joubert commandeered Afrikaner forces from Lydenberg, the Soutpansberg and Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek and hundreds of BaPedi and BaTswana soldiers. Chief Nyabela gathered many amaNdebele, amaSwazi and BaPedi fighters. The war was one of gun facing gun, with many casualties on both sides. Joubert laid a siege, but failed to dynamite his way into the KoNomtjarhelo stronghold.

²⁶ M. Thotse, ‘Contesting Names and Statues: Battles over the Louis Trichardt/Makhado ‘City-text’ in Limpopo Province, South Africa’, *Kronos*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2010, 176.

Cut off from all supplies and with little water and food, amaNdebele continued to surprise their adversaries. Eventually, however, they surrendered. Punishment was swift and severe. The royal homestead and the cornfields were razed to the ground. The emaciated amaNdebele were herded into concentration camps. Both Mampuru and Nyabela were tried, found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging. The British again intervened and twisted the arm of the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek. Claiming Chief Nyabela as their subject, they forced the Afrikaners to commute his sentence to life with hard labour.

Organised Political Resistance in the north of the Transvaal Colony

The last decade of the 19th century brought on new challenges in the area now known as the Limpopo Province. Whereas the 1880s were marked by attempts within the Pedi polity to come to terms with the destruction of their kingdom and the subsequent penetration of colonial rule and authorities on the one hand and the spread of mission stations on the other, the 1890s saw the growth of the gold mining industry and changing patterns of migration. Hostility between blacks and whites in the Northern Transvaal could be traced back to 1886 when some whites moved to the area. About 900 to 1,200 white farms were created in the Zoutpansberg area by 1902. This was after the British had taken control in the Transvaal following the bitter Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 in which the Afrikaners were defeated. Afrikaner farmers in the Northern Transvaal congregated around G. Munnik, once a Landdrost during the rule of Paul Kruger in the Transvaal. Exploitation of African workers was high on these farms and after the Anglo-Boer War many workers refused to return to work on the farms around Zoutpansberg due to low wages. They preferred to ply their skills in the developing mining sector.

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

Sefako Mapogo Makgatho – Sefako Mapogo Makgatho was born at GaMphahlele, in the Pietersburg district in Transvaal (now Limpopo province) in 1861. He was the son of Chief Kgoruthe Josiah Makgatho of the Makgatho chieftaincy at Ha Mphahlele. Sekhukhune was the paramount chief until 1879 when the British colonial government and the Voortrekkers managed to defeat him and brought some of the minor chiefdoms under their rule. At this stage Makgatho was a young man of 18 and fully aware of developments that were to signal the end of the Pedi polity. Makgatho began his education in Pretoria where he completed his primary education. In 1882 he left South Africa to study education and theology at Ealing in Middlesex, England. At the time of the Scramble for Africa in 1885, he returned to Pretoria and started his career as a teacher at the Kilnerton Training Institute, a Methodist

The Wars of Resistance and Political Opposition in Limpopo

School for African children living near Johannesburg. It was also during this time that Makgatho was ordained as a Methodist lay preacher. Makgatho taught at Kilnerton until 1906 when he, together with other teachers in the Transvaal, formed one of the first teacher unions, the Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA). He was also the key figure in the formation of the African Political Union (APU) and the Transvaal Native Organisation, both of which merged with the SANNC in 1912.²⁷

²⁷ www.sahistory.org.za.

Phase 2: 1910-1960

Chapter 10

Introduction

The years from 1910 to the end of the 1950s represent the consolidation of white power and the escalation of resistance to minority rule. Firstly, in 1910 the Union of South Africa was formed, officially handing power from the British colonial authorities to the white minority. Secondly, apartheid policies to oppress black people began to be legally enforced after the engineers of apartheid, the Nationalist Party, won the 1948 national elections. Watershed moments which were meant to entrench separate development and worsen oppression were met with parallel rigour in efforts to fortify anti-apartheid resistance. In this regard, other events of significance which took place during this period include the formation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) – later renamed the African National Congress (ANC) – in 1912; its Youth League (ANCYL) in 1944; and its Women's League (ANCWL) in 1948, preceded by the Bantu Women's League established in 1918. The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, later changed to the South African Communist Party in 1953) was launched in 1921. There was also the introduction of the Hertzog Bills and the subsequent All African Convention in the 1930s.

As the previous section demonstrated, the unjust treatment of, and the struggle for equality by, the black majority began long before 1910. However, the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 was the beginning of an era in which the minority government codified and intensified its unjust treatment of the black majority. Furthermore, this was also the beginning of an era in which the struggle for liberation, by the oppressed majority, laid the foundation for the freedom achieved in 1994. From 1910 the South African government enacted a set of laws to secure the economic prosperity of the white minority at the expense of the Africans' political and economic rights.

The 1909 Constitution which led to the formation of the Union laid the foundations for these laws by institutionalising the status of black people as people with no political rights in South Africa. The laws included the 1913 Land Act, which stripped the African majority of the rights to land and thereby their livelihood. Other laws further entrenched the economic deprivation of Africans by curtailing, inter alia, their right to free movement to seek out a livelihood, the right to quality education and the right to seek political recourse in response to the unjust treatment. These laws and policies included the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, the Native Administration Act of 1927, and the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950.

However, as the economic and political rights of the black majority in South Africa were increasingly eroded, they in turn intensified the struggle for economic and political freedom.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

It is instructive to note that from 1910 to the late 1950s, the liberation struggle was still characterised as *moderate*, as opposed to upholding a *militant* resistance campaign against white minority rule. The two strategies have mainly been distinguished by the early apprehension to use violence in fighting the white minority state, versus the decision to use any and all tactics, including violent means, in advancing the cause of liberation. Nonetheless, in spite of this somewhat less militant earlier approach, responses to oppression and discrimination in various parts of the country had for a long time displayed high levels of radicalism and a growing degree of political and class consciousness.¹ In Natal, for instance, uprisings often culminated in violent clashes that saw scores of Africans suffer arrest, injury, and death. In this phase of the liberation struggle, the focus is on:

- the key organisations and their leadership in this phase – e.g. the South African Native National Congress (SANNC – later the ANC), the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), the All-African Convention, the New Unity Movement, the ANC Youth League, the Congress Alliance, and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC);
- the main campaigns of the period – e.g. the campaign against the Hertzog Bills, the Indian Passive Resistance Campaign, the Defiance Campaign, the Bantu Education Campaign, and the Freedom Charter Campaign; and
- the significant massacres/acts of resistance during the period – e.g. the Bulhoek Massacre, the Sekhukhuniland Revolt, and the anti-pass revolt in Zeerust.

¹ L. Kuper, "The Natal Riots", *Africa South Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 2, January - March 1960, 20-26.

Chapter 11

The formation of organisations

Introduction

During the first decade of this phase, the educated elite in the African, Indian and coloured communities took the lead in the formation of a range of organisations whose primary objectives were to strive for the rights of the dominated groups in South Africa. As the legislation that affected these groups increasingly became more oppressive, so too did their organisations become increasingly militant. This chapter is a survey of the key organisations, as well as their leadership.

The South African National Native Congress (SANNC)

On 24-26 March 1909, the African Native Convention convened in Waaihoek location, Bloemfontein to discuss the draft Constitution adopted and published in February 1909 at the whites only National Convention, which served to institutionalise the status of the Non-Europeans as minors with no political rights in South Africa. The Convention issued protests against the proposed colour bar in Parliament, demanded social respect and rights for Africans, Indians and coloureds and agreed to finance a delegation to England to garner support against the unjust Constitution.¹ The delegation included W. P. Schreiner, the leader, Dr Walter Rubusana, Dr Abdullah Abdurahman,² Tengo Jabavu,³ J. Langa Dube, D. Dwanya and T. Mapikela. However, the efforts of the delegation were in vain as on 31 May 1910 General Louis Botha came into office as the leader of the newly formed Union of South Africa.

In 1911, Pixley Ka I. Seme, who had met the delegation in London in 1909, became a member of the African Native Convention and proposed the formation of the South African Native National Congress to the other members of the convention.⁴ During the meeting

¹ W.M. Marable, 'Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism', *Phylon*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 4th Quarter, 1974, 405.

² Dr. Abuduallah Abdurahman became the president of the APO and continued as its president until his death in 1940. Although the APO recruited its members from the relatively small group of educated and economically well-off coloured people, it became the most influential political organisation for coloureds in Cape Town and elsewhere for almost forty years. In 1910, Dr. Abdurahman made the following statement: "If Europeans persist in their policy of repression, there will one day arise a solid mass of Black and Coloured humanity whose demands will be irresistible".

³ D.D.T. Jabavu, known as the 'father of African education', was a leading figure behind the establishment of the South African Native College at Fort Hare. Refer to Marable, 'Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism', 402.

⁴ T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A modern history*, 3rd edition, Johannesburg, MacMillan, 1987, 261.

Seme gave the keynote address and proposed that the African majority should unite and form the SANNC.⁵ Seme's proposition was 'seconded by Alfred Mangena, a fellow lawyer, and the African National Congress was born'.⁶ The South African Native National Congress (later renamed the African National Congress) was formed on 8 January 1912. The leadership of the organisation included Seme, A. Mangena, R. W. Msimang, G. D. Montsioa, Dube, Rubusana and Sol. T. Plaatje, the first secretary general. At the meeting where the SANNC was formed, Western Cape organisations were represented by individuals such as W. P. Schreiner, Thomas Zini of the Cape Peninsula Native Association (CPNA), and Dr Abdullah Abdurahman of the African People's Organisation. Its first president, John Langalibalele Dube, was from Natal.

The leaders and membership of the new organisation were drawn from African organisations formed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to fight for the liberation of Africans in South Africa. The organisations included '*Imbumba Yama Afrika*', 'the first African political organisation, established by African teachers and clergymen in the Eastern Cape in 1882'.⁷ They also included members of the 'Native Electoral Association' led by John Tengo Jabavu from the Eastern Cape, which represented Africans who met the property and educational standards required to vote for the Cape Legislative Assembly.⁸ At the time, the Cape Province was the only province with a 'non-racial franchise and blacks were barred from being members of parliament'.⁹ It has been noted that 'the approach of Union, and the colour-bar constitution adopted by the all-white National Convention, stimulated the unification of these early organisations'. Added to these was the Native Land Bill of 1912, which also brought the realisation to Africans of the need for 'an effective national organisation which could unite the people, regardless of tribal origin or language, for an effective struggle against white minority domination'.¹⁰

The SANNC was the first organisation within South Africa to transcend ethnic divides reinforced by colonial domination and boundaries. However, from the outset it was a conservative organisation, whose ideology and programme remained the attainment of equality and inclusion, or integration, of Africans into the 'economic life and political institutions' of the country.¹¹ As the ANC pointed out much later,

⁵ P. Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1971, 35.

⁶ R. Rive and T. Couzens, 'Seme', 1992. Available at www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4663.

⁷ South African Communist Party, *Modern Imperialism and the Birth of the Liberation and Labour Movement*, 2013. Available at www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=3942.

⁸ For more detail on Jabavu's role in agitating for African political rights refer to A.P. Walshe, 'The Origins of African Political Consciousness in South Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, December 1969, 583-610.

⁹ Republic of South Africa, *South African history: The Union and the ANC*, 2013. Available at www.southafrica.info/about/history/521106.htm#.UnSPcHCnpQg.

¹⁰ South African Communist Party, *Modern Imperialism and the Birth of the Liberation and Labour Movement*.

¹¹ Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa*, 34.

The Formation of Organisations

...the first National Executive of the ANC is interesting in many respects: it consisted of four ministers of religion, lawyers, and an editor (Plaatje), a building contractor (Maphikela), a teacher and estate agent (Makgatho) and a teacher, interpreter and Native Labour Agent (Pelem). These are people who went to mission schools and five of them studied abroad (UK and USA) and others had attended conferences overseas.¹²

The SANNC had a following in all four provinces of South Africa, each of them with their own dynamics that led to the rise and waning of the fortune of the organisation at various times. For example, in Natal, A.W.G. Champion led the organisation and built a close relationship between the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) and the ANC. However, the organisation later split. Dynamics in the Western Province also led to a split between segments of the organisation led by James Thaele who championed radical Garveyism. In the Eastern Cape the organisation was led by James Calata who pursued a more moderate position.¹³

In March 1912, SANNC sent a delegation – John Dube, Edward Tsewu, Thomas Mtobi Mapikela and Sol Plaatje – to Cape Town to meet with the Minister of Native Affairs and register their opposition to the Native Settlement and Squatter Registration Bill. SANNC was supported by the Cape Peninsula Native Association (CPNA). Members of CPNA included Impey Ben Nyombolo and Thomas Zini. Thomas Zini represented the CPNA at the formation of the SANNC. During the SANNC delegation's visit to Cape Town, they met with W.P. Schreiner and the APO where an informal agreement was concluded for the two organisations to cooperate. However, the organisations also agreed that they would remain independent as they represented different interests. ANC leaders and members in the Western Cape included James Thaele (President of the ANC in Western Cape around the late 1920s),¹⁴ his brother Kennan Thaele, Elliot Tonjeni and Bransby Ndobe. By the end of the 1920s the influence of the organisation had spread to the farm and wine-land areas such as Swellendam and Worcester.

However, in the 1920s the ANC had internal struggles in Cape Town. Conflict between Thaele and Ndobe broke out in 1930 splitting the ANC between the Independent ANC (IANC) based in rural districts and Thaele's Congress based in Cape Town. One of the reasons that contributed to the split was lack of support from the national leadership of the ANC when the radicalised branch in the Western Cape called for higher wages and better working conditions in 1929-30. In addition, the IANC wanted a more militant approach against the government, a stance supported in both rural and urban areas. Opposition was expressed

¹² African National Congress, *Unity in Action – A short history of the ANC. 1912-1982*, Lusaka, ANC, 1982, 5.

¹³ K. Johnson, and S. Jacobs, *Encyclopedia of South Africa*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2011.

¹⁴ For more on James Thaele's background refer to A.D. Kemp and R.T. Vinson, "'Poking Holes in the Sky": Professor James Thaele, American Negroes, and Modernity in 1920s Segregationist South Africa', *African Studies Review*, Vol. 43, No. 1, Special Issue on the Diaspora, April 2000.

even more strongly when the Urban Areas Bill came before parliament for debate. Selope Thema of the SANNC declared to Jan Smuts that: 'We have a share and a claim to this country. Not only is it the land of our ancestors, but we have contributed to the progress and advancement of this country...we have built this city.'

In 1914, KwaZulu-Natal's John Dube, the first president of the SANNC, was one of the delegates in London to protest against the introduction of the Natives Land Bill. However, this delegation caused some controversy within the SANNC. The bone of contention within the SANNC was the Land Act, and Dube was ousted from the presidency of the SANNC in 1917 for his apparent acceptance of the principle – if not the contemporary practice – of segregation. From this time onwards Dube concentrated his activities in Natal. He was succeeded by Sefako Mapogo Makgatho. In the 1920s, Dube was involved in replacing Josiah Tshangana Gumede, who was considered left-wing, with Pixley ka Seme as president of the ANC in 1930.¹⁵

Silas Molema, from the present-day North West province, supported the founding of the SANNC, and raised funds for the delegations of 1914 and 1919 to travel to Great Britain to protest against the provisions of the Native Land Act of 1913. Shortly before his death in September 1927, he successfully led a deputation to the government to protest against discriminatory provisions in the Native Administration Act. He also provided financial support for Plaatje to launch the important Setswana newspaper, *Koranta ea Bechoana*.¹⁶ The close ties between the Barolong in Mafikeng and the SANNC were not only maintained through the Molema family but also through the ruling Montshiwa lineage. John L. Dube, the SANNC's first President, called upon the financial assistance of Kgosi Lekoko Montshiwa of the Barolong to fund expenses incurred by Plaatje in carrying out work for the SANNC. This applied in particular to the 1912 deputation by the SANNC to discuss a range of issues with the colonial government in Cape Town.¹⁷ Plaatje was considered to be a 'special representative' of the Barolong by Dube.

Sefako Mapogo Makgatho from the present-day Limpopo Province was elected to the National Executive Committee of the SANNC when it was formed, and served as Transvaal President from the outset. Makgatho became SANNC president as World War I was drawing to a close, in 1917, during a period in which the movement is considered to have reached its nadir. Makgatho served as national treasurer of the ANC in the early 1930s. Earlier

¹⁵ www.sahistory.org.za. A number of biographies have been written of Dube. Included here is Marable's 'African Nationalist: The Life of John Langalibalele Dube', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Maryland, 1976 and Hughes's *First President: A Life of John Dube*, Johannesburg, Jacana Media, 2011. Shula Marks' *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1986) is also useful here.

¹⁶ This sketch is taken from the Introduction to the Inventory of the Silas T. Molema and Solomon T. Plaatje Papers, Historical and Literary Papers Collection, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand.

¹⁷ J. L. Dube to Lekoko Montshiwa, 3 November 1911. Silas Molema Collection, Cc9.

The Formation of Organisations

Makgatho had helped establish the Transvaal African Teachers' Association and the African National Political Union, which merged with the Transvaal Native Organisation of which he became president.¹⁸

Some members criticised the SANNC for suspending criticisms of the Union government for the duration of the First World War. For instance, Albert Nzula maintained that the SANNC's loyalty 'to empire during World War I was the 'first act of betrayal' by the 'chiefs and petit bourgeois native good boys', which weakened the liberation struggles of the native people'.¹⁹ Makgotha felt, however, that the Union cabinet should stop slandering the SANNC 'before the Throne of King George for he is our king as well as yours. We do live under the Union Jack and we are proud of it and we are ready to fight for it today as any white man in the land'.²⁰

In December 1918, Makgatho called an SANNC meeting in Johannesburg where a petition was drawn up to be presented to King George. Numerous demands were made in the petition, including concern about the fate of British Protectorates considered for incorporation into South Africa, and a demand that such a decision not be taken without consultation with the inhabitants of these protectorates. Bechuanaland was one of the British Protectorates earmarked for incorporation into South Africa. During Makgatho's presidency, the Transvaal SANNC played a significant role in labour disputes affecting African workers. Between 1918 and 1920 a number of strikes broke out in Johannesburg. First, municipal sanitary workers went on strike in 1918 in what became known as the 'bucket strikes'. The Transvaal branch of the SANNC, still under Makgatho's leadership, was fully behind the action. The following year the branch organised a passive resistance campaign against passes in which over 700 protestors were arrested. In 1920 the Transvaal branch of the SANNC gave active support to the striking workers in another miners' strike.

These strike actions, undertaken mainly by Africans in low paying occupations, were frowned upon by leadership at the national level. Seme and Platje wanted the SANNC to distance itself from these campaigns. They saw the campaigns as undermining their efforts as they continued to negotiate for the acceptance of Africans, particularly the educated elite, into mainstream society. Makgatho, on the other hand, welcomed this engagement of the government by the lower classes. He was, however, expressly opposed to the use of violence. Despite the lethargy of the national leadership in the creation of links with working African people, Makgatho managed to steer the movement away from its traditional support base of chiefs and African petit bourgeoisie by responding to the concerns of the underclasses, albeit for only a short period in the 1920s.²¹

¹⁸ D. Killingray, 'Significant Black South Africans in Britain before 1912: Pan-African Organisations and the Emergence of South Africa's First Black Lawyers', *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 3, 2012, 398.

¹⁹ H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, Cape Town, Tafelberg Publishers, 2007, 237–238.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 239.

²¹ www.sahistory.org.za.

Another founding member of the SANNC from KwaZulu-Natal was Josiah Gumede, who also contributed to the drafting of the organisation's 1919 Constitution. He was also a member of the 1919 SANNC deputation to the Versailles Peace Conference – which was held after World War I (1914-1918) – and the British government. Gumede's visit to England together with Sol Plaatje was full of disappointments. The Colonial Office in London received Gumede and Plaatje with much antagonism. Gumede addressed several audiences in England, including many of London's Black organisations, in order to solicit support for the cause. Gumede and Plaatje presented their grievances to members of the House of Commons in July 1919 in the hope that they would be addressed at their next meeting. The pair also addressed various other organisations sympathetic to their cause. Much of this lobbying turned out to be in vain as the colonial office was sticking to its policy of non-interference in colonial affairs.²²

Throughout the 1920s members of the Natal Natives' Congress (NNC) found themselves in conflict with each other. Dube and Gumede disagreed over the former's attempts to keep the congress as independent as possible from the national ANC. Instead Gumede founded the Natal African Congress, which officially affiliated with the ANC. In 1921 Gumede was appointed as full-time general organiser of the SANNC, with the task of touring the country in search of financial support. Gumede continued to oppose John Dube and his two sympathisers in the NNC, W. Ndlovu and William Bhulose, and the trio were not re-elected to the executive at the annual meeting in April 1924. Gumede was elected as the new president of the ANC.²³

Gumede, accompanied by James la Guma of the CPSA, represented the ANC at the first international conference of the League Against Imperialism in Brussels, Belgium. The pair departed from Johannesburg on 12 January 1927, and after attending the conference Gumede travelled to the Soviet Union.²⁴ He realised that communism could play a vital role in liberating Africa, and his new ideas helped give birth to the alliance between the ANC and CPSA. In addition, after years of supporting legal means of protest, Gumede began to push for mass action. The CPSA increasingly turned its attention to Gumede – and to the ANC – after the communists were expelled from the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) in 1926. Despite ANC criticism of the pro-communist tendencies that often surfaced in Gumede's public rhetoric at that stage, he was elected as president-general of the ANC during its annual congress in July 1927, succeeding Zaccheus Richard Mahabane. Gumede's three-year term as president-general of the ANC was characterised by disputes and dissension – although it did introduce new strains of radical thought into the ANC. Gumede

²² www.sahistory.org.za.

²³ www.sahistory.org.za.

²⁴ For an account of the visit refer to M. Sivogrov, 'The earliest visits of ANC leaders to the USSR', *New Contree*, No. 45, September 1999.

The Formation of Organisations

was accused of being more concerned with communism than the affairs of the Congress and of not improving the already weak financial position of the organisation, rendering him an ineffective administrator. At the annual ANC conference in April 1930, Gumede lost his position as president general and was succeeded by Pixley ka Seme. Gumede lost his Presidency largely because his alliance with communists had generated so much opposition within the Congress.²⁵ He responded by creating the League of African Rights, the first coalition of workers, Africans and communists.²⁶

In 1930 Seme captured the Presidency from Gumede by 39 votes to 14. Seme's leadership was conservative, lack-lustre and autocratic. He had grand designs of making the ANC an engine of economic self-help. He also tried to revive the now defunct House of Chiefs with which the Congress had been burdened at its inception. In 1937 he was replaced as leader by Z.R. Mahabane in spite of his packing annual conferences with his own delegates. Seme retired into the political wilderness and spent the rest of his life concentrating on his lucrative legal practice. In June, 1951, he died in Johannesburg.²⁷

The Bantu Women's League was formed in 1918, and soon affiliated to the ANC. Charlotte Maxeke, the League's founder and first president, was born in the Eastern Cape in the late 1860s. She became a teacher after completing high school, and became the first African woman to study abroad when she went to Wilberforce University in the United States in 1890. Together with her husband, Marshall Maxeke, Charlotte Maxeke founded an independent school in the northern Transvaal. In 1907, it moved to Evaton, south of Johannesburg, as the Wilberforce Institute. She attended the inaugural meeting of the ANC, played an active part in the anti-pass campaigns and later, as head of the League, campaigned against pass laws and sexist inspections of domestic workers.²⁸

James Calata from the current Eastern Cape Province was Cape president of the African National Congress (ANC) from 1930 to 1949, secretary-general of the national organisation from 1936 to 1949, and remained a member of the National Executive until 1956. He joined the ANC in 1930, after he migrated to Cradock where he found high levels of unemployment and poverty. Elected Cape president in the same year he joined, Calata concentrated on developing the organisation and building up membership by visits to small Eastern Cape towns, and demonstrated a capacity to find peaceful solutions to potential conflicts. He was elected ANC secretary-general in 1936, the year in which African voters were removed from

²⁵ www.sahistory.org.za. Refer also to R. Van Diemel, *In Search of Freedom, Fair Play and Justice. Josiah Tshangana Gumede, 1867-1947: A Biography*, Belhar, R. van Diemel, 2001.

²⁶ W.M. Marable, 'Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism', *Phylon*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 4th Quarter, 1974, 406.

²⁷ Rive and Couzens, *Seme*, 21.

²⁸ H. Hughes, 'Lives and Wives: Understanding African Nationalism in South Africa through a Biographical Approach', *History Compass*, Vol. 10 No. 8, 2012, 567.

the common roll in the Cape. Calata recognised that the ANC needed new blood, and was instrumental in persuading A.B. Xuma to stand for the presidency in 1940.²⁹

Dr. A.B. Xuma, from the Eastern Cape, initially resisted participation in any of the key organisations at the time of his return to South Africa in 1927 after a long period of study in Scotland. In 1929, Xuma officially became a member of the Johannesburg Joint Council for Europeans and Africans. The Joint Council movement had been launched in 1921 at the behest of Thomas Jesse Jones and James Aggrey as a discussion group to promote racial co-operation and improve African welfare. By 1930, Xuma had been appointed to the Johannesburg Joint Council's executive board and enjoyed an excellent relationship with the Council's leading white members. After a decade of involvement with white liberal politicians and the All African Convention (see below), Xuma was invited by Calata to attend the ANC conference in Durban in 1939. A year later he was elected President of the ANC. During his early years as ANC President, Xuma set about rebuilding Congress almost from scratch. He travelled extensively to spark interest in the ANC.

In 1943, Xuma worked at drafting a new ANC constitution with the help of Calata, Prof Z.K. Matthews, Bram Fischer and William Macmillan. The ANC at its December 1943 conference in Bloemfontein ratified the Constitution. The new Constitution abolished the upper House of Chiefs, established a working committee to administer Congress on a day-to-day basis, and extended equal membership rights to women for the first time. At the ANC's December 1942 conference in Bloemfontein, he established a special committee to study the relevance of the Atlantic Charter drafted at the conclusion of the Second World War to South Africa and to draft a South African Bill of Rights for presentation to the peace conference at the war's end. Z.K. Matthews played a crucial role in helping Xuma coordinate the committee's work. The document emerging from the conference, entitled 'Africans' Claims in South Africa', represented the most comprehensive statement on African rights ever issued by the ANC. It proclaimed that Africans would accept nothing short of full and equal citizenship at the war's end. In his preface, Xuma portrayed the Charter as having global ramifications, especially where it affirmed the right of all peoples to choose their own form of government. The document's Bill of Rights envisioned a new order for South Africa. Besides demanding full citizenship rights for all, it called for the post-war government to improve the socio-economic position of Africans and abolish all discriminatory legislation. 'Africans' Claims' was unanimously adopted at the ANC's annual Conference in December 1943. Xuma was elected to a second three-year term as Congress President.³⁰

In the 1940s and 1950s the ANC radicalised its demands and methods against apartheid. At the 1940 ANC conference in which Dr A.B. Xuma was elected President-General it was

²⁹ M. Goedhals, 'African Nationalism and Indigenous Christianity: A Study in the Life of James Calata (1895-1983)', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 33, Fasc. 1, February 2003, 63-82.

³⁰ www.sahistory.org.za.

The Formation of Organisations

resolved that the organisation would revive the ANC Women`s League, and a year later the National Executive set up a Youth League. Consequently, the leadership of the ANC was to a large extent replaced by a younger, more assertive and militant group of African nationalists. In addition, a new ANC constitution, the Xuma Constitution, was adopted in 1943. Although the 1940s was a period of political ferment and social maelstrom, with strikes, bus boycotts, squatters` movements, and militant rural protests erupting throughout the war, the ANC remained an organisation of a few thousand, elite in African terms and temperamentally isolated from the growing ranks of the working class, fractured along provincial lines, and heavily based in the Transvaal.³¹

At the time, however, prominent Indian leader Monty Naicker was in favour of co-operation between Indians and Africans against the prevailing government. This led to the alliance between the ANC and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), and the so-called Doctors` Pact of March 1947 in which the intention to co-operate was clearly spelled out, the signatories being Naicker, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo (President of the Transvaal Indian Congress) and Dr. A.B. Xuma (President of the ANC).³²

The election of Dr Xuma brought radical changes to the organisations that reasserted its prominence. The changes included the abolishment of `the elitist Upper House and equality for women` that were reified in the 1943 ANC constitution. Dr. Xuma was also the prominent figure in the committee that co-authored Africans` Claims in South Africa (1943) and he also helped to build an alliance with the communists in the country such as J. B. Marks and Moses Kotane.³³

The ANCYL was formed in 1944 by Anton Lembede, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, and Oliver Tambo as a result in the growth of the ideology of African Nationalism in the ANC. After the 1948 victory of the National Party, the ANCYL was behind the ANC`s adoption of the radical `Programme of Action` in 1949 that endorsed direct action through boycotts and strikes.³⁴ This culminated in the 1952 Defiance Campaign (see below) that is reported to have resulted in the expansion of the ANC into a mass movement of 100,000 members.³⁵ Later, in 1955, the Freedom Charter was adopted and became the ANC`s policy document after the Congress Alliance was formed with Indian, coloured, and white progressives.³⁶ This alliance later led to a split in the movement which led to the birth of the Pan Africanist Congress.³⁷

³¹ J. Soske, "`Wash Me Black Again`: African Nationalism, the Indian Diaspora, and Kwa-Zulu Natal, 1944-1960", Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 2009, 62-3.

³² www.sahistory.org.za.

³³ Johnson and Jacobs, *Encyclopedia of South Africa*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Moses Kotane, also from the North West Province, joined the ANC in 1928 but found it to be a disappointingly ineffectual organisation. He subsequently became more active in the CPSA. In 1943 he was invited by A.B. Xuma to serve on the Atlantic Charter committee that drew up *Africans' Claims*, a document outlining the claims for specific rights, and in 1946 he was elected to the ANC National Executive Committee, a position he held until bans forced his nominal resignation in 1952.³⁸

David Bopape, from present-day Limpopo Province, joined the ANC in 1942 during the presidency of Dr. A.B. Xuma. Shortly after joining the ANC, he was tasked as secretary of the Anti-Pass campaign of 1943-44. Bopape was also a central figure in the Alexander bus boycott of 1943-44, when thousands walked eighteen miles to and from work rather than submit to an increase in bus fares from 4d to 5d. In 1944, Bopape was elected Transvaal ANC Secretary. In the same year, Bopape helped found the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) and served in its first National Executive Committee with Anton Lembede, Oliver Tambo, A.P. Mda, Godfrey Pitje, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela. The founding meeting was held at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Eloff Street, Johannesburg, and was attended by a selected group of 150 men. In his new occupation, Bopape organised ANC branches in virtually every town in the Transvaal (today, Mpumalanga, Limpopo, North West and Gauteng provinces). In 1947, for instance, he travelled to several villages in Sekhukhuneland and was able to sign up thousands of new members. Bopape, together with Bernard Molewa, became instrumental in organising ANC 'Cultural Clubs'. These were meant to counter inferior state education of black children and to teach them to love their people and country. Although he did not play a direct role in organising the migrants from Sekhukhuneland, he did play an important role in shaping the political thinking of a number of men from Sekhukhuneland. Bopape held the position of Provincial Secretary until a banning order forced him to resign.³⁹

Elias Moretsele, also originally from Limpopo Province, joined the SANNC in 1917, and was a stalwart of ANC campaigns in the 1920s and 1930s. Moretsele's leadership role in the ANC only began after the drastic reorganisation of the Transvaal ANC in 1943 when he was elected to their working committee and then as provincial treasurer of the ANC in the Transvaal. Moretsele succeeded Nelson Mandela as Transvaal President in 1953. Shortly after Moretsele's election as ANC president of the Transvaal, he became officially as well as personally involved in various quarrels. The first was a clash in the Newclare branch between supporters and opponents of the ANC's alliance with organisations of other races. The second was about his successful participation at the end of 1953 in the election of

³⁸ www.sahistory.org.za.

³⁹ P. Delius, 'Sebatagomo and the Zoutpansberg Balemi Association: The ANC, Communist Party and Rural Organisation, 1939-55', *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 1993, 297-8; P. Delius, 'Sebatagomo; Migrant Organisation, the ANC and the Sekhukhuneland Revolt', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 4, October 1989, 602; www.sahistory.org.za.

The Formation of Organisations

members of the Native Advisory Committee of the Western Native Town in Johannesburg where he became a candidate for the local 'Vigilance Committee' (also called the Blue Party). The third was the dispute between supporters and opponents of school boycotts as a weapon of resistance against the implementation of the Bantu Education Act in 1955. Moretsele was a zealous supporter of school boycotts. However, after a large number of children were permanently suspended because they had gone ahead with boycotts, many parents and ANC leaders directed a representation to the government to have the children re-admitted. By 1955 Moretsele was also a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. In this capacity he was involved in arranging and attending meetings of the Congress of the People, where he officially welcomed all the delegates. Thereafter, he continually defended the Freedom Charter against the Africanists who rejected its multiracial basis. At the time, especially within the ANC in Johannesburg's western areas, there was bitter disagreement about the Freedom Charter. On 25 February 1958, two days after a chaotic provincial conference of the Transvaal ANC, during which the executive could not satisfactorily counter charges against them, Moretsele resigned as president of the Transvaal ANC. He was again elected as Provincial Treasurer of the Transvaal ANC later in 1958.⁴⁰

During the Xuma presidency of the ANC in the 1940s, George Champion from KwaZulu-Natal became prominent. In the late 1920s, Champion held the post of 'minister of labour' in the ANC National Executive. When Pixley ka Seme succeeded Gumede as president in 1930, Champion lost his position in the inner councils of the Congress; but in 1937 he came back onto the ANC Executive where he remained for the next 14 years. A long-time rival of John Dube, in 1945 Champion, with the aid of Selby Msimang and Jordan Ngubane, captured the provincial presidency of the ANC from A.S. Mthimkulu, the ailing Dube's designated successor. The national head of the ANC, A.B. Xuma, welcomed this political coup and increasingly sought Champion's cooperation, finally making him acting president-general of the ANC during his own absence abroad in 1946-1947.⁴¹

Within the ANC, Champion exerted a powerful conservative influence, vehemently opposing the Youth League and its radical activism, which he regarded as a product of brashness and inexperience. Increasingly hostile to cooperation with the Johannesburg headquarters of the Congress and seemingly intent upon promoting the Natal-Zulu patriotism that had marked his earlier career, Champion eventually goaded his critics in the Natal Youth League too far.

⁴⁰ Delius, 'Sebatakomo and the Zoutpansberg Balemi Association', 298; Delius, 'Sebatakomo; Migrant Organisation, the ANC and the Sekhukhuneland Revolt', 601; www.sahistory.org.za.

⁴¹ www.sahistory.org.za. For more about Champion's leadership of the Natal ANC in the 1940s refer to Soske, 'Wash Me Black Again'. For details about the problems with the Natal ANC between 1944 and 1951 refer to M. Swanson, 'Changing the guard: Champion-Msimang-Luthuli. The ANC in Natal, 1945-1951'.

In 1951 they engineered his defeat by Albert Luthuli in the elections for the Natal president of the ANC.⁴²

Dr. Modiri Molema is another leader from the North West province who became prominent in the ANC. He became active in politics from 1936 after the passing of the Hertzog Bills, which removed the qualified franchise for African voters in the Cape, and his involvement was extended further in 1940 when Dr. A.B. Xuma assumed leadership. He was National Treasurer of the ANC from 1949 until 1953. Arrested for civil disobedience in the 1952 Defiance Campaign, he was later forced to resign his position as a member and office bearer of the ANC in September 1953 in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950.⁴³

Chief Albert Luthuli, also from KwaZulu-Natal, joined the ANC in 1944 when the ANC in Natal was led by A.W.G. Champion. In 1952 he publicly supported the Defiance Campaign (see below), which brought him into direct conflict with the South African government. After refusing to resign from the ANC, he was dismissed from his post as chief in November 1952. During the Defiance Campaign, Luthuli was actively involved in soliciting and recruiting volunteers. He was particularly active on the East Rand where, along with Oliver Tambo, he addressed numerous meetings in several townships on different occasions. The Defiance Campaign in these townships coincided with numerous popular protests such as bus boycotts, squatter movements and industrial strikes. The notoriety gained by his dismissal, his eloquence, his unimpeachable character, and his demonstrated loyalty to the ANC all made Luthuli a natural candidate to succeed ANC President James Moroka, who at his trial during the Defiance Campaign tried to dissociate himself from the other defendants.⁴⁴ It was the leadership of the ANC Youth League, in particular Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Masabalala 'Bonnie' Yengwa, who persuaded Chief Luthuli to stand for the presidency of the Natal ANC in May 1951.⁴⁵

At the annual conference of December 1952, Luthuli was elected ANC President-General by a large majority. Bans, imposed in early 1953 and renewed in the following year, prevented him from giving direction in the day-to-day activities of Congress, but he became a powerful symbol for an organisation struggling to rally mass support. He was re-elected president-general in 1955 and in 1958. Although bans confined him to his rural home throughout his presidency, he nevertheless was able to write statements and speeches for presentation at ANC conferences, and occasionally circumstances permitted him to attend conferences

⁴² www.sahistory.org.za. For more detail on Modiri Molema refer to J. Starfield, 'A Dance with the Empire: Modiri Molema's Glasgow Years, 1914-1921', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3, Special Issue for Shula Marks, September 2001; J. Starfield, 'Dr S. Modiri Molema (1891-1965) : The making of an historian', Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2008.

⁴³ www.sahistory.org.za.

⁴⁴ www.sahistory.org.za. Refer also to S. Kumalo, 'Faith and politics in the context of struggle: The legacy of Inkosi Albert John Luthuli's Christian-centred political leadership'. Available at www.unisa.ac.za.

⁴⁵ Refer to Couper, S., *Albert Luthuli: Bound by Faith*, Scottsville, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2010.

The Formation of Organisations

personally. In December 1956 he was included in the treason arrests, but was released with 60 others in late 1957 after the pre-trial examination. He was subsequently called as a witness for the defence and was testifying in Pretoria on the day of the Sharpeville shooting in 1960.⁴⁶ Ben Khumalo-Seegelken writes that:

The Defiance Campaign (June 1952), the call for non-violent Freedom Volunteers (March 1954), the Congress of the People at Kliptown (1955) and subsequent conferences in Bloemfontein and in Orlando (1956) around the drafting and the adoption of the “Freedom Charter”, the Treason Trial (1956-1960), the Sharpeville Massacre (1961) and the Rivonia Trial (1963-1964) are some of the epochal moments in the history of the liberation struggle of which Albert Luthuli was more than just an active member and backbone.⁴⁷

Pietermaritzburg-based Harry Gwala also rose to prominence in the ANC in the latter part of this phase of the liberation struggle. Gwala joined the South African Communist Party (SACP) in 1942 and the ANC Youth League two years later.⁴⁸ Moses Mabhida, also from Pietermaritzburg, served as secretary of the ANC’s Pietermaritzburg branch in the mid-1950s, and had a close working relationship with Chief Albert Luthuli. Mabhida became a member of the ANC’s National Executive Committee (NEC) around 1956, and in 1958-1959 was acting chair of the Natal ANC.⁴⁹ Dorothy Nomzansi Nyembe, from northern Natal, joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1952, participating as a volunteer in the Defiance Campaign in Durban and was imprisoned briefly on two occasions. In 1954 she participated in the establishment of the ANC Women’s League in Cato Manor. In 1956, Dorothy Nyembe was elected as Vice-President of the Durban ANC Women’s League and a leading member of the Federation of South African Women. She was one of the leaders of the 1956 march of women to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest against the introduction of passes for women. In December of that same year she was one of the 156 people arrested and charged with high treason, but the charges against her and 60 others were dropped on 18 December 1957. In 1959 she was elected President of the ANC Women’s League in Natal.⁵⁰

In conclusion, it is necessary to quote Thosas Karis here:

For almost four decades, the ANC and its predominantly middle class leaders responded to South Africa's segregationist and exploitative policies by organizing deputations, petitions, and public meetings.⁵¹

⁴⁶ www.sahistory.org.za.

⁴⁷ Refer to www.benkhumalo-seegelken.de.

⁴⁸ www.sahistory.org.za.

⁴⁹ www.sahistory.org.za.

⁵⁰ www.sahistory.org.za.

⁵¹ T.G. Karis, ‘Revolution in the Making: Black Politics in South Africa’, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 62, No. 2, Winter, 1983, 29 October 1998, 381.

The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA)

In August 1921, the Social Democratic Federation, the Marxian Club of Durban, the United Communist Party of Cape Town, the Poalai Zion of Johannesburg, and the International Socialist League all met in Johannesburg. The coalition of leftists decided to affiliate to the newly formed Third Communist International (Comintern) as the Communist Party of South Africa. Earlier, in 1915, some member of the South African Labour Party broke away to form the International Socialist League. The League transformed into the CPSA between 30 July and 1 August 1921 in Cape Town. The other group that came into the CPSA were members of the De Leonite Socialist Labour Party. These two groups announced in October 1920 that they had merged into the 'Communist Party', and soon thereafter affiliated to the Comintern.⁵² The formation of the Communist Party was formally announced at a public meeting in Cape Town, attended by over two thousand, mainly coloured, workers, addressed by Bill Andrews, who announced the establishment, aims and character of the new Party.⁵³ The Constitution of the party was also adopted at this meeting, and W.H. Andrews was elected secretary-general, C.B. Tyler chairman and S.P. Bunting, Treasurer. The other members were G. Arnold, Rebecca Bunting, T. Chapman, J. den Bakker, R. Geldblum, H. Lee, E.M. Pincus and R. Rabb.⁵⁴

The initial membership of the party of several hundred was almost exclusively white, and, in its early years of existence focused attention mainly on white workers. For example, the CPSA supported the 1922 strike of white mineworkers. In 1924, however, the CPSA shifted focus to African workers, and established ties with the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union soon thereafter. This did not last long, and in 1926 Clements Kadalie, leader of the ICU, purged the union of its communist members.⁵⁵ In the meantime, however, party members experienced in the trade union field directed their attention towards building African trade unions. Party schools were established in which a drive was launched against illiteracy and ignorance. A number of African workers and revolutionary intellectuals came into the party at this time, including Moses M. Kotane, J.B. Marks, E.T. Mofutsanyana,

⁵² A. Lerumo (Michael Harmel), *Fifty Fighting Years: The Communist Party of South Africa, 1921-1970*, London, Inkululeko, 1980. Available at www.sacp.org.za. Refer also to S. Johns, 'The Birth of the Communist Party of South Africa', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1976; S. Johns, *Raising the Red Flag: The International Socialist League and the Communist Party of South Africa, 1914-1932*, Bellville, Mayibuye Books, 1995; J. Grossmann, 'Class Relations and the policies of the Communist Party of South Africa 1921-1950', D.Phil. thesis, University of Warwick, 1985.

⁵³ Lerumo (Michael Harmel), *Fifty Fighting Years*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ S. Johns, 'The Comintern, South Africa and the Black Diaspora', *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 37, No. 2, April 1975, 201-2.

The Formation of Organisations

Johannes Nkosi, Gana Makabeni, Josie Mpama, and many others.⁵⁶ By 1928 the Party claimed about 1,600 African members out of 1,750.⁵⁷

In 1927, the Communist International adopted a slogan for the CPSA: 'an independent native South African republic, as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' government with full, equal rights for all races, black, coloured, and white'. According to Sheridan Johns, this shocked the CPSA and generated widespread opposition within the party because it 'quenched dreams of socialism'. South Africa was defined as a colony or semicolony of British imperialism, and therefore the immediate struggle was primarily an anti-imperialist nationalist struggle, rather than a direct anti-capitalist proletarian struggle. The task of the communists was to join with African nationalists in the national struggle to oust British and Afrikaner imperialism. The immediate goal was not a socialist state, but an independent democratic 'Native' republic as a stage towards the final overthrow of capitalism in South Africa. The party directed its attention to the ANC, and found a positive reception from leaders such as Josiah Gumede.⁵⁸

In the mid-1930s, a small number of Indians began to join the CPSA in Durban, which at the time was mainly older and white. This group, particularly H.A. Naidoo and George Ponen, played a central role in the revival of the Natal labour movement, organising unions of African and Indian workers in industries like sugar, textiles, and dairy. A few years later, prominent Indians in the Transvaal, such as Yusuf Dadoo, also began to join the Party.⁵⁹ In 1936 the CPSA initiated a United Front programme against the government, in cooperation with the ANC. Other organisations such as the National Liberation League (NLL) were also drawn into the campaign that included strike action, boycotts and demonstrations. By the mid-1940s, the Communist Party had begun to advocate the alliance of the SAIC, APO, and ANC.⁶⁰

Ray Alexander Simons, who was then based in the Western Cape, joined the CPSA when she was 16 years old in November 1929. Ray Simons became Secretary of the Communist Party in 1934 and 1935, and recruited many women into the organisation. She helped organise workers in many different trades, but the trade union which became synonymous with her name was the Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU). Founded in 1941, the FCWU spread through the fruit canning industry of the Boland and up the west coast among fishing communities. She also wrote a regular column on trade union matters in *The Guardian*, a newspaper affiliated to the CPSA.⁶¹ Another important figure in the CPSA from the Cape was

⁵⁶ Lerumo (Michael Harmel), *Fifty Fighting Years*.

⁵⁷ A. Drew, 'Urban Activists and Rural Movements: Communists in South Africa and Algeria, 1920s–1930s', *African Studies*, Vol. 66, Nos. 2-3, 2007, 301.

⁵⁸ Johns, 'The Comintern, South Africa and the Black Diaspora', 200-204.

⁵⁹ Soske, 'Wash Me Black Again', 70-1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁶¹ www.sahistory.org.za.

Winnie Siqwana, who was the first African woman in Cape Town to join the CPSA in 1930. She was also a founding member of the Langa Women Vigilance Association.⁶²

In the 1930s the CPSA moved its headquarters from the Rand to Cape Town together with members such as Moses Kotane and W.H. Andrews. In Cape Town the CPSA attracted support from coloured leaders, especially those who had differed with Abdurahman's conservatism and who were also members and founders of the NLL. These people included Cissie Gool and James La Guma. Once the CPSA was established in Cape Town it launched the paper, the *Guardian*, in February 1937.

La Guma joined the CPSA in 1925 and was elected to its Central Committee in 1926. After he was expelled from the ICU in a purge of CPSA members, La Guma devoted his energies to the CPSA and the ANC. In 1927 he was elected secretary of the Cape Town branch of the ANC and the following year became the organisation's secretary for the Western Cape. In February 1927 he travelled to Brussels, Belgium, as CPSA delegate to an international conference with ANC leader, Josiah Gumede. He went on to visit the Soviet Union (USSR) in the company of ANC president, J.T. Gumede. He returned to South Africa an ardent exponent of the Comintern's new approach to the 'colonial question': establishing independent, democratic, 'native' republics as a step towards the overthrow of capitalism in the colonial empires. La Guma adopted this controversial stance because he felt the empowerment of a black political leadership to be crucial to the success of communism in South Africa. He also argued that this strategy would win a mass base for the CPSA by harnessing the nationalist aspirations of blacks, especially within the petty bourgeoisie.⁶³

Moses Kotane joined the CPSA in 1929, and soon became a member of the party's political bureau. In 1931 he became a full-time party functionary. As one of the CPSA's most promising African recruits in a period when the party was promoting the goal of a 'Native Republic', Kotane was offered an opportunity to go to the Soviet Union, and for a year in the early 1930s he studied at the Lenin School in Moscow. In 1935, because of an ideological dispute with Lazar Bach, then chairman of the CPSA, Kotane was removed from the party's political bureau. He was later restored to his position, however, and in 1939 he became general secretary of the party, a post he continued to hold through the CPSA's subsequent phases of legality, illegality, and exile. When the Communist Party was banned in 1950, Kotane moved from Cape Town, which had been the party's headquarters, to Johannesburg, where he opened a furniture business in Alexandra Township. He was one of the first to be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, but he ignored this ban to speak in

⁶² www.sahistory.org.za. Refer also to R. Alexander Simons, *All my life and all my strength*, Johannesburg, STE Publishers, 2004.

⁶³ www.sahistory.org.za.

support of the Defiance Campaign in June 1952 and was arrested with one of the first batches of defiers.⁶⁴

Meanwhile, from KwaZulu-Natal Josiah Gumede emerged as a leading proponent of communism within the ANC leadership. In 1929 Gumede was elected as chairperson of the South African branch of the League Against Imperialism when it was founded by the CPSA. At the end of that year, when the CPSA launched the League of African Rights, he also became its president.⁶⁵

Alpheus Maliba, from present-day Limpopo Province joined the CPSA in 1936, and from 1939 to 1950 served on its Johannesburg district committee. He was a leader of the short-lived Non-European United Front in 1939 and an unsuccessful CPSA candidate for the Natives' Representative Council in 1942. In 1953 he was banned while serving on the executive committee of an ANC branch in Orlando Township, Johannesburg. David Bopape, from the same province, joined the CPSA in 1940 under General Secretary Moses Kotane. In the late 1940s, he also served on the editorial staff of *Inkululeko*, a CPSA newspaper. The CPSA called on members to belong to national organisations arguing that they were the ones fighting for liberation.⁶⁶ Maliba emphasised organisation in the rural areas, particularly during the 1940s, and inspired some of the leaders of the Transvaal ANC to form a migrant organisation in Sekhukhuneland in the 1950s. At the launch of the organisation – *Sebatakgomo* – in Pretoria, Maliba gave the keynote address.⁶⁷

Another leader from the province who rose to prominence in the 1940s and 1950s was Flag Boshielo. Boshielo joined the ANC and CPSA in the 1940s and served in the ANC Transvaal Executive Committee. He was another founding member of *Sebatakgomo*, a migrant worker-based movement formed in 1954. The movement played a leading role in the 1958 Sekhukhuneland Revolt.⁶⁸ Boshielo was elected chairman of the organisation at its inaugural meeting.⁶⁹

In the 1940s, the CPSA stepped up its activities in black communities, rapidly establishing a presence in African trade unions and the urban townships during the war years. From a membership of some three thousand in the late 1920s, to a mere 280 in 1940, the party grew to between 2-3,000 members by 1945. The growth in the African working class during the course of the war, accompanied by an expansion of African trade unionism, also benefitted the CPSA. Its members were in leadership positions in a number of unions by the

⁶⁴ www.sahistory.org.za.

⁶⁵ www.sahistory.org.za.

⁶⁶ www.sahistory.org.za.

⁶⁷ Delius, 'Sebatakgomo and the Zoutpansberg Balemi Association', 298; Delius, 'Sebatakgomo; Migrant Organisation, the ANC and the Sekhukhuneland Revolt', 606-7.

⁶⁸ www.sahistory.org.za.

⁶⁹ Delius, 'Sebatakgomo; Migrant Organisation, the ANC and the Sekhukhuneland Revolt', 607.

end of the war. The CPSA also involved itself in a number of the housing, rent and transport struggles waged during the period, and was thereby able to increase its influence and support.⁷⁰

In 1950 the apartheid parliament passed the Suppression of Communism Act. The Act empowered the government to prosecute and ban organisations and individuals deemed 'communist' under a loose and encompassing definition. These powers, combined with those already in the hands of the government under the Riotous Assemblies Act, and augmented by those of the Public Safety Act of 1953 and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 1953, allowed the government to regulate and ban organisations and individuals that acted to protest the deepening of segregation and discrimination that was apartheid.⁷¹ On 20 June 1950, the CPSA disbanded as a result of the passing of the Suppression of Communism Bill. The decision was taken at a meeting of the Executive Committee held in Cape Town in June. A proposal by Michael Harmel that the CPSA organise underground structures was rejected, and the majority agreed that the party should dissolve itself, which was publicly announced on 20 June.⁷² By the time of the CPSA's last legal conference in January 1950 the Party still had approximately 2,000 members, comprising 1,600 Africans and coloureds, 250 Indians and 150 whites. Members of the CPSA who thought of the dilution of the party as temporary formed other smaller discussion groups. Some of the members also formed the SACP in 1953. Many became active in the newly-formed Congress of Democrats. A number held fairly prominent positions in the ANC and SAIC.

Nevertheless, two groups were behind the formation of an underground CPSA. Joe Slovo, Ruth First and Howard Wolpe, all students at the University of the Witwatersrand at the time, established an underground branch of the CPSA. Another larger group, consisting of some of the 50 leaders of the party in the Johannesburg area who had been conducted by the 'liquidator' to show reason why they should not be 'named', came together in the Johannesburg barristers' chambers to discuss a common response. A committee, comprised of Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, Bram Fischer, Michael Harmel, Rusty Bernstein, and Vernon Berrange, was elected to draft a reply to the 'liquidator'. The committee members, viewing themselves as an elected body with some sort of a mandate from a substantial number of former party members, undertook to create a new communist party. The committee contacted all members of leading CPSA committees, inviting them to consider joining a new underground party organisation. A majority of people agreed to participate, and the committee undertook the building of a new, secret and illegal party. Early in 1953 about twenty five delegates met in the house at the rear of the shop of an Indian merchant in a rural area of the eastern Transvaal. The new organisation was formally named the South

⁷⁰ See D. Fortescue, 'The Communist Party of South Africa and the African Working Class in the 1940s', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3, 1991, 481-512.

⁷¹ S. Johns, 'Invisible Resurrection: The Recreation of a Communist Party in South Africa in the 1950's', *African Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 9, Issue 4, Fall 2007, 8.

⁷² *Ibid.*

African Communist Party (SACP), and Yusuf Dadoo was elected as chairman and Moses Kotane as secretary.⁷³

Other Groups and Organisations

Afro-Caribbean Immigrants

One of the first Afro-Caribbean immigrants to participate in South African politics was the Pan-Africanist Henry Sylvester Williams from Trinidad. Henry Sylvester Williams arrived in Cape Town in 1903 and became the first black person to be registered as a lawyer. However, he found it a challenge to practise his profession because of the hostility of his white counterparts. Despite this, Williams gave speeches and lectures around the Western Cape about 'Colour and Politics'. One notable occasion is the talk he gave to leading coloured residents at the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Wellington, where he suggested petitioning for government to build better schools for coloured children.

Williams also became acquainted with leading activists in the region such as J.H.M. Gool, from the Indian Association, and Dr Abdullah Abdurahman who both served with him on the Wooding's School Board. In 1904 he chaired the APO meeting organised to protest against the bad treatment of coloured people by the Transvaal government. Present at that meeting was John Tobin, Abdurahman and Matt J. Fredericks (APO Secretary General).

Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA)

Formed in May 1913, the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA) was the first coloured teachers association and it was founded by Herold Cressy (first coloured graduate) and H. Gordon.⁷⁴ The League was established after Dr. Abdurahman consulted with Harold Cressy, and it aimed at the 'upliftment' and 'advancement' of coloured communities. According to Mohamad Adhikari, the origin of the League is also rooted in the segregation of schooling in the Cape. This process of segregating education reached fruition in the Cape after 1905, and precipitated the formation of this separate teachers' association for coloureds.⁷⁵ The TLSA later became important as a political strategy in the emergence of a coloured identity in Cape Town. It also helped to bring APO and non-APO members together.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 10-11. For another account of the reconstitution of the Party in the early 1950s see R. Suttner, 'The (Re-)Constitution of the South African Communist Party as an Underground Organisation', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 2004.

⁷⁴ The seminal work on the Teachers' League is Mohamed Adhikari's book, *Let Us Live For the Children: The Teachers' League of South Africa, 1913-1940*, Cape Town, UCT Press, 1993. Refer also to A. Wieder, 'They Can't Take Our Souls: Teachers' League of South Africa Reflections of Apartheid', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2001.

⁷⁵ M. Adhikari, 'Coloured Identity and the Politics of Coloured Education: The Origin of the Teachers' League of South Africa', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 1994, 108-112.

The TLSA was one of the central organisations in the campaigns against apartheid policies, especially the introduction of the policy of Bantu Education, which took place during the 1950s. In June 1952 the TLSA organised a conference in Cape Town, where 1,200 teachers attended from across the Cape Province. During that conference a resolution was adopted to reject the separation of African, coloured and Indian education and to unify all teachers. The government responded by dismissing all teachers opposed to Bantu Education; this included teachers like A. Mangcu and L.L. Sihlali. However, the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) challenged the dismissals in court on behalf of the affected and the Supreme Court revoked the dismissals and ordered the Native Affairs Department to reinstate them.

The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU)

In January 1919, Clements Kadalie, a Cape Town resident of Malawian descent, and Arthur F. Batty, a unionist and political activist, founded the Industrial and Commercial Union of Workers of South Africa (ICU), which was later renamed the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa. The ICU started as a trade union for the African and coloured dockworkers of Cape Town, but transformed into a general organisation that included in its membership skilled as well as unskilled workers from industry and the agricultural sector. During the 1918-1919 period, mobilisation of African and coloured workers around the low wages paid to dock workers and the export of foodstuffs took place in Cape Town.

The ICU was formed in 1919 in Cape Town as a result of the disgruntlement among African and coloured workers with the general situation of black people in South Africa, but specifically with their working conditions and unfair wages.⁷⁶ Among the reasons for the formation of the union were the concerns over the increased cost of living in the post-war era experienced by workers, shortage of unskilled labour during this period and the challenges faced by skilled and semi-skilled coloured workers in the Cape as members of 'craft' unions dominated by white workers. According to Jacobs, 'white Socialists and, subsequently, white members of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) were instrumental in the formation and development of the ICU'.⁷⁷

On 16 December 1919, the Cape Native National Congress, jointly with the ICU and Industrial Workers of Africa (IWA), held a meeting in Ndabeni. As a result, in December

⁷⁶ A., Jacobs, 'The Rise and Fall of the Industrial and Commercial Union of South Africa', 1919-1929', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(1), 2011, 40-50. See also H. Bradford, 'Mass movements and the petty bourgeoisie: The social origins of ICU leadership, 1924-1929', *Journal of African History*, Vol. 25, 1984, 295-310; P.L. Wickins, 'The One Big Union Movement among Black Workers in South Africa', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1974, 391-416.

⁷⁷ Jacobs, 'The Rise and Fall of the Industrial and Commercial Union of South Africa'.

The Formation of Organisations

1919, Kadalie organised a dockworkers strike, which prevented the export of all goods through Cape Town Harbour facilities. The strikers included African dockworkers employed by the Railways. The success of the strike was to lead to a rapid growth in the membership of the union, and by '1926 the ICU had as many as 250,000 members'.⁷⁸

However, the union faced a number of problems early in its history. During the 1920s, African politics in the Cape was also influenced by the ideas of Marcus Garvey. As a result, the Garvey Universal Negro Improvement Association⁷⁹ (UNIA) was founded. By the end of 1921 there were four branches of the UNIA in the Cape Peninsula. Two figures were prominent in the proliferation of Garvey's ideas in Cape Town, namely James Thaele and Samuel Bennet Ncwana. Bennet Ncwana, also a member of the ICU, founded the Mendi Memorial Club in 1920 after serving in the South African Native Labour contingent in France during the First World War; he also launched the paper, *The Black Man*.

In 1922 Ncwana and others broke from the ICU and helped to maintain the Industrial and Commercial Coloured and Native Workers' Union (ICWU) as a separate organ from the ICU. The union's aim was to organise industrial action and provide other benefits for skilled, unskilled, industrial, domestic and rural workers. Ncwana used the *Black Man* newspaper as a vehicle to propagate the ideas of the ICWU. As leader of the Cape branch of SANNC, Ncwana incorporated the ideas of Garvey into the Cape branch of the ANC. For example, the ANC headquarters in Cape Town were renamed Liberty Hall after the UNIA centre in New York.

In KwaZulu-Natal, Allison George Champion became a leading figure in the ICU. In 1925 Champion met Clements Kadalie and, seeing a wider scope for his organising talents, he joined the ICU as its Transvaal secretary. He was posted to Durban later that year as Natal secretary, where he rapidly demonstrated his abilities as a leader by building up the largest and wealthiest branch of the ICU. The ICU only established itself in Natal in 1925, six years after it had been formed in Cape Town. By 1927, Champion could boast that Durban was a 'formidable fortress' of the ICU comprising 27,000 paid members. Champion, who was second in command to Kadalie, and strongly supported him in ousting Communists from the organisation in 1926, became acting ICU national secretary during Kadalie's trip to Europe in 1927. The following year, after Kadalie's return, the ICU began to break up. Champion sought local control as a leader of a now independent and the powerful *ICU yase Natal*.⁸⁰ Then, in June 1928, most of the Natal branches seceded from the national union and formed ICU yaseNatali. Over the following two years, while the ICU experienced a sharp decline in

⁷⁸ Edward Roux, *Time Longer Than Rope, A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1964, 167.

⁷⁹ The movement used slogans such as black unity, black consciousness and black liberation.

⁸⁰ www.sahistory.org.za.

support in the Natal countryside, the ICU yaseNatali, under the leadership of Champion, continued in its attempt to organise African workers.⁸¹

A branch of the ICU was first established in East London in 1922. According to Beinart and Bundy, it is not clear how active a presence the ICU branch maintained between 1923 and 1927. There is little evidence that the local body made much headway until the spectacular national expansion of the ICU in 1926 and 1927. The East London branch was fairly buoyant at the beginning of 1928, having benefited from the surge in membership and popularity of the movement at large. Local organisers held open air meetings almost every Sunday near the dipping tanks in the East Bank Location. The most regular speakers at these meetings were officials of the national ICU in the Eastern Cape – Theo Lujiza, Mac Jabavu, and John Mzaza – and two members of the local branch committee, Alfred Mnika and Joel Magade. In 1928, the ICU meetings generally attracted crowds of a few hundred people, climbing to 600 or more when Kadalie spoke, when local men reported on national meetings, or when a particular episode fanned indignation. After April 1928 and for the next twelve months, however, attendance fell sharply and meetings seldom drew as many as one hundred listeners.⁸²

The National Liberation League (NLL) and the Non-European United Front (NEUF)

In the 1930s, strong disagreement and divergent views led to disintegration and reformation of political organisations. Race became one of the issues; the question was whether organisations should be led by whites, Africans or coloureds. These debates resulted in the formation of the Lenin club in 1933, which also split in 1935 giving rise to the Spartacus Club. Despite their differences, these two groups laid the foundation for the formation of the National Liberation League (NLL) in December 1935 and later the Non-European United Front (NEUF).

The NLL was founded by James la Guma, who composed the anthem of the NLL – ‘Dark folks arise’ – and Cissie Gool. The NLL was a largely coloured political organisation that sought to unite blacks in a common stand against segregation. La Guma was elected secretary at its inaugural conference in 1935 and was editor of its newspaper, *The Liberator*, published for a few months during 1937. La Guma played a prominent role in the NLL’s anti-segregationist

⁸¹ S.M. Ndlovu, ‘Johannes Nkosi and the Communist Party of South Africa: Images of "Blood River" and King Dingane in the Late 1920s-1930’, *History and Theory*, Vol. 39, No. 4, Theme Issue 39: "Not Telling": Secrecy, Lies, and History, December 2000, 116. Refer also to P. la Hausse, ‘The Message of the Warriors: The ICU, the Labouring Poor and the Making of a Popular Political Culture in Durban’, Paper presented at the History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, 9-14 February, 1987.

⁸² W. Beinart and C. Bundy, ‘The Union, The Nation, and the Talking Crow: The Ideology and Tactics of the Independent ICU in East London’, Paper presented at the Wits History Workshop, March 1985.

The Formation of Organisations

protests. He was, however, expelled from the NLL in April 1939 largely as a result of his insistence that the organisation restrict its leadership to blacks.⁸³

The NLL's members consisted of individuals linked by family networks, institutional associations and the local intelligentsia such as teachers. The NLL called for a political alliance and it was launched on 1 December 1935 (Emancipation Day). The aim of the NLL was to set up a black and white worker accord. Its symbol was a black slave with severed chains holding a flaming torch with the slogan 'For equality, land and freedom'. Between 1939 and 1942 the Langa branch of the NLL became the leading organisation in resisting the establishment of municipal beer halls.

In March 1938, as a move towards unity, delegates to an NLL conference agreed to the formation of the Non-European United Front (NEUF) for Africans, coloureds and Indians. The ANC and Communist Party also participated in the NEUF. The goal was to oppose all colour bars through strikes, boycott and peaceful demonstrations. Despite its efforts to reach out across the racial divide, the NEUF remained largely a coloured organisation. Some of the leaders of these organisations were drawn from the Communists; they also included Dr. Goolam Gool of the Workers Party of South Africa (WPSA). In the Indian community, prominent leaders such as Yusuf Dadoo in the Transvaal and H.A. Naidoo in Natal, organised anti-war protests in African townships and produced both English and Zulu language leaflets defending its arrested leaders. According to Ismail Meer, 'the membership of the NEUF increased and exceeded that of the ANC'.⁸⁴

Also, in 1938 there were demonstrations in Cape Town against the removal of the coloured vote from the common roll. This included an attempt to march on Parliament. When the police retaliated with force, the leaders of NLL, mainly members of the CPSA, sped away in a car, leaving the marchers to face the police brutality. Consequently, James La Guma and Dr. Goolam Gool of the WPSA left the organisation. In 1939 the NLL split as it expelled some of its members such as James la Guma, Hawa Ahmed and Dr Goolam Gool. In July 1939, La Guma, together with a small group of followers, formed the National Development League (NDL), but its existence was short-lived. The NDL's policy was fostering black economic independence under black political leadership.⁸⁵

The All African Convention

⁸³ www.sahistory.org.za.

⁸⁴ I. Meer, *A fortunate man*, Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2002, 59. Cited in Soske, 'Wash Me Black Again', 73.

⁸⁵ B. Hirson, *Revolutions in My Life*, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1995.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

In 1935 the South African government proposed the 'Native Bills' to 'settle the Native Question once and for all'.⁸⁶ What drove the enactment of these bills was the economic strife of the white minority due to the Great Depression of 1929. These bills were therefore part of the plan of 'saving the country'.⁸⁷ It meant intensifying the process of enslaving the black man, depriving him of the last vestige of his rights and reducing him to the status of a baggage animal whose sole function was to labour and produce wealth for the 'master-race'.⁸⁸ The so-called Hertzog Bills included the Native Representation Bill and the Native Trust and Land Bill enacted in 1936, and the Urban Areas Amendment Bill enacted in 1937.⁸⁹

The All-African Convention (AAC) was founded in 1935 in response to Hertzog's Native Bills. The convention took place on 15 December at the Community Hall, Bloemfontein. Present at the conference were delegates representing the 'entire spectrum of opposition to the white government and included a number of leaders and provincial bodies of the ANC as well as other anti-government organisations'.⁹⁰ The first conference was well attended as over 500 delegates from both the towns and the rural areas were present representing their respective constituencies. These delegates came from places such as Transkei and Zululand as well as Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland.⁹¹

Prominent people present included John Tengo Jabavu, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Dr. John Langalibalele Dube, Rev. Z.R. Mahabane, Dr. Alfred Bitini (A.B.) Xuma and Dr. James Sebe (J.S.) Moroka, J.B. Marks, Edwin Mofutsanyane of the CPSA, Clements Kadalie of the ICU, as well as tribal chiefs (members of the Transkei Bunga), respected church dignitaries, elected members of the Urban Advisory Boards, prominent women, professional men, and representatives of a score of local organisations, including coloureds from left-wing circles in Cape Town. 'The result of this meeting was the formation of the All African Convention, headed by D.D.T. Jabavu.'⁹²

Under the chairmanship of Prof. Jabavu, delegates drafted comprehensive resolutions on African grievances and resolved to constitute the All African Convention (AAC), an organised body tasked with promoting African rights through boycotts. Bloemfontein was chosen as the meeting place because of its significance as the birth place of the SANNC. At the conference it was agreed that all Africans should observe Sunday, 19 January 1936 as a day of universal humiliation and intercession in their places of worship and public gatherings. Mr. L.T. Mtimkulu also passed a resolution that the viewpoints of the AAC on the

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Tabata, *Awakening of the People*, 13.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁹⁰ Johnson and Jacobs, *Encyclopedia of South Africa*, 16.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Aluka website, 'Unity Movement', Kader Asmal Collection. Available at www.aluka.org/action/showCompilationPage?doi=10.5555/al.sff.compilation.collection-major.umsa&.

The Formation of Organisations

Representation of Natives Bill and the Native Land and Trust Bill be submitted to parliament by a deputation of Africans during the next session. A resolution was also passed to establish the National Council for African Women with Charlotte Maxeke as president.

The Convention met again on 29 June to 2 July, 1936, in the Community Hall, Bloemfontein. At the 1936 conference, Mr. R.V. Selope Thema, seconded by Mr. P. Ramutla, moved the resolution: 'that the Convention approves of the principle of the establishment of this body as a permanent organisation of all the African people'.⁹³ In addition, the Executive, consisting of 'D.D.T. Jabavu, President: Dr. A.B. Xuma, Vice-President: Dr. J.S. Moroka, Treasurer: Mr. H. Selby Msimang, and General Secretary: Mr. R.H. Godlo, Recording Secretary: and Professor Z.K. Matthews, Clerk-Draughtsman'⁹⁴ submitted a draft constitution. At the conference, 206 delegates represented 112 organisations from across South Africa. As Tabata noted:

In accordance with the resolution taken at the 1936 Conference the Convention met in Bloemfontein, 13th-15th December, 1937. Its first task was to hear reports of delegates from their respective organisations concerning (1) the principle of establishing the All-African Convention as a permanent body; (2) the Draft Constitution which had been decided upon at the previous Conference. The delegates reported that their organisations were in agreement with the principle and accepted the Draft Constitution.⁹⁵

Given the overlap in membership, the relationship between the AAC and the ANC was always an issue, with the AAC offering somewhat of an alternative to the ANC at the time. As the AAC turned more militant, it later partnered with coloured and Indian organisations to form the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) to reject cooperation with the government and push for full rights for all black South Africans. The AAC itself was short-lived; by the 1950s, its following had waned and some of its members had joined the ANC or SACP.⁹⁶ However, according to Rassool:

The creation of the AAC in 1935 had represented 'a turning point in the organisational history of the African people'. The AAC's argument for a federal basis of political unity would 'remove competition', 'eliminate all rivalry between organisations' and provide a platform for a 'unified leadership'. A 'spirit of co-operation' would replace 'mutual antagonisms'.⁹⁷

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Johnson and Jacobs, *Encyclopedia of South Africa*, 19.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁷ C. Rassool, 'From Collective Leadership to Presidentialism: I.B. Tabata, Authorship and the Biographic Threshold'. *Afrika Zamani*, Nos. 13 & 14, 2005–2006, 23–67, 37.

The Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM)

The Non-European Unity Movement was founded by 'Trotskyist' activists in 1943. The decision to form the NEUM was taken at the All African Convention (AAC) in 1935. The NEUM was inspired by the idea that black political unity was a precondition for the overthrow of white rule.⁹⁸ Thus its core objective was to build a united, black political front. The NEUM strategy included a policy of non-collaboration with government and the boycotting of all racist institutions.

In line with their strategy, the NEUM put forward a set of minimum demands for full democratic rights, which were outlined in the 'Ten Point Programme', conceived within the Workers Party of South Africa (WPSA), and adopted at its inaugural conference. The programme focused on the land question and the demand for the vote. The details of the 'Ten Point Programme' and the background to the 'Building of Unity' were reviewed by Tabata at the Second Unity Conference in 1945.⁹⁹

Tabata details the events that led to the adoption of the 'Ten Point Programme' as follows. During December 1943 a preliminary Unity Conference was held in Bloemfontein. Present at the meeting were delegates from both the All African Convention and the National Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD), and there, the Programme was provisionally adopted. After the Programme was provincially adopted, in January, 1944, at the 2nd National Anti-CAD Conference it was adopted as the basis of the Anti-CAD movement. In July, 1944, the Executive of the All-African Convention, meeting in Johannesburg, endorsed the action of the Convention delegation to the Preliminary Unity Conference. Thereafter, 'in December, 1944, the Annual Conference of the All-African Convention ratified the decisions of the delegation and the Executive and endorsed the Ten-Point Programme as the basis upon which Unity can be built'.¹⁰⁰

At the 3rd Unity Movement Conference held at the Banqueting Hall in Cape Town from the 4-5th January 1945, the Programme was formally adopted. 'The Ten-Point Programme' included the demand for:¹⁰¹

1. the age of 21 to elect and for people to be elected to Parliament, Provincial Councils and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils;
2. compulsory, free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy;

⁹⁸ B. Hirson, *A Short History of the Non-European Unity Movement*.

⁹⁹ Rassool, 'From Collective Leadership to Presidentialism', 28.

¹⁰⁰ Unity Movement 3rd Conference document.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

The Formation of Organisations

3. inviolability of person, of one's house and privacy;
4. freedom of speech, press, meetings and association;
5. freedom of movement and occupation;
6. full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, colour and sex;
7. revision of the land question in accordance with the above;
8. revision of the civil and criminal code in accordance with the above;
9. revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the above; and
10. revision of the labour legislation and its application to the mines and agriculture.

Also presented at the conference was 'The Basis of Unity' document by B.M. Kies.¹⁰² Isaac Tabata also presented another document, 'The Building of Unity'.¹⁰³

As an organisation, the NEUM consisted of existing political, trade union, civic, cultural and social organisations. It was therefore an umbrella organisation, which was to bring a range of organisations together under a non-racial banner.¹⁰⁴ The two main organisations involved in the NEUM were the AAC and the Anti-CAD movement. The Anti-CAD, which was formed to oppose the formation of a separate Coloured Affairs Department, was almost entirely coloured in membership and based mainly in the Western Cape, while the AAC was almost wholly African and drew support mainly from the Eastern Cape.¹⁰⁵ The leadership of the two affiliates overlapped as Goolam Gool, his sister Jane, and her husband Isaac Tabata formed part of the leadership of both these organisations. However, the leadership of AAC also included Eastern Cape teacher activists such as Wycliffe Tsotsi, Nathaniel Honono and Leo Sihlali.

The Anti-CAD was formed in Cape Town in February 1943 as an initiative of activists within the Workers' Party, one of the small Trotskyist organisations in the city. It was formed to mobilise opposition to the Smuts government's plan to set up a Coloured Affairs Department within the Department of the Interior, as well as a consultative body of coloured leaders, the Coloured Advisory Council (CAC). Although the anti-CAD campaign initially drew fairly widespread support amongst politicised coloured people, NEUM ideology did not. Its influence was restricted largely to the more militant elements within the urbanised elite. By 1943, the NEUM's other major affiliate, the All African Convention, consisted predominantly of the radical remnant of this former umbrella body which had been founded in December 1935 to co-ordinate African opposition to the Hertzog Bills. Under the leadership of I.B. Tabata, Jane Gool and Eastern Cape teacher activists such as

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Aluka, 'Unity Movement: Kader Asmal Collection', 2013. Available at <http://www.aluka.org/action/showCompilationPage?doi=10.5555/AL.SFF.COMPILATION.COLLECTION-MAJOR.UMSA&>.

¹⁰⁵ M. Adhikari, 'Fiercely Non-Racial? Discourses and Politics of Race in the Non-European Unity Movement, 1943-70', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2, June 2005, 404.

Wycliffe Tsotsi, Nathaniel Honono and Leo Sihlali, the AAC drew most of its support from the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA), and had some influence in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape.¹⁰⁶

Other organisations involved included the Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA), the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA), the New Era Fellowship, the Transkei Organised Bodies, the Communist People's Club and the Trotskyite Fourth International Club.¹⁰⁷ In 1948 the NEUM managed to attract a breakaway faction of the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) known as the Anti-Segregation Council. From 1946 to 1963 NEUM published *Torch*, its newspaper, managed by Anti-CAD activists and distributed mainly in the Western Cape.

The Federation of South African Women (FSAW)¹⁰⁸

In 1952 the Nationalist Party government introduced legislation to extend passes to all African women. A year later, in 1953, Ray Alexander, trade unionist and Communist Party member, together with Frances Baard and Florence Matomela, suggested the formation of a country-wide organisation of 'mothers of the nation'. A National Conference of Women was held in April in the following year, where a Women's Charter was drafted and the FSAW inaugurated.¹⁰⁹ The Women's Charter established the principle of full equality with men and challenged gender stereotypes.¹¹⁰

The FSAW drew its leaders and membership from the ANC Women's League, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats, and the South African Indian Congress. Membership of the FSAW was based on organisational rather than individual membership.¹¹¹ Its objectives were to improve the conditions under which women lived in South Africa, and to increase the scope of women's work within the national liberation movement.

In the 1950s, the FSAW participated in a number of national and local campaigns, including campaigns of the national liberation movement. Among the most important were the

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 405.

¹⁰⁷ Aluka, 'Unity Movement: Kader Asmal Collection'.

¹⁰⁸ The seminal work on the Federation of South African Women is Cheryl Walker's *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, London, Onyx Press, 1982. Refer also to R. De Villiers, 'The Resistance to the Extension of Passes to African Women 1954-1960', *African Studies Seminar Paper*, University of the Witwatersrand, September 1979.

¹⁰⁹ Budlender, D., Meintjies, S. and Schreiner, J., 'Women and Resistance in South Africa: Review article', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Special Issue on Women in Southern Africa, October 1983, 132.

¹¹⁰ S. Meintjies, 'The women's struggle for equality during South Africa's transition to democracy', *Transformation*, 30, 1996, 54.

¹¹¹ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, chapter 11.

The Formation of Organisations

opposition to bread price increases in 1953; the opposition to rent increases in Langa and Nyanga in 1954; the campaign against the introduction of Bantu Education in Johannesburg in 1954; the resistance put up by women to the establishment of commercial beer halls in the locations, such as Langa in 1954 and Cato Manor in 1959; the Congress of the People campaign; the Group Areas Act and Resettlement campaigns in Sophiatown in 1955;¹¹² the anti-pass protests of 1956, 1957 and 1958; and the Cato Manor riots in 1959 (see below for some of these campaigns). The campaign for which the FSAW is best known is the anti-pass campaign which culminated in the march to the Union Buildings on 9 August 1956.¹¹³

During the Defiance Campaign, the government was forced to shelve plans in the early 1950s to enforce passes for women. However, in 1954 and 1956 these were again on the agenda, and there was a concerted effort to limit further urbanisation by halting the influx of women. This meant extending the pass system to women. Thus, from the moment of its inception the FSAW directed its energies almost entirely to anti-pass campaigns. The Congress of the People held at Kliptown in June 1955 provided an opportunity for the FSAW to participate equally with other organisations in drawing up the Freedom Charter, thereby ensuring that issues of concern to women were reflected in the Charter. These issues included living conditions, education, health facilities, and equality with men in social, political, legal, and economic matters.¹¹⁴

The African Trade Union Movement

The experience of Africans with trade unions has its genesis in the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1867 and gold on the Witwatersrand in 1885, and in the growth of the white trade union movement. Unions of skilled white workers were established during the 1880s – for example, the British Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. From the outset of the mining industry, however, Africans were excluded by law from the definition of ‘employee’, and therefore could not form unions. The ICU was the first major union of African workers.

In the early 1940s a number of unions were established, including the Food and Canning Workers’ Union, which focused on organising primarily in fruit and vegetable canning industries, located mostly in the rural Western Cape, and fish canning, located on the West coast and in Namibia. But the advance of trade unionism for Africans was felt most with the formation of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) in 1942. By 1945 CNETU had some 158,000 members in 119 unions, representing 40% of the total African workforce

¹¹² For more details on this campaign refer to T. Lodge, ‘The destruction of Sophiatown’, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1, March 1981, 107-132.

¹¹³ Budlender, D., Meintjies, S. and Schreiner, J., ‘Women and Resistance in South Africa: Review article’, 132.

¹¹⁴ Meintjies, ‘The women’s struggle for equality during South Africa’s transition to democracy’, 54.

employed in manufacturing and commerce. CNETU was strengthened by the exodus of white workers in support of the war effort, the rationalisation of production processes, the breakdown of the artisanal-unskilled division of labour and the growth of semi-skilled operatives.¹¹⁵ The largest of the CNETU unions was the African Mine Workers Union, whose President, J.B. Marks, served as President of CNETU in the early 1940s. However, CNETU was a fragmented and unstable organisation, which except under the boom conditions of a wartime economy was unlikely to maintain a position of strength. As South Africa's overheated economy cooled down after the war this vulnerability was confirmed. Union membership fell off sharply, and most affiliates collapsed, so that by 1949 a full 66 CNETU unions had floundered.¹¹⁶

The CNETU, dominated by Communists, faced another wing of the labour movement at the time, the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), which sought to incorporate African unions in parallel unions as a means of protecting the relatively privileged position of white workers. In 1945, the white government introduced the Industrial Conciliation Bill, which prohibited mixed unions. Existing mixed unions had to establish separate branches for the different race groups.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was formed in March 1955 as a non-racial co-ordinating body in response to TUCSA's rejection of African trade union membership on the one hand, and their explicit statement of the need to control these unions on the other. The major organised blocks in the Congress were those of Textile (Textile Workers Industrial Union – TWIU – and African Textile Workers Industrial Union – ATWIU), Food and Canning (Food and Canning Workers Union – FCWU and African Food and Canning Workers Union – AFCWU) and the Laundry, Dyers and Cleaning Workers Union (LDCWU and ALDCWU).¹¹⁷ The leadership based itself firmly in the African working class, seeking essentially to respond to and articulate the heightening political struggle of that class as the ANC mobilised black workers in the face of the apartheid state's offensive. SACTU developed a defined political unionism, and argued that it was impossible to separate politics and the way people are governed from bread and butter issues.¹¹⁸ The unions that formed SACTU included those like FCWU that had opposed the dissolution of the Trades and Labour Council, and had opposed the formation of TUCSA, a federation that was exclusively for registered unions.¹¹⁹ In 1956, the 19 affiliated unions had a total membership of only 20,000 – when 1 to 2 million African workers were potentially unionisable. SACTU membership grew rapidly to a total of 23 unions with membership of

¹¹⁵ R. Lambert, 'SACTU and the Industrial Conciliation Act', *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol.8, No.6, May 1983, 26.

¹¹⁶ P. Bonner and R. Lambert, 'Batons and Bare Heads: The strike at Amato Textile, February 1958', Paper presented at the Wits History Workshop Seminar, October 1983, 5.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹¹⁸ Lambert, 'SACTU and the Industrial Conciliation Act', 28-9.

¹¹⁹ J. Theron, 'Review article: All my life and all my strength', *Transformation*, 58, 2005, 102.

43,302.¹²⁰ SACTU consciously allied itself to the ANC, and adopted the 1955 Freedom Charter. When the ANC was banned in 1960 and went underground, the majority of SACTU officials were detained, jailed or exiled.¹²¹

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)

The alliance between the ANC, Congress of Democrats, South African Indian Congress (SAIC) and South African Coloured Peoples Congress (SACPC) was opposed by an Africanist current within the ANC, made up of a group of younger activists that were largely based in the townships of the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal. Drawing on the ANC Youth League's anti-Communism and earlier rejection of 'non-European' unity, the Africanists believed that collaboration with Indian, and then later white, organisations had resulted in the abandonment of African nationalism by the ANC. The Africanists rejected the projection that a significant section of the white population could be persuaded to abandon its privileges – only a mass, spontaneous wave of protests by the African majority could disrupt the current system and create a truly democratic government. It was therefore necessary to develop African independence from foreign influences (such as Indians and Communists) and sharpen anger against the white minority 'ruling class'.¹²²

This group had begun to coalesce during the course of the 1952 Defiance Campaign (see below), when a number of members of the ANC Youth League began to position themselves as defenders of African nationalism and the traditions of the ANC.¹²³ Initially based in the Transvaal branches of Orlando, Evaton, and Alexandra, the Africanist opposition also sought to mobilise the widespread discontent within the ANC over the increasingly prominent role of Indians and white activists in the Congress Alliance.¹²⁴ First, the Africanists alleged that the equal voting weight of each organisation (the ANC, SAIC, SACPO, SACTU, and COD) gave Communists and minority groups inordinate influence over the decisions of the Congress Alliance. Second, this grouping voiced intense disquiet over the growing dependency of the ANC and its leaders on outside financial resources, particularly funding obtained from the Indian Congresses. Third, the Africanists expressed tremendous unease regarding social interactions of the leadership at interracial parties in wealthy suburbs of Johannesburg. The Africanists alleged that the ANC leadership had abandoned the African nationalism of the 1949 Programme of Action and the goal of African majority rule in order to maintain their

¹²⁰ L. Callinicos, 'Labour History and Worker Education in South Africa', *Labour History*, No. 65, November 1993, 167.

¹²¹ L. Callinicos, 'Labour History and Worker Education in South Africa', *Labour History*, No. 65, November 1993, 166-7.

¹²² Soske, 'Wash Me Black Again', 200.

¹²³ T.G. Karis and G.M. Carter, *From Protest to Challenge: A documentary history of African politics in South Africa, Volume 2: Hope and challenge, 1935-1952*, Hoover Institution Press, 1972, 413.

¹²⁴ Soske, 'Wash Me Black Again', 200.

bloc with the Indian merchant class and white Communists.¹²⁵ Above all else, however, was opposition to the Freedom Charter (see below), in particular the statement in the Charter that 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it'. This recognised the right of whites in particular as part of the South African nation, something the Africanists strongly rejected.

By 1955 this group had become known as the Africanists, and in their newspaper, the *Africanist*, edited by Robert Sobukwe, they preached what they called the original doctrine of the ANC as formulated in 1912, and as revived and strengthened by the ANC Youth League in the forties. This group was also affected by the independence of African states following Ghana's achievement of sovereignty on March 6, 1957, and by the slogans of the Pan-African movement.¹²⁶ From 1956 a series of articles appeared in the *Africanist*, a journal of the Orlando branch of the ANC, criticising the ANC in these areas. At the special conference of the ANC in 1956 at which the Freedom Charter was adopted as the ANC's basic policy document, the Africanists objected, especially against the clauses 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it', and 'The land shall be shared among those who work it'. To them this was tantamount to selling a birthright, as the land could not be shared with non-Africans. At the 1957 conference they opposed the adoption of a new constitution, claiming that the clause 'membership shall be opened to all' meant that non-Africans could become members of the ANC. When the Treason Trial took place towards the end of 1956, almost all the known leadership of the ANC at all levels of its structure were thrown into jail. In the Transvaal, a decision had been taken not to hold annual elections at both the national and provincial levels in order to show the government that the people continued to have confidence in their elected leaders, in spite of their arrest. The Africanists in Orlando West and Sophiatown insisted that the elections be held. When elections were held in 1958, the Africanist faction was defeated in the provincial elections.¹²⁷

In 1959 this radical group in the ANC broke away to form the Pan Africanist Congress. The PAC Constitution stipulated that the organisation stands for the 'establishment and maintenance of an Africanist socialist democracy, recognising the primacy of the material and spiritual interests of the individual'. Nevertheless, the PAC emphasised that: 'Nationalism demands that the interests of indigenous peoples should dominate over those of aliens, because the country belongs to the indigenous people. Socialism demands that the interests of the workers should dominate over those of their employers, because their contribution to the creation of wealth is more significant than that of their bosses. Democracy demands that those of the majority should dominate over those of the minority, because they are a majority. In Africa in general, and South Africa in particular, the African people are indigenous to the soil, are the real workers and are the majority. Their right to

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 240-1.

¹²⁶ G. Carter, 'African nationalist movements in South Africa', *The Massachusetts Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Autumn, 1963, 155-6.

¹²⁷ G. Mbeki, *The struggle for liberation in South Africa: A short history*, Bellville, Mayibuye Centre, Cape Town, David Philip, 1992. Available at www.anc.org.za.

The Formation of Organisations

the effective control of their own interests is, therefore, unchallengeable'.¹²⁸ The PAC adopted the slogan 'Africa for Africans', but avoided charges of racism by defining the term African as one who owes his or her only allegiance to Africa and accepts African majority rule. The PAC chose as its logo a map of Africa with a star emerging from Ghana. Kwame Nkrumah, first president of the first African country to gain independence, was its hero, and its hope was that South Africa would, as Nkrumah wanted, be incorporated in a new United States of independent African countries.¹²⁹

The organisation with its radical ideology of Africa for Africans took hold and spread across the Western Cape. The political position of the party was solidified by the Langa branch, the most active branch in Cape Town with its support coming mostly from immigrants from the Eastern Cape, who resided in the township's single men's hostels. Consequently, some of the earliest members of the PAC who went for military training came from Cape Town and included people like Nana Mahomo, who left the country just before the March 1960 anti-pass campaign.

¹²⁸ P.N. Raboroko, 'Congress and the Africanists: (1) The Africanist Case', *Africa South*, 25-6.

¹²⁹ C. Saunders, 'Pan-Africanism: The Cape Town Case', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2012, 295.

Chapter 12

Campaigns

Introduction

Between 1910 and 1960, the organisations established by those opposed to white domination took part in a large number of campaigns, some which were national and others which were more local. Below we deal with some of the most significant national and local campaigns, many which brought to prominence events and leadership which deserve memorialisation in the form of heritage sites.

The response to the Hertzog bills

One of the most notable events of the 1930s in the country as a whole was the reaction of the black majority to the Hertzog Bills, also referred to as the 'Native Bills' or 'Slave Bills'. As indicated in the previous chapter, the South African government proposed a series of 'Native Bills', the so-called Hertzog Bills, in the mid-1920s, but were only enacted in the period 1935-1936. The Hertzog Bills envisaged the creation of a Native Affairs Department and the establishment of an advisory Native Representative Council, ultimately leading to the disenfranchisement of Africans who had the vote in the Cape Province.

In response to the Hertzog bills, the African National Congress (ANC) called for a National Convention in February 1926 at Bloemfontein (the All-African Convention), where segregation was rejected and a call for the inclusion of equal rights in the Union's Constitution was made to the government. At the conference it was also decided that native conferences organised by the government would be boycotted. The Bills were also rejected by the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU). The CPSA called for a general strike in protest against them. In June 1926 in Kimberley, the first Non-European Convention took place, attended by representatives from the ANC, African People's Organisation (APO), and various other African welfare and religious organisations and other bodies. The South African Indian Congress was also represented at this convention. The convention rejected 'any policy of differentiation on grounds of colour or race,' and condemned the existing and proposed measures of the Hertzog government. It called for 'closer co-operation among the Non-European sections of South Africa'. The convention helped to stall the procession of the Hertzog's Bills at that time.

In December 1935, Professor D.D.T. Jabavu (of the University College of Fort Hare), convened the All African Convention of African leaders in Bloemfontein. The aim of the

conference was to find ways to prevent the implementation of the Hertzog Bills. The conference included delegates from across South Africa. At the conference, views were divided about the correct response to the bills. According to Hirson, Professor Jabavu suggested a more moderate response while the 'young Turks', made up of members of the CPSA and other organisations, proposed a more militant stance with the right to reject the Bills in toto. In addition, some delegates at the AAC conference, especially those from the Western Cape such as the coloured debating societies, argued that it should be established as a permanent body.¹

Among the leaders at the conference was John Dube from KwaZulu-Natal. Dube had openly considered supporting Hertzog's Bills in the hope that they might provide some additional funds for development. Earlier Dube had forged an alliance with the segregationist, Heaton Nicholls, and toured the country soliciting the support of African leaders in Johannesburg, Kimberley, Bloemfontein and the Eastern Cape for a bill on Land Settlement promoted by Nicholls. This provided for the allocation of seven million morgen of land to be added to the already scheduled areas, and the provision of adequate funds. The problem was that, like Hertzog's proposals, Heaton Nicholls coupled his land schemes with an attempt to end the franchise of the Cape Africans. This scheme also envisaged the representation of Africans in the senate. However, in 1935 Dube was elected to the Executive of the All African Convention. He became disenchanted with the government's schemes. At a meeting of the Natal Debating Society in 1935 he launched a sharp attack on the government's policies, which Jabavu printed as a pamphlet: *Criticisms of the Native Bills*. In it Dube expounded his nationalism and his rejection of African inequality and his belief in the principle of African representation.²

Another KwaZulu-Natal leader, Josiah Gumede, also strongly opposed Hertzog's African Bills. In his letters to black newspapers, Gumede called upon black people to reject the bills. He also attended the All African Convention in December 1935, where the call was made to reject the Bills.³

The outcome of the first All African Conference was a compromise; an agreement was made for a delegation to be sent to Cape Town to meet with Hertzog about the bills and to report back to the convention. However, details of what happened during that meeting were never fully disclosed. It is noted that separate meetings of MPs of the Eastern Cape secured acceptance of a compromise plan providing for the election, on a separate roll, of three white 'Native Representatives' for the Cape Africans in Parliament and three Senators to represent the Africans of the remainder of the country. Africans would be elected and

¹ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A history of the South African Coloured Politics*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1987, 112.

² www.sahistory.org.za.

³ www.sahistory.org.za.

nominated onto a Native Representative Council and would be given the opportunity to discuss all projected laws affecting Africans.

The Anti-Coloured Affairs Department Campaign (Anti-CAD)

Following its success in introducing the Hertzog legislation in the mid-1930s, the South African government announced its plan to form a separate Coloured Affairs Department in 1943. The first steps taken by the government in this regard were to establish a Coloured Advisory Council (CAC) and a special section in the Department of Social Welfare to deal with Coloured Affairs. As was the case with the African majority, the process was aimed at disenfranchising those coloureds that had the vote in the Cape. The next step would be to remove coloureds from the common voters' roll and place them on a separate voters' roll.⁴

In February of that year, the Western Cape-based New Era Fellowship (NEF) launched the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department Committee or Anti-CAD. Among the leading figures in the Anti-CAD were Dr Abdurahman and his daughter Cissie Gool. The Anti-CAD, a federal body uniting the existing coloured organisations throughout the country, resolved to oppose the introduction of the new structures and launched a struggle for full democratic rights. It swiftly gathered the coloured people together and decided on a campaign of non-collaboration and boycott of the Coloured Advisory Council as an institution. The individuals who had accepted positions on it were thrown out of all the popular organisations to which they belonged. According to Tabata, 'the intensive campaign against the new measure, the holding of meetings and the dissemination of pamphlets all led to a rapid heightening of political consciousness. Every move of the rulers was exposed. Every day brought its political lessons. The government-imposed C.A.C. was rendered helpless and paralysed in face of the resistance of the people.'⁵

However, the campaign stirred up a great divide within the coloured community that was to surface again and again in the remaining decades of white rule. The fight about the Coloured Advisory Council, according to A.C. Scholtz, 'was carried into all spheres of communal life.... Fathers and sons, brother and brother became avowed enemies. Never before had the coloured community experienced the like'.⁶ Some felt that it would be useful to participate in the new institutions, and, as a letter in the pro-collaborationist newspaper, *The Sun*, put it: 'Give the C.A.C. and the C.A.D. a chance to function'.⁷ However, the

⁴ I.B. Tabata, *The awakening of a people*, Nottingham, Bertrand Russell Foundation for Spokesman Books, 1974, 48.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ 'Coloured Community Split on C.A.C. Issue', Cape Times, July 8, 1949. Cited in N. Gibson, 'Why Is Participation a Dirty Word in South African Politics?', *Africa Today*, Vol. 37, No. 2, Dismantling Apartheid: Problems and Possibilities, 2nd Quarter, 1990, 31.

⁷ Cited in Gibson, 'Why Is Participation a Dirty Word in South African Politics?', 31.

overwhelming bulk of people and organisations decided to ostracise the institutions, giving rise to an important strategy in the liberation struggle: non-collaboration in government institutions.⁸

The 1944-5 Anti-pass Campaign

The 1944-5 anti-pass campaign was in response to the Urban Areas Act passed that year which aimed to restrict the movement of Africans.⁹ The campaign was guided by an action committee, which included members of the CPSA and was led by the President-General of the ANC. In 1944, people in Langa in Cape Town and elsewhere in the country mobilised to launch a protest against the pass laws. In October 1945, Mrs Winnie Siqwana, the first African woman in Cape Town to join the CPSA in 1930 and also a member of the ANC, addressed a crowd of 5,000 protesters in Langa.¹⁰ She had been a member of numerous deputations to the Cape Town City Council to protest on issues affecting the Langa community.

The 1946 Mineworkers' strike

On August 12, 1946, the African mine workers of the Witwatersrand came out on strike in support of a demand for higher wages – 10 shillings a day. The strike lasted for a week in the face of the most savage police terror, in which officially 1,248 workers were wounded and a very large number – officially only 9 – were killed. Lawless police and army violence smashed the strike, and the resources of the state were used, almost on a war footing, against the unarmed workers.

Many unsuccessful attempts were made to form a mine workers' trade union prior to 1941. However, in that year a representative miners' conference organised by the Transvaal Provincial Committee of the ANC was held on 3 August. The conference was attended not only by workers from many mines, but also by delegates from a large number of African, Indian, coloured and white organisations, as well as representatives from a number of black unions. A committee of 15 was elected to take steps to form a union. The African Mine Workers' Union was eventually established, with J.B. Marks as President.

In 1946, white mineworkers earned 12 times more than their African counterparts. In addition, the Chamber of Mines refused to recognise the union, and was not prepared to

⁸ Gibson, 'Why Is Participation a Dirty Word in South African Politics?', 31.

⁹ South African History Online, 'Growth of African Nationalism and Defiance', 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/cape-town/growth-african-nationalism-and-defiance>.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Campaigns

negotiate with their representatives. A Commission appointed to review the wages of African mineworkers found in favour of the Chamber of Mines' position that African mineworkers had an independent income from their land in the reserves and that their wages were only meant to supplement this income. The Lansdowne Commission therefore recommended only a small increase – five pence per shift for surface workers and six pence per shift for underground workers – and other small allowances that were a disappointment to the workers. The government also issued a proclamation – War Measure No. 1425 – prohibiting gatherings of more than twenty persons on mining property without special permission.

On May 19, 1946, a conference of the union instructed the Executive to make yet one more approach to the Chamber of Mines to place before them the workers' demands for a ten shilling (one Rand) a day wage and other improvements. Failing agreement, decided the Conference, the workers would take strike action. The Chamber refused to negotiate, and on August 4, 1946, over 1,000 delegates assembled at an open air conference held in the Newtown Market Square where they resolved to go on strike. Tens of thousands of workers were out on strike from the East to the West Rand; the Smuts regime had formed a special committee of Cabinet Ministers to 'deal with' the situation; and thousands of police were being mobilised and drafted to the area. They dealt with it by means of bloody violence. The police batoned, bayoneted and fired on the striking workers to force them down the mine shafts. Police fired on a peaceful procession of workers marching to Johannesburg on what became known as Bloody Tuesday, 13 August, from the East Rand. They wanted to get their passes and go back home. Police opened fire on the procession and a number of workers were killed. At one mine, workers, forced to go down the mine, started a sit-down strike underground.

During the course of the strike, hundreds of workers were arrested, tried, imprisoned or deported. Leaders of the African trade unions and the Executive Committee of the African Mine Workers' Union, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and scores of Provincial and local leaders of the ANC were arrested and charged in a series of abortive 'treason and sedition' trials. Innumerable police raids in the Transvaal, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Kimberley and East London were carried out on the offices of trade unions, the Congresses and the Communist Party. The homes of leaders of the ANC, the Communist Party, the Indian and Coloured Congresses and the trade unions were also raided simultaneously.¹¹ The government blamed the Communists for the strike and arrested 159 party members, and subsequently prosecuted 52 persons, most of them Communist, for promoting an illegal strike, all strikes by Africans being illegal.¹²

¹¹ This section is taken from M.P. Naicker, 'The African Miners' strike of 1946', 1976. Refer also to D. O'Meara, 'The 1946 African mine workers' strike and the political economy of South Africa', *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol. 13, Issue 2, 1975.

¹² G. Carter, 'African nationalist movements in South Africa', *The Massachusetts Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Autumn, 1963, 153.

The 1946 Indian Passive Resistance Campaign

In 1945-6, a group of young Indian activists captured the leadership of the Natal and Transvaal Congresses with overwhelming working class support. They immediately undertook to rebuild the Indian Congresses as mass-based organisations, develop closer working relationships with the ANC, and mobilise Indians in a passive resistance campaign against legislation affecting Indians.¹³ The white parliament passed the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946 (Act No. 28 of 1946), a legislative measure adopted by the government in an attempt to reduce Indian land owners to wage labourers. This so-called Ghetto Act restricted Indian land ownership and residence to specific areas in Natal on the one hand, and on the other hand tried to soften the drastic effects by offering political representation to Indians through white members of parliament.

On 22 January 1946, the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) sent a cable to the Indian government requesting it to intervene on their behalf with the United Nations. A mass meeting was held in Durban on 3 February where resolutions were adopted to embark on a campaign of passive resistance and to send delegations to raise support in Europe, America and India. The passive resistance campaign began on 4 June 1946, beginning with the voluntary closure of shops owned by Indians in Durban. On that day the first act of resistance occurred when six Indian women arrived in Durban by train from the Transvaal, thereby defying the law requiring Indians to possess passes before crossing a provincial boundary. Thereafter, on the same afternoon, 12,000 Indians attended a meeting on Durban's Nichol Square, where twenty Indians pitched a tent on vacant, controlled land at the corner of Umbilo Road and Gale Street. Thereafter, volunteers were required to defy certain laws with the objective of forcing the authorities to arrest as many people as possible in order to engender international sympathy and support for the plight of South African Indians at the United Nations. By 6 July 1946, 160 passive resisters were serving jail sentences. On 11 July another group of volunteers pitched a tent at the corner of Walter Gilbert and Umgeni Roads. By the beginning of October, 750 resisters had been arrested.¹⁴

The campaign lasted two years, and was marred by crowds of Indians assaulted by gangs of racist whites and by Indian men and women of all ages, classes, and faiths sentenced to hard labour in prison.¹⁵ Although the campaign failed to achieve concessions from the government and resulted in significant disillusionment among many Indians, the membership of the Congresses initially swelled and collaboration between Indian and

¹³ M. Palmer, *The History of the Indian in Natal*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1957, 127-132. Cited in J. Soske, "'Wash Me Black Again': African Nationalism, the Indian Diaspora, and Kwa-Zulu Natal, 1944-1960", Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 2009, 70-1.

¹⁴ W.B. White, 'Passive resistance in Natal, 1946-48', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, V, 1982, 1-7.

¹⁵ Soske, 'Wash Me Black Again', 79.

Campaigns

African organisations expanded dramatically.¹⁶ At a meeting on March 9, 1947 in Johannesburg, a declaration signed by Dr. A.B. Xuma, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, and Dr. Monty Naicker, the 'Doctors' Pact', established the basis for closer relations between the ANC and Indian organisations and, by extension, prepared the way for the Congress Alliance of the 1950s.¹⁷

During the course of the passive resistance campaign, the Indian government raised the treatment of South African Indians before the General Assembly of the United Nations. The South African Indian Congresses organised and financed a delegation of H.A. Naidoo, Sorabjee Rustomjee, and Xuma to travel to New York and advise the Indian effort. Vijayalakshmi Pandit (Nehru's sister) presented the Indian case before the assembled countries and media of the world. The UN resolution, which passed in December 1946, was limited to the treatment of Indians and the strained relationship between South Africa and India. Nevertheless, the Indian delegation utilised the opportunity to launch an unprecedented attack on the overall racial policies of the Union, especially its treatment of Africans.¹⁸

However, the 1949 riots in Durban dealt a serious blow to African and Indian co-operation. A clash between an Indian shopkeeper and an African youth on 13 January 1949 spread throughout Durban on the 14th. Groups of Africans humiliated, beat, and killed Indian men and raped Indian women, and ransacked Indian-owned stores and houses. Over 140 (at least 50 were Indian and 87 African) people were killed, nearly half of Durban's Indian population was temporarily displaced, and the Indian presence in large parts of once racially-mixed shantytowns like Cato Manor came to an end. The riot was suppressed after two days by the South African police and navy.¹⁹

Boycott of the Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Celebrations

On 27 September 1951, a resolution was taken by members of both the NEUM and the Western Cape branch of the ANC to boycott the tercentenary celebrations. The meeting was held in Langa Township and 'A.C. Jordan of the Unity Movement gave a graphic description,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 106-7. For more on the Durban riots refer to S.L. Kirk, 'The 1949 Durban riots': Community in Conflict', MA Thesis, University of Natal, 1983; L.K. Ladlua, 'The Cato Manor Riots 1959-60', M.A. thesis, University of Natal, 1985; T. Nuttall, "'It Seems Peace but It Can Be War': The Durban 'Riots' and the Struggle for the City", *South African Historical Society: 12th National Conference*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, 1989; A. Desai, 'A Context for Violence: Social and Historical Underpinnings of Indo-African Violence in a South African Community', Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1993; and E.C. Webster, "The 1949 Durban 'Riots'—A Case Study in Race and Class", in P.L. Bonner (ed.), *Working Papers in Southern African Studies*, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand, 1977.

in Xhosa, of the history of repression and state violence and warned of the dangers of participating'.²⁰ Mass meetings, held at the Grand Parade and Cape Town's Hyde Park, then followed during the first weeks of April. During these meetings newspapers and pamphlets were handed out that described a different history to that being celebrated, "and calls were made to boycott the 'Festival of Hate'".²¹

The boycott of the celebrations was spearheaded by the NEUM. However, other organisations took part, including the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD) and the All African Convention (AAC), the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) and the Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA). Civic and vigilance associations, and even sporting organisations, were part of this broad front.

According to Rassool and Witz, the Van Riebeeck festival provided the Unity Movement with the ideal opportunity to reify their stance of non-collaboration.²² The ANC also decided to lend its support to the boycott. The organisation categorically stated that "before they would participate in any way in the celebrations, the six apartheid Acts of 'insult and humiliation' needed to be 'removed from the Statute Book'".²³ The decision taken by the ANC to join was driven by the change in direction the organisation took to become a more militant organisation, which included a more defiant stance towards the government of the time. Consequently, 'part of this change in direction at the beginning of the 1950s was a planned campaign to defy the emerging apartheid legislation on a widespread scale'.²⁴ This stance culminated in the launching of the Defiance Campaign on 6 April 1952.

When all the participating organisations in the Western Cape, including the National Council of African Women, the Society of 'Young Africa (SOYA), the Langa Vigilance Association (LVA), the ANC branch, the Traders Association and even the Rugby Football Union, met at the Langa Market Hall on 27 September 1951, a boycott resolution was unanimously adopted.²⁵ A resolution to boycott the celebrations was also adopted at the All African Convention held in December of 1951.

The boycott was finally launched on 18 January 1952 by the Unity Movement at a meeting in Cape Town. This also coincided with the publication of articles in *The Torch*, "dealing with South Africa's history alongside a list of facts and figures about 'White Civilisation'".²⁶ Every night during the boycott meetings were held in Cape Town and surrounding places such as

²⁰ C. Rassool and L. Witz, 'The 1952 Jan Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival: Constructing and contesting public national History', New Premises? History Workshop seminar, 16-18 July 1992, University of the Witwatersrand,

1.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, 18.

²³ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

Campaigns

District Six and Schotsche Kloof, Kensington, Vasco and Elsie's River, Kewtown, Grassy Park and Nyanga, where people came to listen to speakers promoting the boycott campaign and 'the need for unity and principled and programmatic struggle'.²⁷

According to Rassool and Witz, hundreds of people that joined in the meetings listened to speeches "peppered with slogans, warning about the dangers of 'collaborating with the Herrenvolk', and criticising every aspect of the festival". In one speech at a meeting held in Lansdowne, Tabata exclaimed: 'Let the masters celebrate for they will never again be able to celebrate. This is their last supper'.²⁸ The boycotts climaxed with two mass public meetings, which coincided with the peak of the van Riebeeck celebrations. These meetings included the Sunday 30 March 1952 meeting, where five to six thousand people gathered on the Grand Parade, in front of the City Hall of Cape Town, to listen attentively to speakers from the Unity Movement lecture about the 'breakers of the nation' and the 'builders of the nation'.²⁹ Rassool and Witz add:

A week later, on the same spot, the ANC launched its Defiance Campaign. While the Cape Town defiance gathering was not the central meeting of the campaign, its significance lies in its coinciding, almost to the minute, with the climax of the Van Riebeeck festival: the solemn laying of wreaths at the base of the Van Riebeeck column at the entrance to the festival stadium.³⁰

The Defiance Campaign

In July 1951, a Johannesburg conference of the ANC and Indian Congresses established a Joint Planning Council of J.B. Marks, Walter Sisulu, Yusuf Dadoo, J.S. Moroka, and Y.A. Cachalia to respond to the plethora of legislation introduced by the recently elected Nationalist Party government. The Council proposed a campaign centered on the strategy of defying unjust laws through non-cooperation. The Council's proposal envisioned disciplined volunteer units – all wearing ANC colours – divided according to racial groups, defying specific laws: Africans would violate pass laws; and Indians would defy provincial barriers, public segregation, and (where possible) the Groups Areas Act.³¹ On 26 June 1952, the Defiance Campaign was launched by the ANC, led by the Joint Planning Council. In the Western Cape, nine volunteers who went and stood at the white counter at the Worcester Post office opened the campaign.³² What followed was a chain of mass meetings, protests and riots in Cape Town and the surrounding areas.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Soske, 'Wash Me Black Again', 216.

³² T. Lodge, *Black Politics in South since 1940*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1983, 153-187, 40.

The launch of the campaign coincided with the tercentenary celebrations of Jan van Riebeeck's arrival in the Cape. According to Gorski, the defiance campaign was 'to a large extent inspired by the Indian Passive Resistance Campaign launched by Mohandas Gandhi in the first decade of the century'.³³ The aim of the campaign was to paralyse the state prison apparatus when they would be filled with volunteers breaking the law.³⁴ Consequently, 8,326 people volunteered in the Defiance Campaign to defy unjust laws and thus court imprisonment. The campaign was in response to laws that included the African Building Workers' Act, the Separate Representation of Voters' Act, the Suppression of Communism Amendment Act, and the Native Laws Amendment Act.

The first acts of defiance occurred in Natal some two months later than the beginning of the campaign elsewhere. In September, a crowd of 3,000 Indians and Africans assembled in Red Square to listen to speeches by Luthuli and Naicker before accompanying the first 21 volunteers to the Berea railway station, where the resisters entered the 'Europeans only' seating area. During the course of the campaign, only 300 people offered themselves for arrest in Natal, all in Durban (some sources provide a lower number of 192). However, in the aftermath of the campaign the Natal and the NIC virtually fused, with both occupying offices in Lakhani Chamber in Durban.³⁵

In response, the government launched an attack on protesters focusing on African townships. In Cape Town, people responded by burning the Native Affairs Department offices and two churches in Langa. Some of the key people in the Defiance Campaign in Cape Town included Dora Tamana and Annie Silinga, who organised and led protests against passes in Langa, Elsie's River and Kensington. Mrs. Silinga, an ANC leader from Langa, was one of the prominent volunteers during the Defiance Campaign. She also participated in successful campaigns against the establishment of a beer hall at Langa and against rent increases, and was also a leading figure in the Women's anti-pass campaign, Congress of the People and the campaign against Bantu Education.

In the Western Cape organisations such as the African and Indian Congresses and 'Coloured' Franchise Action Committee came together to coordinate the 1952 Defiance Campaign. Coloured people joined the Congress Alliance through the South African Coloured People's Organisation. NEUM together with the ANC motivated organisations in Cape Town to boycott the Jan van Riebeeck celebrations. The Langa Rugby Club, part of the Malay Choir and the Wetton Ratepayers Association were among the organisations that boycotted the event. An estimated 6,000 people gathered at the Grand Parade on 30 March to listen to

³³ A. Gorski, 'From Freedom Fighters to Governors: Involvement of youth in South African liberation movements in the 20th century', M.A. thesis, University of Leipzig, Wien, 2009.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Soske, 'Wash Me Black Again', 219-222.

Campaigns

Unity Movement speakers, and on 6 April 1952 the ANC launched its Defiance Campaign at the same place.

In the Eastern Cape, the campaign even took root in the rural areas, with defiers in Peddie opposing the dipping of goats. People were encouraged to stop dipping their goats, and at the height of the defiance of dipping regulations, commonage fences were cut down. Officials were told that goats empowered with 'Xhosa magic' were responsible for cutting the fences and rolling the wire in neat piles. The community provided no leads for police or irate Trust officials. Trust officials attempting to round up goats for dipping were greeted by Africans with shouts of 'Afrika!', indicating a link with the slogans of the ANC. But the campaign also took an anti-white character, and defiers were urged to join the African National Congress and burn the homes of white people. Defiers in the village of Peddie also defied curfew regulations. Groups of nearly three hundred strong (more than half of whom were women) came forward. As one contingent appeared in court, another was welcomed back from jail. In November 1952, the police cracked down, arresting women and men who refused to have their stock dipped. Movements in and out of Peddie were monitored, meetings prohibited and the militant Chief Msutu exiled. In Ginsberg location, the focus was also on cutting fences set up by the Trust.³⁶

In KwaZulu-Natal, leaders such as Monty Naicker became involved with the Defiance campaign in September 1952 when he and the new president of the Natal ANC, Albert Luthuli, addressed a mass protest meeting in Durban. After the meeting Naicker and 20 black volunteers walked to the Berea railway station in Durban where they deliberately went into the waiting room for whites, and were arrested. He served a month's prison sentence for this infringement of the law.³⁷

Campaign against Bantu Education

In 1953, Minister of Native Affairs Hendrik Verwoerd introduced the Native Education Bill in parliament. According to Govan Mbeki, at the time the African Teachers' Associations were demanding the transfer of the control of African education to the Union Department of Education. The teachers hoped that if African education fell under the Department of Education it would be financed better than was the case under the joint control of the missionaries and the provincial administrations, and that conditions of service would also improve. Verwoerd, on the other hand, wanted it transferred to the Union Department for different reasons. He wanted control over Bantu education so that Africans would not be 'trained for professions which are not open to them'. He argued that race relations cannot

³⁶ A. Mager, "'The People Get Fenced': Gender, Rehabilitation and African Nationalism in the Ciskei and Border Region, 1945-1955", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4, December 1992, 773-4.

³⁷ www.sahistory.org.za.

exist when education is under the control of people who believe in equality. This would create expectations beyond what was possible in South Africa.³⁸

As indicated above, teachers' associations played a significant role in the resistance to Bantu Education. For instance, in the Transvaal resistance emerged in 1949 when the blueprint for 'Bantu Education' was published. The Transvaal African Teachers Association held meetings across the province to denounce the plans. In 1952, three teachers were sacked from their jobs at Orlando High School. In response a school boycott was organised at Orlando High, strongly supported by parents and students and including the establishment of an 'alternative' school. However, police action and exhaustion defeated the boycott, and in 1953 called it off.³⁹

The ANC, on its part, reacted to the introduction of Bantu Education in 1955 by calling for a national boycott. Although it had been initially slow to respond to the announcement of the introduction of Bantu Education, at an ANC conference in Durban in December 1954 a decision was taken to launch an indefinite boycott of primary schools beginning on 1 April 1955.⁴⁰ It also introduced a system of open-air schools held in the halls of churches. However, the boycott was not well supported. Parents who were eager for the education of their children did not support the boycott. Bad as Bantu education was, it was felt that the children should be able to acquire reading skills. The government also harassed open-air classes and threatened churches that allowed their halls to be used for running such classes, which were illegal under the Bantu Education Act. The boycott could not be sustained for a long time, and it was therefore called off.⁴¹

The Freedom Charter Campaign

In 1953, Professor Z.K. Matthews suggested the holding of a national convention to draw up a freedom charter for a future democratic South Africa. The proposal was adopted by the ANC at its national conference in September that year. The executives of the ANC, SAIC, Congress of Democrats and South African Coloured People's Congress met in Tongaat near Durban on 23 March 1954 to discuss plans for the national convention. A decision was taken to establish a National Action Council for the Congress of the People consisting of eight delegates from each organisation. The Freedom Charter was to be conducted in three phases: first, the establishment of provincial committees along the lines of the National Action Council; second, the recruitment of a huge army of 'Freedom Volunteers' who would

³⁸ Mbeki., *The struggle for liberation in South Africa*.

³⁹ J. Hyslop, 'Teachers and Trade Unions', *South African Labour Bulletin*, June/July 1986, 92.

⁴⁰ J. Hyslop, "'Let us cry for our children': Lessons of the 1955-1956 school Boycotts", *Transformation*, 4, 1987, 5. This study is useful for the various programmes and activities conducted during the course of the campaign, as well as the challenges and limitations.

⁴¹ Hyslop, 'Teachers and Trade Unions', 92.

Campaigns

publicise the Congress and collect demands for the Freedom Charter and the establishment of committees in every workplace, village and township; finally, the election of delegates from each locality who would then meet and assist in the drafting of the Charter.

The National Action Council was subsequently constituted, and consisted of Chief Luthuli as Chairperson, Walter Sisulu, Yusuf Cachalia, Lionel Bernstein and Stanley Lollan as the Secretariat, and E.P. Moretsele (Treasurer), O.R. Tambo, R. Resha, T.E. Tshunungwa, J. Slovo, Mrs. R. Hodgson, P. Beylvelde, C.H. Feinstein, G. Peake, P. Vundla and A. Kathrada.

The campaign took off from September 1954 in most of the provinces. Thousands of volunteers were recruited throughout the country, and regular information distributed. Political education, based on a series of lectures, was also provided to the volunteers. Volunteers then set out, going door-to-door, factory-to-factory, requesting people to submit their demands. These demands were then collected at the provincial level, where they were put together by sub-committees before submission to a small drafting committee which produced the Charter. The document was presented to the ANC's National Executive on the eve of the Congress of the People. Then, on 25-26 June 1956, 2,884 delegates from all parts of the country met at Kliptown, Johannesburg, and endorsed the document put together by the drafting committee.⁴² Nelson Mandela characterised the Freedom Charter in an article written after the Congress of the People as follows:

The Charter is more than a mere list of demands for democratic reforms. It is a revolutionary document precisely because the changes it envisages cannot be won without breaking up the economic and political set-up of present South Africa. To win the demands calls for the organisation, launching and development of mass struggles on the widest scale. They will be won and consolidated only in the course and as the result of a nation-wide campaign of agitation; through stubborn and determined mass struggles to defeat the economic and political policies of the Nationalist Government; by repulsing their onslaughts on the living standards and liberties of the people.⁴³

Campaign against the Removal of coloureds from the common voters' roll

In 1956, the Separate Representation of Coloured Voters Bill was passed, removing people of colour from the common voters' roll in the Cape and placing them on a separate voters' roll. The Act made provisions for the coloured community to elect one white representative

⁴² A detailed study of the Freedom Charter Campaign, including events as they unfolded in the different provinces, is found on the SAHistory Online website: www.sahistory.org.za/campaign-congress-people-and-freedom-charter.

⁴³ N. Mandela, 'In our lifetime', *Liberation*, June 1956, 5.

for each of the four electoral divisions of the Cape to represent them in the House of Assembly. The National Party (NP) government had unsuccessfully tried to remove coloureds from the common voters' roll some time before as the coloured people's right to vote was enshrined in the Union's Constitution.

An attempt was made in 1951 to use the simple majority in parliament to remove coloureds from the voters' roll. A Franchise Action Council was established in Cape Town, and over 15,000 coloured people marched through the streets of the city following a mammoth meeting on the Grand Parade. In the same year, the ANC, SAIC and Franchise Action Council established a Planning Council to co-ordinate opposition to the Bill. The Bill was also challenged in the Supreme Court until it was declared invalid by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. However, the Nationalist Party eventually acquired the two thirds majority of a joint sitting of both houses required to amend the Constitution. In November 1955 the NP enlarged the senate from 48 to 89, thereby enabling it to obtain the majority it needed to remove coloureds from the voters' roll. This resulted in a political alliance between organisations such as SACPO, COD, ANC, SACTU and the SAIC.

1950s Women's anti-pass campaigns

In 1952 the government passed the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act, which introduced reference books (passes) for all Africans over the age of 16. In addition, an amendment was introduced to the Native Urban Areas Act in 1952 which reduced the period of seeking employment from two weeks to three days. In 1954 women were issued with permits for the first time. Reference books replaced and consolidated all previous documents carried by Africans, whether they were permits, passes or contracts, in August 1955.

During this period a number of campaigns were conducted against the extension of passes to women. For instance, on 27 October 1955, more than 2,000 women marched on the Union buildings in Pretoria, South Africa. They came from hundreds of miles away, and in defiance of governmental measures prohibiting public demonstrations. The women protested in silence and left 2,000 signed anti-pass statements on the doorsteps of the Union Buildings in groups of two and three. As testament to their resolve not to carry passes, the women chanted, 'Now you've struck a rock. You have dislodged a boulder. You will be crushed!' Ten months later, on 9 August 1956, the Federation of South African Women gathered more than 20,000 women in a march to the government capital in resistance to pass laws. For the next two years, the anti-pass protests and civil disobedience of the FSAW spread throughout the country and thousands of women were arrested and detained. In the 1958 anti-pass campaign more than 2,000 women in Johannesburg and Alexandria were courting arrest and refusing bail. However, the Congress Alliance, led by

Campaigns

the ANC, called for an end to the civil disobedience.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, as Frates points out: 'Although women had played a role in the struggle previous to this event, with this peaceful demonstration they established themselves, in the minds of South Africans and the world community, as actors in the national liberation politics of the 1950s, and FSAW became recognised as a major component of the Congress Alliance.'⁴⁵

Campaigns against forced removals

Western Cape

The African population of Cape Town expanded dramatically during the war years, and by 1944 there were 60,000 Africans living in the city, with housing available for less than one-third of that number. The majority lived in the squatter camps that sprang up on the Cape Flats such as Phillippi, Sakkiesdorp, Elsie's River, Kraaifontein and Cooks Bush. Between 1948 and 1950, the number of informal settlements grew from 22 to 30, while the number of Africans housed there doubled. In 1954, the Nationalist Party government established an 'emergency' or transit camp at Nyanga, and the removal of 'black spots' began in earnest in 1956. Between 1953 and 1958, 16,000 families were forcibly removed from the Cape Flats to the transit camp at Nyanga. People who had not lived in the area for the statutory ten years were placed in the hostels in Langa and Nyanga, and thousands of women were expelled to their rural places of origin.⁴⁶

When forced removals were applied to African residents in Elsie's River, the ANC called a protest meeting, which was held in Marabastad hall. A resolution was taken at the meeting to send a delegation to inform the Divisional Council of people's objections to being forcibly moved to Nyanga Township. A call was also made to government to stop the demolishing of people's makeshift houses in Elsie's River and police raids meant to force people to move to Nyanga Township. Government responded by prosecuting those people who resisted relocation to Nyanga and people found guilty received suspended sentences and fines. In July 1957, ten people were found guilty of refusing to move from Elsie's River to Nyanga location. Despite these protests, the government continued to forcibly remove people to Nyanga from areas such as Kraaifontein and Elsie's River.

In addition, the South African police conducted raids, which were aimed at forcing people to move and arresting those people considered as illegal. These raids became a source of

⁴⁴ M.B. Kuumba, "'You've Struck a Rock!': Comparing Gender, Social Movements, and Transformation in the United States and South Africa', *Gender & Society*, Vol. 16 No. 4, August 2002, 508.

⁴⁵ L.L. Frates, 'Women in the South African National Liberation Movement, 1948-1960: An Historiographical Overview', *Ufahamu*, Vol. 21, Nos. 1-2, 1993, 27-8.

⁴⁶ B. Magubane, P. Bonner, J. Sithole, P. Delius, J. Cherry, P. Gibbs and T. April, 'The Turn to Armed Struggle', in SADET (ed.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970*, Zebra Press, Cape Town, 2004, 95.

tension and unhappiness for township residents. Nyanga woman protested and met at the superintendent's office in October 1957 after the police raided the transit camp. That same year in Nyanga, Africans led by the ANC and Johnson Ngwevela, secretary of the African Western Grand True Temple, refused to have beer halls constructed at Nyanga.

KwaZulu-Natal

Expanded industrial and commercial activities in the city of Durban attracted scores of African labourers who came to settle in shanty towns in and around the city in a bid to stay close to sources of employment. The primary reason why Africans who were providing much needed labour to the growing economy of Durban were forced to build shacks to live in was simply because no formal housing had been put aside for African people in the white residential spaces of Natal. Africans were not permitted to purchase and own land in Durban, as this area had been reserved for whites. It was only between 1904 and 1913 that Africans were 'permitted to purchase land outside of their locations and reserves'.⁴⁷

This decision was of course reversed with the introduction of the new Land Act in 1913 which further expropriated land from Africans to whites. Whenever a recommendation to increase the land reserved for Africans was raised, such as 'when the Natives Land Trust Act of 1936 added 22,000 square miles as "potential" Native areas',⁴⁸ it would be heavily rejected by white citizens especially farmers and business owners.

In the late 1940s and in the 1950s, the apartheid state, capital owners and shack dwellers were in constant conflict over land ownership, occupation, usage and the housing question. These structural issues were also linked to socio-cultural antagonisms coming from whites and some of the Indian land owners around Cato Manor farm against the Africans. Stereotypes about noise making, beer drinking, unruly behaviour, disease breeding, criminal activities, etc., provided a major push behind the forced removals of the African shack dwellers to KwaMashu. This was met with resistance from the Africans, who had worked hard to make do with living conditions that were far below any standard.⁴⁹

Cato Manor was granted to George Christopher Cato, the first mayor of Durban, in 1865 and was sub-divided in the early 1900s and leased to Indian market gardeners. Africans started moving into the area in the late 1920s and rented land from the market gardeners so that, by 1932 when Cato Manor was incorporated into the borough of Durban, over 500 shacks had been built on the land. Cato Manor grew in leaps and bounds during World War II when

⁴⁷ J.L. Purcell, 'Keeping Stolen Land: KwaZulu-Natal's Land, Labour and Housing Struggles', unpublished PhD. Thesis, Cornell University, 2007.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ P. Maylam, 'The "Black Belt": African Squatters in Durban, 1935 – 1950', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 17(3). Special Issue: South Africa, 1983.

Campaigns

there was a boom in Durban's economy and a vastly increased demand for labour. By the end of the war, there were about 30,000 shack dwellers in the area.

Cato Manor was only 4 kilometres from the centre of the city. The subsequent conflict there between Indians and Africans in 1948-49 was the most sustained rioting ever experienced in South Africa up to that date. In the early 1950s, the Nationalist Party government accepted the Stallard Commission's recommendation that Africans be treated as temporary sojourners in white towns. In addition, the Durban City Council came increasingly under pressure from the white inhabitants of Durban to clear the city of its slum areas, and from the Nationalist Government which, by the Group Areas Act of 1950, was forcing local authorities to segregate urban areas.⁵⁰

This reveals the *raison d'être* behind the conflict surrounding the attempts by Durban's Native Administration Department to forcibly remove all African people living in Mkhumbane (Cato Manor) to KwaMashu – a formal housing area that had been established to increase the geographical spread between races. In 1951 the Council took the decision to relocate the African residents of Cato Manor, but it was only five years later, in 1956, when agreement was reached to create the township of KwaMashu.⁵¹

There were several benefits that Africans could accrue upon relocating to these new areas. The most important of these benefits were health related, as proper water, sanitation, and refuse removal infrastructure had been put in place in the design of KwaMashu. In contrast, the shantytown of Mkhumbane failed to meet any of these basic human living conditions. In spite of the potential benefits, the residents of Mkhumbane refused to reside in KwaMashu, fearing the apartheid administration's strict control of the area. In Mkhumbane residents were free of the racist policies which came with living under apartheid authority. In the shantytown, African people were not administered by anyone, and it can be said that they were only accountable to their Indian landlords as far as paying rent was concerned.

Arguably, as a spinoff of the pseudo self-governance which Africans enjoyed in the shantytowns, proletarian militancy was on the increase. The shack dwellers had fostered a powerful sense of unity and community in the area, and were determined to gain permanent legal land rights in Mkhumbane by the late 1940s. There was also a consciousness and desire to derive politico-economic advantages from the industrialisation which was taking place in the city; wherein Africans were playing a critical part as labourers. Therefore when the municipality began to force occupants out of the Mkhumbane shantytown, strong resistance broke out. Many of the residents simply avoided and ignored eviction instructions from the municipality for prolonged periods. Another of the popular

⁵⁰ A. Manson, 'From Cato Manor to KwaMashu: Class formation and political opposition in KwaMashu Township, 1958-1980', *Reality*, 1980, 11.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

tactics used by the residents of Mkhumbane to avoid going to KwaMashu was 'shack-shifting',⁵² whereby a person who is evicted from one shantytown would move to another shack area instead of going to the formal housing township to which they had been designated.

In March 1958 the first removals from Cato Manor took place. The removals were slowed down by groups (mainly traders) which took legal action to prevent the demolition of their shacks, and by individuals who simply re-erected their dwellings after demolition. In June 1959, this passive opposition flared into open conflict and a period of sustained rioting broke out initiated by the illegal brewers of Cato Manor who saw in the demolition of the shanty-town the loss of their livelihood.⁵³

The municipal beer hall in Cato Manor was the focus of much ill feeling, particularly among the women, who felt that it was stealing their livelihoods. Resentment concerning impending forced removals to KwaMashu and the beer halls came to a head on 17 June 1959, when women, who had gathered outside the Cato Manor beerhall, forced their way inside, beating the men drinking there and wrecking the place. Four people died and seventy nine were injured during the riots, which spread throughout Durban: but the situation did calm down for a time after that. The resistance to the forced removals continued and reached a climax on 23 January 1960, when nine policemen were killed by a mob in Cato Manor.⁵⁴ The incident was so horrifying that it took the heart out of the resistance and the last shack in Cato Manor was demolished on 31 August 1964.

⁵² I.L. Edwards, 'Mkhumbane our Home African Shantytown Society in Cato Manor Farm, 1946 – 1960', Unpublished thesis, University of Natal, 1989.

⁵³ Manson, 'From Cato Manor to KwaMashu', 12.

⁵⁴ Refer also to L. Kuper, 'Rights and riots in Natal', *Africa South*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Jan-Mar 1960, 20ff.

Chapter 13

The significant massacres/acts of resistance during the period

Introduction

During the period 1910 to 1960 the white authorities responded to many actions of the black population with violence. Specific massacres in which large numbers of people were killed are key moments in the liberation struggle. In addition, the dominated people responded to oppression in various ways, often taking the form of a revolt against white domination. Here we review some of the key massacres and acts of resistance during the period in the five provinces under review.

The Port Elizabeth Massacre of 1920

On 23 October 1920, a demonstration outside of Port Elizabeth's Baakens Street Police Station to demand the release of union leader, Samuel Masabalala, turned into a tragedy. The police opened fire on the crowd, leaving 24 dead and many more injured.¹ The background to the massacre was the formation of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICWU) and the establishment of a branch in Port Elizabeth by Masabala in 1920. Masabala's branch immediately embarked on a campaign for a 10 shilling a day minimum wage. The authorities saw Masabala as an agitator, and, while the local authorities were prepared to meet the union to discuss their wage demands, employers refused to do so. In response, Masabala called for a general strike on 3 October 1920. However, the union executive vetoed the proposal, although there was widespread support for the action among union members.

Masabala was subsequently summoned to a meeting by the District Commandant of the South African Police (SAP) who ordered him to call off the strike. Masabala continued with his independent action, and placed a notice in the local newspaper advising all that the workers were going on strike. The white population, in the meantime, feared violence and intimidation of non-striking workers during the course of the proposed strike. The authorities unsuccessfully petitioned the Minister of Justice for 'special authorisation' to

¹ This analysis relies heavily on G. Baines, 'South Africa's Armritsar? Responsibility for and the significance of the Port Elizabeth shootings of 23 October 1920', *Contree*, 34, 1993. Refer also to S.W. Johns, 'The Birth of Non-White Trade Unions in South Africa', *Journal of Social Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 1967, 181-3; 'Trade Union, Political Pressure Group or Mass Movement? The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa' in R. Rotberg and A. Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and Power in Black Africa*, New York, 1970, 702-4; P. Wickins, *The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa*, Cape Town, 1978, 52-57; and R. Bloch, 'The high cost of living: the Port Elizabeth Disturbances of October 1920', *Africa Perspective*, Vol. 1, No. 9, 1981, 39-59.

prohibit public meetings on 21 October in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act. Another course of action was taken when the authorities decided to arrest Masabala on the morning of Saturday 23 October. When word of Masabala's arrest reached the townships, a crowd gathered at Market Square around 1 p.m. to discuss the course of action. A deputation was sent to the police station to secure bail for Masabala, which the authorities pointed out could only be secured at a bail hearing on the Monday. The crowd gathered outside the station gave the SAP an ultimatum: if Masabalala was not released by 5 p.m., the Police Station would be forcibly entered and he would be freed.

As the time of the deadline approached, about 2,000 Africans and coloureds gathered outside the police station, which had been reinforced by additional policemen after the ultimatum had been delivered. A group of about thirty white civilians offered to assist the police and were supplied with rifles and ammunition. When the deadline passed and Masabala had not been released, the crowd started pelting the policemen with stones and beating some with sticks. Four policemen on horses rode into the crowd, but were dismounted. In the process they fired some shots. An attempt was made to use a fire hose to disperse the crowd, which was followed by a burst of rifle fire into the crowd. A white woman was beaten to death by members of the fleeing crowd, but about 25 other bodies lay on the street, with another 76 to 153 wounded.

The Bulhoek Massacre

A number of the followers of the Prophet Enoch Mgijima of the Israelite Church (Church of God and Saints of Christ) were brutally massacred at Bulhoek, Eastern Cape, on 24 May 1921. Enoch Mgijima was born in Bulhoek in 1858, the third of four sons of Josiah Mgijima, a Mfengu peasant. Enoch went to Lovedale but never went far in school. When he began to have visions he felt that God was calling him to be a leader. Many people began to follow him and he became a lay preacher in the Wesleyan Methodist Church. However, in 1912 he broke away and joined the Church of God and Saints of Christ. In November 1912 he began baptising his followers in the Black Kei River near his home in Ntabelanga. He decided to call his followers 'Israelites' as he identified with the Hebrews of the Old Testament. Towards the end of 1912 Mgijima predicted that the world would end on Christmas after 30 days of rain. Over the years Mgijima's visions became more and more violent and he was asked to renounce his visions by the leaders of the Church as they could not condone the preaching of conflict and war. Mgijima refused, and was excommunicated. As a result, in 1914 the South African Church of God and Saints of Christ split, with one of the groups following Enoch Mgijima as Israelites.

Mgijima owned a piece of land in Bulhoek and as his following grew, he erected a building to be used for religious ceremonies on one of the pieces of land. The building was rarely used

The Significant Massacres/Acts of Resistance

as it could not accommodate the congregation and was soon replaced by a larger, temporary marquee. The space soon became insufficient and Mgijima made alternative plans for his Passover celebrations. He came to an agreement with the local Shiloh Mission Station, which allowed him to host the event on their premises in 1917. In 1919 Mgijima was given permission by the white local authorities to hold the festival at Ntabelanga, in the Bulhoek sub-section. From then on, his supporters settled on the site and attempted to lead an Old Testament lifestyle. They came into conflict with the Queenstown municipality and surrounding farmers and were accused of squatting. The situation escalated until May 1921 when the Smuts government sent in 800 heavily armed mounted policemen to force them to move. Negotiations failed and, on 24 May 1921, the Israelites charged the police who opened fire, killing at least 183 Israelites and wounding hundreds more. One policeman was lightly wounded. Enoch Mgijima survived the massacre, and died in 1929. The victims were buried in several mass graves.²

1927 Paarl Shooting Tragedy

Another significant event was the 1927 Paarl shooting tragedy, which occurred three months after the enactment of the Native Administration Act in December 1927. According to Musson, three Africans in Paarl were stopped by a police officer by the name of Bleeker who demanded to see their pass documents.³ The Africans responded by running away. The officer retaliated by shooting; one person died on the spot, the second died in hospital 10 days later and the third was left injured. The shooting led to an uproar in Paarl led by Johnny Gomas who called for a mass demonstration on Christmas Day, 1927, to commemorate the deceased.

The pamphlet distributed by John Gomas, Stanley Silwana and Bransby Ndobe, read: 'Show you're Respect to your Dead and Injured Comrade by attending in thousands.'⁴ This later led to the arrest of, Gomas, Silwana and Ndobe for inciting hostility between blacks and whites, and therefore contravention of the Hostility Clause (Section 29 (1) of Act 38 of 1927) and they were sentenced to three months hard labour.⁵

The 1929 Worcester uprisings

² Refer to Millard, J.A., *Malihambe - Let the Word Spread*, Unisa Press, Pretoria, 1999 and www.sahistoryonline.co.za.

³ D. Musson, *Johnny Gomas: Voices of the Working Class, A political Biography*, 1989, 39. Available at <http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/johnny-gomas-voice-working-class-0>.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁵ G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 108.

In the 1920s, the Western Cape ANC under the leadership of James Thaele, influenced by the philosophy of Garvey's black race pride and political assertion, became radicalised.⁶ The organisation advocated civil disobedience – including, mass demonstrations, meetings and campaigns – as a strategy in the fight for liberation. Thaele and others took the struggle to the Western Cape rural areas, where they employed their radical rhetoric to mobilise and gain support in areas such as Worcester, Carnarvon, Huguenot and Barrydale. In these areas, as elsewhere in rural South Africa, the average African faced high unemployment and under-employment as farm labourers, inhumane living conditions, and high costs of living.

The activities of the ANC in these areas were however met with hostility and violence by the white farmers and residents. For example, at an ANC meeting in Worcester on April 1929 members clashed with about 40 white members of the local vigilance committee after the latter tried to disrupt the meeting. Many such incidences occurred and they ultimately led to the forming of the 'Black government', an ANC police force aimed at protecting ANC meetings from white vigilantism.⁷ From 5 April 1929, the tensions between Europeans and Africans increased after one African was shot and killed during a liquor raid.⁸

According to Lewis, the tensions climaxed at the Parker street riots on 5 May 1929. On this day the ANC was holding a meeting guarded by one of the members of the Black Government. A police patrol noticed the armed man and arrested him. While some of the policemen escorted the man, two were left behind. The ANC crowd noticed them and angrily attacked. When the rest of the patrol returned the crowd threw stones at them. The police withdrew but returned as a group of twenty. The crowd of about 500 people attacked the police with knives, stones, sticks and axes. The police responded by opening fire. Consequently, after ten minutes, five protesters were dead and 13 injured.⁹

Montague and other rural events

In Montague in February 1930 local coloureds took Elliot Tonjeni's advice and stoned the auctioneer and local dignitaries during the auctioning of the houses of people who were behind with their rent payments. The police intervened, and three coloureds were charged with assault.¹⁰ Earlier, in January 1930 at Rawsonville a group of white farmers attacked an ANC rally addressed by Kennon Thaele. Shots were fired and the coloured people attending responded with knives and stones and 13 whites were injured. Two coloured farm labourers were charged with assault.¹¹ It was in response to such white vigilantism that Thaele

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

established the Black Government, an ANC police force aimed at protecting ANC meetings from white vigilantism.¹²

The 1946 Mineworkers' Strike

Perhaps one of the most significant examples of resistance by organised black labour during the first half of the 20th century was the 1946 mineworkers' strike, led by the CPISA's J.B. Marks. It is commonly held that the mining industry laid the foundations for the most repugnant features of apartheid economic exploitation: migrant labour, influx controls, single-sex hostels, and poor wages. It is also a sector in which the organisation of African workers in particular proved to be very difficult. Thus, when 80,000 workers went on strike on the gold mines on the Witwatersrand in August 1946 it acquired a special place in the annals of South African history.¹³

According to Wilmot James, the literature on the strike places the cause of the strike outside the mining industry – the deteriorating economic conditions in the African Reserves and the growth of worker militancy in the industries of the Witwatersrand – on the one hand, and, on the other, inside the mining industry – the history of mine disturbances, the growth of a miners' political culture, and the role of the African Mine Workers Union in the organisation of the strike. James adds another factor – the prevailing economic and political situation that made the strike possible – in particular the post-war labour shortage and the growing profitability crisis in the mining industry. The latter were responsible for the resistance to any effort to improve the living conditions of the African mineworkers on the part of the Chamber of Mines.¹⁴

According to M.P. Naicker, a number of unsuccessful attempts were made to form a trade union on the mines prior to 1941. However, on 3 August 1941, a miners' conference was called by the Transvaal Provincial Committee of the ANC. The conference was attended not only by workers from many mines, but also by delegates from a large number of African, Indian, coloured and white organisations, as well as representatives from a number of black unions. A broad committee of fifteen was elected to proceed to build up an African Mine Workers' Union. Despite facing numerous difficulties, the committee was able to eventually organise a launching conference of the Union, where J.B. Marks was elected President of the African Mine Workers' Union.¹⁵

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ W.G. James, 'Grounds for a Strike: South African Gold Mining in the 1940s', *African Economic History*, No. 16, 1987, 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ M.P. Naicker, 'The African miners' strike of 1946', 3. Available at www.anc.org.za.

The Chamber of Mines refused to acknowledge the existence of the union, and also fiercely defended the low wages paid on the mines. However, the demand of the workers for a wage increase of 10 shillings a day became incessant. On August 12, 1946, the African mineworkers of the Witwatersrand came out on strike in support of the demand for a wage increase. The strike lasted a week in the face of the most savage police terror, in which officially 1,248 workers were wounded and a very large number – officially only 9 – were killed. Police and army violence smashed the strike, and the resources of the state were mobilised against the unarmed workmen. None of the demands made by the AMWU, and in particular the demand for higher wages and an improved system of food provision, were met.¹⁶ However, the strike led to a dramatic change in ‘political thinking within the national liberation movement; almost immediately it shifted significantly from a policy of concession to more dynamic and militant forms of struggle.’¹⁷

The Sekhukhuleni Revolt

Histories of the ANC have generally been urban-biased, and have paid relatively little attention to rural political organisation and mobilisation. More recently it has been recognised that rural migrants joined ANC urban structures and galvanised its branches in rural districts. These men and women forced the organisation to recognise the importance of responding to the plight of its rural constituents. The enactment of the 1913 Land Act, which further dispossessed Africans of their land, simply added to misery in the lives of African people in general and rural Africans in particular. As will be seen later, it was from these depressed farming and rural communities that the ANC and the Communist Party drew its members, including a number who worked in Johannesburg as migrant workers. The depressing rural environment was enough for Africans to realise that they were being oppressed and exploited.

The suitable climatic conditions in places like Zoutpansberg in the current Limpopo Province made it easier for the government to eye the land for farming purposes. Forced removals from black spots in such areas characterised the darkest history of the northern Transvaal. Not only were Africans robbed of their arable lands but they were also systematically discriminated against by the white society. The northern Transvaal had its own champions of segregation and included the likes of Ernest Stubbs, a Sub-Native Commissioner in Zoutpansberg and Assistant Resident Magistrate in Louis Trichardt. Stubbs later became the Senior Magistrate and Native Commissioner of Zoutpansberg and Louis Trichardt district in 1913. Stubbs hoped to take a leaf from the racist administrators of the East Rand in

¹⁶ James, ‘Grounds for a Strike’, 18 and Naicker, ‘The African miners’ strike of 1946’, 1.

¹⁷ Naicker, ‘The African miners’ strike of 1946’, 1.

The Significant Massacres/Acts of Resistance

Johannesburg in an effort to implement sturdy racist policies in his area of administration.¹⁸ Native Commissioners were well known for their racist form of governance in the history of South Africa. Their attitude often led to uprisings and resistance by the oppressed.

Chiefs in the Transvaal also played a significant role in the formation of the ANC in 1912 and subsequently made financial contributions towards the upkeep of the movement. Some of these chiefs from the Eastern Transvaal include Chief Sekhukhune II, Chief Tseke Masemola and Chief Sekwati Mampura; the latter two became members of the ANC House of Chiefs from the 1920s. Some of the leading figures within the ANC were of chiefly origin. For example, S.M. Makgatho, who became the ANC President in 1917, was the son of Mphahlele, a senior Sekhukhuneland Chief.¹⁹

Due to repressive laws, revolutionary seeds were once more cultivated in the northern Transvaal, taking off from where chiefs such as Mampuru had left off in the colonial era. For instance, many Africans in the rural areas had been opposing the culling of livestock and dipping procedures enforced since 1929 by the Director of Native Agriculture.²⁰ In gaMatlala, Sekhukhuneland, ANC members were at the forefront of the resistance to land seizures. The community pinned their hopes on the men who introduced the ANC to the village as far back as 1919. The ANC committee in gaMatlala often engaged on land and tax issues as well as other matters affecting the community.²¹ The new generation of chiefs in the Transvaal also ensured the resistance and enforcement of laws by the Department of Natives' Affairs in the early 1940s. Other bodies, such as the Transvaal African Teachers Union and local movements such as the Zoutpansberg Cultural Association (ZCA), also put pressure on the regime. In Sekhukhune, there was widespread resistance from the peasant community in the 1940s, resulting in the breakdown of tribal control laid down by the regime.²² The history of the ZCA and its leaders, such as Alpheus Maliba, needs to be properly captured as it played a meaningful role in influencing the history of the Limpopo Province in subsequent years.

Maliba was originally from Zoutpansberg and was both a member of the Communist Party and the ZCA. In the early 1930s he was a factory worker in Johannesburg where he enrolled in a night school run by the Communist Party. He joined the Communist Party in 1936 and three years later (1939) produced a Communist Party pamphlet in Venda and English on the 'Condition of the Venda People'. The pamphlet chronicled the problems faced by rural

¹⁸ P. Rich, 'The Origins of Apartheid Ideology: The case of Ernest Stubbs and Transvaal Native Administration, c. 1902-1932', *African Affairs*, 79, (315), 1980, 171-194.

¹⁹ P. Delius, 'Sebatakgomo and the Zoutpansberg Balemi Association: The ANC, Communist Party and Rural Organisation, 1939-55', *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 1993, 293-313.

²⁰ P. Rich, 'The Origins of Apartheid Ideology', 171-194.

²¹ S. Zondi, 'Peasants struggles of the 1950s: gaMatlala and Zeerust', in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, volume 1, 1960-1970, Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2004, 153.

²² Rich, 'The Origins of Apartheid Ideology'.

communities ranging from land shortage, taxation, rents, dipping fees, labour tenancy and low wages. The pamphlet also outlined the problems experienced in education and poor infrastructure in Venda as well as the domineering role of the Native Commissioners. Maliba's document also demanded the return of land and mines to the oppressed. It placed emphasis on the abolition of taxes, but spoke in favour of individual tenure and agricultural training. Maliba also called for the abolition of Native Commissioners and the Native Affairs Department and for universal franchise.²³ In 1939, Maliba, together with migrant workers from Zoutpansberg, some of whom were members of the Community Party, formed the ZCA. Its Johannesburg offices were in Progress Building, which also housed the headquarters of the Communist Party. The ZCA received different forms of support from the Communist Party, including publishing space in the organisation's newspaper, *Inkululeko*. The ZCA was visible in the community and upheld the concept of self-sufficiency. It also provided assistance during arrest, made available loans to those in need of financial assistance, and hoped to provide affordable food. The ZCA also worked closely with the local chiefs and sat in their regular and compulsory meetings in different villages.

In 1943 the ZCA was renamed the Zoutpansberg Balemi Association (ZBA), and played a pivotal role in the establishment of the General Workers Union which was formed to represent workers around Louis Trichardt. The ZBA also launched the boycott of the Mesina municipal beer hall with extensive support from local brewers. By 1944, the structure had succeeded in opening an office and an enterprising night school in Louis Trichardt.²⁴ Due to its activities, the ZBA came under a spotlight: leaders of the organisation were arrested, its meetings banned and the ZBA was thrown out of their rented offices. In 1994, in what became a gratuitous attack, youths attending the organisation's night school in Louis Trichardt were attacked. Two of them died. The white assailants got away with the murder as the police failed to prosecute anyone. In addition, government officials convinced the chiefs that Maliba was a malcontent whose sole intention was to usurp their positions. The authorities also insisted that Maliba be banned from the area, and local chiefs backed measures to prevent Maliba from operating in the Zoutpansberg area. By the end of the decade, the ZBA had been rendered ineffective.²⁵

Nevertheless, the Communist Party and the ANC managed, beyond the post-war era, to recruit workers from the rural areas, including the Sekhukhuneland region of the northern Transvaal. These migrant workers provided the much needed networks in the rural areas for political activism to flourish. Included here were Elias Motsoaledi and Flag Boshielo. Both originated from the village of Phokwane in Sekhukhuneland and became trusted members of the ANC. They both came from poor families. Motsoaledi joined the Chemical Workers Union and the Communist Party in the mid-1940s whilst in Johannesburg. In the mid-1940s,

²³ Delius, 'Sebatakomo and the Zoutpansberg Balemi Association'.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 305.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 305-306.

The Significant Massacres/Acts of Resistance

Boshielo worked for a bakery in Johannesburg which employed a reasonable number of Communist Party members, including Maliba. Boshielo was influenced by Maliba, who constantly narrated his trials and tribulations in Zoutpansberg, and embraced the struggle for freedom. Boshielo was based in Denver Hostel and played a significant role in politicising many of his generations.²⁶

Besides Boshielo and Maliba, there were a number of other ANC cadres who came from the northern Transvaal and played a significant role in spreading interest in the movement in their places of origin. Even though some of the activists had settled in Johannesburg, they kept in touch with their rural communities. Their involvement in the struggle for liberation helped to shape politics in their areas of origin. For example, in the 1940s the ANC started recruitment drives in the rural areas, and one key individual in this campaign was David Bopape, the ANC Transvaal Provincial Secretary. Even though he settled in Brakpan, his roots can be traced to the northern Transvaal. In 1947, he visited Sekhukhuneland and made contact with ANC sympathisers from different backgrounds. He spent a period of two weeks in Sekhukhuneland, moving from village to village and holding meetings in numerous villages. In addition, he also visited Zoutpansberg and other areas of the rural northern Transvaal.²⁷

Another influential ANC member and a migrant worker with links to Sekhukhuneland was Elias Moretsele. He had a chiefly background and joined the ANC as far back as 1917. Due to his undying commitment and service to the ANC, Moretsele was made Provincial Treasurer of the movement in the early 1940s. He ran a café in the centre of Johannesburg, and remained an important link between those in the rural areas and Johannesburg. Even though the ANC was making steady progress in the rural areas, its hold in some of these areas wasn't strong because of infighting, lack of funds and improper coordination. For example, in the early 1940s, important struggles against the imposition of betterment planning and control in Zoutpansberg and Pietersburg lacked proper coordination from the ANC. Even though Xuma visited Pietersburg in 1943 to recruit for the ANC and was well received, an attempt to hold another meeting the following year to be addressed by him never materialised. Quarrels between A. Molepo and Hayman Basner, both local ANC members in Pietersburg, led to splinter organisations which broke away from the movement. It was difficult, it would seem, for the ANC to organise in rural areas as only the Bethal branch seemed to be doing 'well' with only 14 registered members.

Peter Delius asserts that even the ANC Youth League was unlikely to have prioritised the rural struggles. The Youth League was urban-based and, amongst other things, focused on educational institutions.²⁸ When the Nationalist Party took power in 1948, more repressive

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 309-310.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 293-313.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 293-313.

laws were introduced and this made conditions to take the struggle forward more difficult in the rural areas. ANC leaders like Bopape could not travel to the rural areas because they were officially barred by the regime.²⁹ John Nkadimeng suffered the same fate. On May 4, 1961, he was refused permission to visit his mother in Sekhukhuneland. He was imprisoned for entering the proclaimed area without a permit and kept in detention until 1 July. He was fined £25.³⁰ In addition, the regime put pressure on the chiefs in various rural areas to limit political activism in their areas of control. However, in spite of these repressive measures, some remnants continued to promote the ANC. In the case of the northern Transvaal, for instance, migrant workers like Moretsele, who by the early 1950s was a member of the National Executive of the ANC, continued to recruit for the organisation. In 1954, the movement made contacts with chiefs in the northern and eastern Transvaal, thus ensuring that the Minister of Native Affairs, Hendrik Verwoerd, received a cold shoulder as he unpacked his vision of native affairs to senior royals at a meeting at Oliphants River.³¹

It was under these circumstances that *Sebatakomo* was formed. The movement linked farm workers and those who lived in the Reserve and Trust lands, producing what appeared to be a trade union. The organisation's inaugural meeting was held in 1954 in Lady Selbourne, Pretoria. Boshielo was elected as the organisation's chairman and John Nkadimeng its secretary. The organisation had the blessing of the ANC and the Communist Party, and kept its links with the rural constituencies and warned the chiefs against collaboration with the apartheid state.³²

There were other pressing issues that led those linked to the ANC revolt against the apartheid state in Sekhukhuneland. One of these was the introduction of Bantu Education in 1953 which prompted Godfrey Pitje to resign as the school principal of the only secondary school in Sekhukhuneland. Pitje was once a member of the ANC Youth League and therefore his resignation came as no surprise. He remained militant and believed that the apartheid scourge needed to be challenged at different levels, including through education. However, the majority of teachers in the area succumbed and accepted the new apartheid education system.³³

Forced removals also gained ground in the 1950s. In the village of Vondo-la-Thavha in Venda, the villagers were forcefully removed from the area to make way for the Thathe-Vondo pine plantation. The apartheid government had a problem with the chief of the village, Thovhele Rasimphi Tshivhase, who was a member of the Communist Party.³⁴

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/john-k-nkadimeng>, accessed on 25 May 2013.

³¹ Delius, 'Sebatakomo and the Zoutpansberg Balemi Association', 293-313.

³² *Ibid.*, 311-312.

³³ P. Delius 'Migrants, Comrades and Rural Revolt: Sekhukhuneland 1950-1987', *Transformation*, 13, 1990, 9.

³⁴ Vha-Musanda Vho-Shandukani Mudzunga (Manapule), 'Autobiography of an Underground Political Activist', *South African History Journal*, 64, (1) 2012, 138-143.

The Significant Massacres/Acts of Resistance

Another notable case of forced removals is that of the Eastern Transvaal area of Riet Kloof – the Bakgaga Bakopa community. The area was declared a black spot in 1953 in favour of a white farming community. The removal order was carried out, displacing hundreds of people who were later dumped in the barren area of Tafelkop.³⁵ In mid-1958, another forced removal was carried out in Mamathola, Muckle Glen, in order for white farms to take over the arable land. Chief Malisela Letsoalo's efforts to sue the state and reclaim his land were unsuccessful.

There were also other chiefs who were displaced around this time. In 1949, at gaMatlala, the acting chief Makwena Matlala refused to implement betterment schemes as instructed by the government. She chose to consult with her subjects, much to the irritation of government officials. At the end of 1950 she was ordered to leave the village and she obliged. Upon hearing the news of her departure, ANC members in the area attacked and killed pro-Trust Council (contenders for the Matlala thrown) members and the new chief, Joel Motshedi Matlala. Arrests were made and charges pressed. This only fuelled tensions and about 30,000 appeared in court to pledge solidarity with those arrested, shouting ANC slogans and singing struggle songs. In the aftermath of this event, more people were deported from the area. Makwena, who was initially banished to Pretoria, was then sent to the Transkei,³⁶ which was not only an unfamiliar territory to her but also one with a different language and culture. The intention was to ensure that she was frustrated.

The situation in Sekhukhuneland reached a boiling point when the Paramount Chief, Morwamotshe, was deported in 1958. The situation was worsened when the police opened fire on a crowd in Manganeng village on 16 May 1958. The villagers vented their anger and turned against those they considered to be collaborators. Properties of alleged collaborators were torched and some killed. 300 villagers were arrested and tried. *Sebatakgommo* stepped in and organised lawyers for the defence of those who were charged for participating in the uprising. Realising that it had misjudged the situation, the apartheid state allowed Morwamotshe to return to his village and plans to impose Bantu Authorities were put aside.³⁷

The Zeerust Revolt

The Zeerust revolt of 1957-58 is an important event in the history of rural resistance in South Africa and has been recognised as such. However, it had long-term consequences which have not been acknowledged. For example, it raised political awareness in the

³⁵ N. Nkadimeng, 'The Bakgaga Bakopa Community's experience of forced removal from their ancestral settlement at Maleoskop', MA thesis, University of Johannesburg, 1999.

³⁶ Zondi, 'Peasant struggles of the 1950s', 155.

³⁷ Delius, 'Sebatakgomo and the Zoutpansberg Balemi Association', 311-312.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

Reserve from the late 1950s that laid the basis for the formation and success of the 'Zeerust Pipeline' taking political activists into exile. The Zeerust Revolt is also significant for the fact that many of its leading participants were women, and the revolt has been associated with women's resistance to passes. However, it had longer term causes relating to the collapse of the reserves in South Africa, and rural impoverishment. The women of the Reserve looked to the kgosi, Ramotshere Abram Moiloa, to co-ordinate resistance to the carrying of passes, which denied them access to towns and cities at a time when rural production in the Hurutshe Reserve provided less and less economic security.

When Moiloa received the order to enforce the issuing of passes to women in the Reserve he refused to co-operate, setting in motion determined state initiatives to force him to comply. Moiloa was deposed and fled eventually to Botswana. His subjects then responded by burning their passes. The women in the Reserve were supported by Bahurutshe migrant workers, men from the Witwatersrand who came home to help stiffen the resistance. Violence broke out and the properties of known collaborators, especially some of the chiefs, were destroyed. The violence eventually engulfed all villages in the Reserve.

The security forces acted quickly to put an end to the disturbances. This led to the implementation of brute force against the populace of Moiloa's Reserve. A mobile police column was set up, hundreds were arrested and gatherings of over ten people were banned. The legal representatives of the Bahurutshe engaged the services of a young George Bizos to defend them. Matters reached a bloody climax on 25 January 1958 when four people were shot dead in Gopane. It seems that investigating policemen were mobbed and, during the panic, shots were exchanged. Those killed may have been innocent bystanders. The shootings shocked the inhabitants and resistance at this point came to an end. Mass arrests were made and in all about 200 people were charged with murder. By September, five had been convicted of assault, 58 of public violence, and the remainder was acquitted.

These events are quite well-known, but subsequent developments are not so familiar. Moiloa remained in Botswana (then Bechuanaland) for several years during which time he was active in ANC politics. He had a connection to a number of recruits from Dinokana in Lehurutshe who subsequently served in the celebrated Luthuli Brigade. These men recall encountering him both in Botswana and in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, in the late 1960s. Moiloa has been accorded recognition and the Zeerust Municipality is now named after him, though the facts about his contribution are less well known. As a consequence of their actions, a number of ANC organisers in the Reserve were banished to other parts of South Africa. They included Kenneth Mosinyi, Nimrod Moagi, David and Boas Moiloa and Ramodidi Mokgatlhe.

The significance and legacy of the Zeerust Revolt needs much more acknowledgement. The

The Significant Massacres/Acts of Resistance

generalised politicisation and radicalisation of the inhabitants in the ensuing years led to the formation of underground structures. It was these structures that contributed to the fact that Nelson Mandela (January-March 1962), Thabo Mbeki (October 1962) and Jacob Zuma (June 1963) were able to leave the country using the route through Zeerust. (Zuma was arrested along with 26 others before he could make good his escape.) But the 'pipeline' served to ferry hundreds of recruits and activists in and out of the country in the following two decades. Often the first point of contact they had with the ANC was in Lobatse at the house of Fish Keitseng and his wife, Masina.

Finally, the politicisation of the Reserve impacted on the youth as well. Thus, in 1963-64, between fifty and eighty boys and young men from Dinokana and other villages in Lehurutshe were sent to Botswana to join MK. The majority of those who crossed the border in this period 'were the children of those who bore the brunt of police brutality' in 1957-1958.³⁸ There was also an active Zeerust Students Association, many of whom went on to become activists. One of these men was Abram Tiro, the student leader who was eventually killed by a parcel bomb sent to him in Botswana by the regime in Pretoria.

³⁸ Zondi, 'Peasant struggles in the 1950s', p. 174.

Chapter 14

Heritage sites and significant actors in the liberation struggle

Western Cape

- *The Grand Parade* – Where numerous political rallies and meetings were held. It was for centuries the public face of Cape Town's spirit: a place where citizens gathered to celebrate, protest or seek refuge. It was also here that crowds gathered to hear Nelson Mandela address the world upon his release from prison in 1990.
- *A memorial in Paarl to commemorate the Paarl three who were shot by Officer Bleeker.*
- *A memorial to commemorate the people who died during the riots in Worcester.*
- *The bachelor flat zones of Langa* – Where numerous protests and clashes between government agencies and the residents occurred.¹
- *Langa Market Hall* – Site where the Non-European Unity Movement held a meeting to plan its opposition to the Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival.²
- *Salt River Hall* – Where numerous political meetings took place.
- *Industrial Socialist League (the Socialist Hall) offices in Plein Street, Cape Town* – Which was opened on 12 January 1919.
- *The building where the AAC had its national headquarters in Harrington Street.*
- *Claire Goodlatte's (the 'Red Nun') house, York Street, Woodstock* – She was Gool and Tabata's WPSA mentor and trainer in political theory.³
- *The home of academic psychologist J.G. Taylor and his wife Dora Claremont* – Where,⁴ in the late 1930s a member of the WPSA's Spartacus Club, J.G. Taylor, wrote plays that were performed by members.⁵
- *The Blouville anti-removal struggle* – In 1942 the community of Blouville in Retreat resisted the government's attempt to clear and re-house squatters living in the area. Cissie Gool was a councillor at the time and arranged a meeting at Blouville which was attended by over 500 residents and addressed by a number of leading Communist Party members. During the course of this struggle Annie Silinga became a prominent leader.⁶
- *Jane Gool and Isaac Tabata's home on the edge of District Six, Cape Town* – Where they moved to in 1953 after the closure in the previous year of the African section of the

¹ For recollections of life for migrants and other heritage sites in Langa refer to S. Field, 'Sites of memory in Langa', in S. Field, R. Meyer and F. Swanson (eds.), *Imagining the City: Memories and culture in Cape Town*, Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2007, 21ff.

² Refer to L. Witz, 'From Langa Market Hall and Rhodes' Estate to the Grand Parade and the Foreshore: Contesting Van Riebeeck's Cape Town', *Kronos*, No. 25, Pre-millennium issue, 1998/1999, 187-206.

³ C. Rassool, 'From Collective Leadership to Presidentialism: I.B. Tabata, Authorship and the Biographic Threshold', *Afrika Zamani*, Nos. 13 & 14, 2005–2006, 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ www.sahistory.org.za.

Stakesby Lewis Hostels.⁷ The home is also where Tabata and Gool received visits from young members of the movement – who often came in pairs – such as Zulei Christopher and Enver Hassim, Elma Carollisen and Karrim Essack, Neville Alexander and Gwen Wilcox.⁸

- *The grave of Cissie Gool* – Zainunnisa ‘Cissie’ Gool was born in Cape Town in 1897. Her father was the prominent politician, Dr Abdullah Abdurahman, leader of the African Peoples Organisation (APO) which he had helped to form in 1902. Abdurahman was also the first black South African to be elected to the Cape Town City Council in 1904. Gool was well-educated, and was tutored by both Olive Schreiner and M.K. Gandhi. Gool also attended the Trafalgar Public School, which was founded by her father. In 1919, Gool married Dr. Abdul Hamid Gool, but left him for fellow activist Sam Kahn in 1936. In the same year, Gool founded the National Liberation League (NLL) and became its first president, with a membership comprised of the coloured intelligentsia of Cape Town, including Alex la Guma as secretary. In 1936, when the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) initiated its United Front programme against the government, in cooperation with the African National Congress (ANC), the NLL was also drawn into the campaign that included strike action, boycotts and demonstrations. Gool’s leftist orientation signaled a major political break from her father. From 1938 to 1951, Gool represented Cape Town’s District Six on the Cape Town City Council, and for several years was the only woman serving on the City Council. In 1949, she was elected chairperson of the city council’s health committee. During the 1940s, Gool became the president of the Non-European Front and also became more active in a campaign to start passive resistance. She was arrested and charged for her involvement in the 1946 Passive Resistance campaign, but this did not deter her from her political activities. In 1951, she appeared in the Cape Town magistrate’s court for holding a public meeting, and was also active in the Franchise Action Council that was the predecessor of the South African Coloured People’s Organisation (SACPO). Gool resigned from the City Council in the same year, and was later banned under the Suppression of Communism Act in 1954, which effectively halted her above-ground political activities. She passed away from a stroke in Cape Town in 1963, and was buried at the Muslim cemetery next to her father in Observatory. Her family home in District Six was destroyed during the removals from that area.⁹
- *Annie Silinga’s graveyard (Langa cemetery)* – Annie Silinga was born in 1910 at Nqqamakwe in the Butterworth district of the Transkei where she completed only a few years of primary school. In 1937 she moved to Cape Town, where her husband was employed. In 1948 she joined the Langa Vigilance Association and, during the Defiance Campaign of 1952, she joined the African National Congress (ANC). During the Defiance Campaign, she served a brief jail term for civil disobedience. Silinga was elected to the

⁷ Rassool, ‘From Collective Leadership to Presidentialism’, 42.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁹ www.sahistory.org.za.

executive committee of the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) on its founding in 1954. Though she was almost illiterate, she had come to the forefront as one of the leaders of the women's anti-pass campaign. In 1955 she was arrested for refusing to comply with pass regulations and after a series of appeals was banished and sent under police escort to the Transkei. Still refusing to comply, she returned illegally to live with her family in Langa and in 1957 finally appealed her case successfully on the grounds that more than 15 years' residence in Cape Town entitled her to remain there. Silinga was arrested for treason and taken to Johannesburg in December 1956, the only African woman from the Western Cape to be among the accused. After the Treason Trial, she was elected president of the Cape Town ANC Women's League and was jailed in 1960 during the state of emergency. She spent the rest of her life in Langa Township where she died in 1984. Although she was buried in an unmarked pauper's grave, artist Sue Williamson, at the request of Silinga's family, created a piece to place at her grave in Langa cemetery. It bears Silinga's battle cry: 'I will never carry a pass!'¹⁰

- *Dora Tamana* – Dora Tamana (nee Ntloko) was born in 1901 in Hlobo, Transkei, the eldest of seven children. In 1923, Tamana married John Tamana, and between 1924 and 1930, she bore four children, three of whom died of meningitis and tuberculosis. The increasing struggle for survival led the Tamana family to Cape Town where they rented a converted stable in District Six. Tamana began earning an income through working in the informal sector. After the outbreak of the Second World War, the family moved to an informal settlement in Retreat called Blouvillei. In 1948, her husband left her and the children. Tamana's involvement in the politics of the region was precipitated by the government wanting to clear and re-house squatters living in Blouvillei in 1942. Cissie Gool was a councillor at the time and arranged a meeting at Blouvillei. Gool was to have a profound impact on Tamana's political consciousness. The meeting held by the Blouvillei community was attended by over 500 residents and addressed by a number of leading Communist Party members. In 1942, the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) became the first of many organisations that Tamana joined, ostensibly because of the threat to her home. Over the next few years Tamana became increasingly drawn into political activity, becoming an executive member of the Cape Town women's food committee and a member of the ANC. Tamana was particularly active in advocating self-help in the African areas and became committed to community upliftment, setting up a number of local schemes in the area such as a sewing group for women and the establishment of a crèche in 1948. In the more public arena of national politics, it was the anti-pass campaigns that led to Tamana's prominence. By 1953, Tamana was heavily involved in mobilising women against the imposition of passes. After attending the inaugural meeting of the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) she was elected its National Secretary in 1954. However, her tenure was cut short as she was elected, with Lilian Ngoyi, to attend a World Congress of Mothers in Switzerland, and then to visit

¹⁰ www.sahistory.org.za.

China and Russia. The overseas trip increased her status within her community but also drew the attention of the government. In April 1955, on her return to South Africa, the Minister of Justice banned her from a number of organisations and from attending political meetings for a period of five years. She became one of only five African women in the Western Cape to be listed under the Suppression of Communism Act. In the following years she suffered constant police harassment and was often the victim of repeated pass raids. In 1960, Blouvtlei was officially rezoned a coloured area under the Group Areas Act and thus the Tamana family was forced to settle in Gugulethu. The Blouvtlei nursery school Tamana established was allowed to continue provided that it catered for coloured children alone. After the anti-pass campaigns lost momentum during the 'quiet decade' of the 1960s, Tamana accepted a reference book with great reluctance, as without it no African women could receive a pension. At the same time, during the 1960s, she endured two terms of imprisonment while her health deteriorated to the extent that she could no longer work, although she continued to participate in local affairs for many years. Tamana was often described as a woman of remarkable strength and dignity. During the 1970s she joined forces with a group of women to protest high rents, and to start a number of projects such as first-aid classes and crèches in the townships. In 1981, the newly formed United Women's Organisation (UWO) was officially launched by 400 delegates from the Western Cape. Tamana, who was 80 years old, blind and in a wheelchair, opened the conference urging women to unite. Three years later, in July 1983, Tamana died and over 2,000 people attended her funeral.¹¹

- *Ray Alexander Simons* – Ray Alexander Simons (née Alexandrowich) was born on 12 January 1913 in Latvia. When she was about 13, she became active in the underground Latvian Communist Party. She arrived in South Africa on 6 November 1929, and began to organise African workers' unions. Five days later, on 11 November 1929, after meeting Cissie Gool and lifelong friend John Gomas, she joined the CPSA, aged 16. In the same year she lost her first job when she took part in an anti-pass campaign. She was involved with all facets of the Party's work, and after being dismissed from a job for attending the founding conference of the Anti-Fascist League, she became increasingly involved in trade union activity. Simons was the Secretary of the Communist Party in 1934 and 1935, and recruited many women into the organisation. She helped organise workers in many different trades, but the union which became synonymous with her name was the Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU). Founded in 1941, the FCWU spread through the fruit canning industry of the Boland and up the west coast among fishing communities. The FCWU recruited Black and White workers, men and women, and earned the reputation of being both effective and militant. In the 1950s, it played a leading role in the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). She also wrote a regular column on trade union matters in *The Guardian*, a newspaper affiliated to the CPSA. In September 1953, she was served with banning orders, and this forced her to

¹¹ www.sahistory.org.za.

resign as general secretary of the FCWU. In April 1954, together with Helen Joseph, Lilian Ngoyi and Florence Mkhize, she helped found FEDSAW, which fought for women's rights and participated in drafting the pioneering Women's Charter. Her FCWU banning precluded her attending the 1956 Women's March to the Union Buildings, but she was involved in its organisation and recruited about 175 women from Cape Town. After another banning order in April 1954, she was forced to resign from FEDSAW. Simons married Eli Weinberg in 1937, but they separated and she later married Professor Jack Simons, a devoted communist and a lecturer in African Studies, in 1941. On 6 May 1965 Ray Alexander Simons and her husband left South Africa for Zambia. From Zambia they went to England, where he obtained a lecturing post at Manchester University. Together they wrote the classic labour history *Class and Colour in South Africa: 1850 - 1950*, a pioneering analysis of the relationship between class and race, and how these shaped the South African political and social landscape. They returned to Lusaka in 1967, and were the first White to be accepted into the ANC. During this time, her husband lectured in the bush camps in Angola and Simons continued to do underground work.¹²

- **Sonia Bunting** – Born Sonia Isaacman in 1922, she joined the Communist Party in 1942 and gave up her university studies to do full-time political work. After the banning of the CPSA in 1950, she joined the staff of the *Guardian* newspaper and later became secretary of the Cape Town Peace Council. In 1951 she attended the World Youth Congress in Berlin as a member of a South African delegation that was led by Ahmed Kathrada. In 1955 Bunting was one of the platform speakers at the Congress of the People in Kliptown where the Freedom Charter was adopted. In 1956 she was arrested and charged with high treason. After being held in prison for two weeks she was finally acquitted from the marathon Treason Trial, along with 91 others in October 1958. In 1959 she was banned from attending meetings and ordered to resign from 26 organisations. After the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, she was detained for three and half months at Pretoria Central Prison and in 1962 placed under house arrest with her husband Brian. In 1963 Bunting went into exile and there she continued her work for the Communist Party and held numerous positions in the liberation movement including running the only office of the South African Communist Party (SACP) in the world for twenty years. Bunting was the organiser of the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, which mobilised worldwide support for the Rivonia accused and played a significant part in saving Nelson Mandela and other leaders from the death penalty. In 1991, after the unbanning of the ANC and SACP, Bunting and her husband Brian returned to Cape Town where they continued their political work. She was a founding member of the Cape Town Friends of Cuba Society. She died in Cape Town in March 2001.¹³
- **Winnie Siqwana** – Winnie Siqwana was the first African woman in Cape Town to join the CPSA in 1930 and was also a founding member of the Langa Women Vigilance

¹² www.sahistory.org.za.

¹³ www.sahistory.org.za.

Association. Siqwana campaigned vigorously against passes in Langa and led numerous deputations to the Cape Town City Council to protest on issues affecting the Langa community. Together with Annie Silinga, Siqwana also set up the first crèche in Langa Township.

- *Elizabeth Mafekeng* – Elizabeth Mafekeng was born in 1918 in Tarkastad and attended school until Standard 7. Living conditions in her birthplace forced her to leave for Paarl in Cape Town in early 1930s. Mafekeng left school at the age of 15 to support the family. Her first job was at a ‘canning factory where she cleaned fruit and vegetables for 75 cents a week’. She married a fellow factory worker in 1941, and they had eleven children while living in a cottage on Barbarossa Street, Paarl. She worked in the industry until pass laws were introduced. Mafekeng joined the trade union 1941, became a shop steward and then served, between 1954 and 1959 ‘as President of the African Food and Canning Workers Union (AFCWU) and branch secretary in Paarl’. Mafekeng was known as ‘Rocky’ among the workers in Paarl. A striking woman, she always began ‘her speeches with a song or two, singing in a clear, rich and well-organised voice’. Her speeches were ‘fiery, militant and witty’. In order ‘to connect the workers’ struggle for liberation to their struggle for better working conditions, she joined the Paarl branch of the ANC. She first rose to the position of National Vice-President of the ANC Women’s League and was later elected into the National Executive Committee of FEDSAW in the 1940s. In 1952 Mafekeng participated in the ANC-led Defiance Campaign and South African Congress Trade Unions’ (SACTU’s) 1957 ‘Pound a day’ Campaign. Mafekeng also served as the President of the militant South African Food and Canning Workers Union and the Paarl branch secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers and Union. In 1957, she became the Vice-President of the ANC Women’s League (ANCWL). She also served on the regional committee of the National Executive of SACTU and was one of the founding members of the FEDSAW. In 1955, she skipped the country without legal papers to represent the Food Workers Union at a trade union conference held in Sofia, Bulgaria. She was met by police brutality upon her return from the conference. In 1959, the government banished her from Paarl to a remote government farm in the Kuruman district. She refused to take her 11 children to that desolate place. On the night of her deportation the union leadership organised a large number of workers to bid her a safe journey. Mafekeng’s banishment occurred as a result of the activities she engaged in on the night prior to her arrest. On 2 October 1959, Mafekeng was arrested for ‘leading an anti-pass demonstration in Paarl, (but) the charge came to nothing in court’. Mafekeng’s union was the most militant in the country and nine union officials prior to her had been immobilised by the state. A few weeks before she received her banishment order, she and Liz Abrahams, the Acting General Secretary of the Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU), went ‘to Port Elizabeth to assist workers in organising the campaign against proposed wage cuts by Langeberg Ko-operasie management’. Rather than being banished to Southey and to ‘a future of nothingness’, Mafekeng fled to Lesotho with her two-month old baby, Uhuru, and sought refuge at a Roman Catholic Mission at

Makhaleng. She was granted asylum and lived in a two-room home with her nine children in the small village of Mafeteng. Her order was withdrawn on 7 September 1967. She got onto a train and started waving farewell. She quietly walked through two coaches and jumped off the train unnoticed. She was whisked to Lesotho and sought political refuge there to avoid deportation. With the unbanning of the liberation movements in 1990, she returned to Paarl. The FCWU built her a home in Mbekweni Township in Paarl. Elizabeth Mafeking died on 28 May 2009, at the age of 90, due to ill health.¹⁴

- *James Thaele* – James M. Thaele was born in Basutoland in 1888 and was reputed to be the son of a Basuto chief and a coloured mother. From 1906 until about 1910, he studied at Lovedale, where his early propensity for high-flown language and affected manners of dress marked him out as a showman. In 1913 he went to America, where he remained for about 10 years. He studied at Lincoln University, completing both a B.A. degree and later a bachelor's degree in theology in 1921. He returned to South Africa strongly affected by the Garveyist movement, and his subsequent writings and speeches reflected a militant race consciousness and mistrust of whites, including missionaries. With his brother, Kennan, Thaele organised a strong branch of the ANC in Cape Town, and by the late 1920s, aided by the Communist-backed activists Elliot Tonjeni and Bransby Ndobe, the western Cape ANC, with Thaele as president, had spread its influence throughout the wine-producing districts as far east as Worcester and Swellendam. Thaele became a familiar figure on the Cape Town Grand Parade, addressing groups of coloured and African workers at lunch hour. Dubbing himself 'Professor', he established a one-man college in Cape Town, offering instruction to blacks studying for the Junior Certificate and matriculation exams. He also edited an ephemeral newspaper called *The African World*, and wrote bombastic pieces for *The Workers' Herald*, the organ of Clements Kadalie's Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union. His attitude towards the Communist Party was eclectic, for although he agreed with much of Marxist thinking and was closer to the CPSA than to the national ANC in his preference for militant tactics, he rightly regarded organised communism in the Western Cape as a threat to his own leadership. This conflict came to a head in 1930 when Thaele broke with Ndobe and Tonjeni and the ANC split between their new 'Independent ANC', based in the rural districts, and Thaele's Congress, based in Cape Town. This split coincided with a government offensive against Western Cape political activists, and Thaele, weakened both by the split and by a court case in which he was forced to fight a charge under the Riotous Assemblies Act, from late 1930 lapsed into a period of relative inactivity. He remained ANC president in the Western Cape until 1938, when his desire for autonomy brought him up against the efforts of James Calata and Z.R. Mahabane to strengthen and centralise the ANC nationally. Beaten in a provincial election by A.V.

¹⁴ www.sahistory.org.za.

Coto in that year, he disputed his defeat but was overruled when Calata and Mahabane came to Cape Town to investigate the quarrel. He died in 1948.¹⁵

- *James la Guma* – A trade unionist and political activist, La Guma was the elder of two children born to an itinerant cobbler, Arnold, and his wife Jemima. While the domestic circumstances of the La Guma family, which was of French-Malagasy origin, are obscure during this period, it is known that La Guma was orphaned when he was five years old. He and his sister, Marinette, were at first cared for by a washerwoman and later adopted by an uncle, James Mansfield, who lived in Parow on the outskirts of Cape Town. At the age of eight, La Guma got his first job, working long hours at a Parow bakery. When his guardian moved to Cape Town a year or two later, he was able to attend school. While in Standard 2, he was forced to abandon his education to help support the household. After working as a messenger for a while, La Guma entered an apprenticeship as a leather worker in 1907. Being an avid reader and preferring to spend his pocket money at the second-hand bookstalls on the Grand Parade, he all the while advanced his own education. Even before he had reached his teens, La Guma had started identifying with the struggles of the labouring poor. He was deeply impressed by R. Tressall's *The ragged trousered philanthropists* that recounted the life and struggles of the English working classes. Growing up in poverty in recession-hit Cape Town in the period following the South African War (1899-1902), La Guma was no stranger to the privations and discontent of the labouring classes. He got his first taste of spontaneous working-class political action when he participated in the so-called 'hooligan riots' that engulfed Cape Town for several days in 1906. In 1910, La Guma and two friends responded to an advertisement for 'Cape boy' labour in German South West Africa (Namibia) out of desire for adventure. At the age of sixteen, La Guma thus found himself on the dock at Luderitz where he was indentured to a German cattle farmer for a few years. He subsequently worked for a while on the railways under harshly exploitative conditions. The outbreak of World War I (1914-1918), however, found him labouring on the diamond diggings around Kolmanskop. Because of poor working conditions on the diamond fields, La Guma together with a few fellow diggers formed a workers' committee in 1918 and organised a strike. This venture ended with striking workers being led from the diamond fields under armed guard. Blacklisted from working on diggings, La Guma drifted through several jobs during the next three years. In 1919 he was arrested, but fined only one shilling by a sympathetic magistrate for his part in organising a campaign against coloureds having to wear the 'blik-pas', a metal identity disk worn on the arm. Impressed with the aims and militancy of Clements Kadalie's ICU, La Guma was instrumental in setting up an ICU branch at Luderitz the following year and was elected branch secretary. In 1921 La Guma returned to Cape Town at the request of Kadalie, who recognised that the young man's enthusiasm for the workers' cause and his organisational ability would be an asset to the rapidly growing ICU. His first major

¹⁵ www.sahistory.org.za.

assignment for the ICU was to revive its Port Elizabeth branch that had lapsed after police had suppressed an ICU demonstration in the city in October 1920. Having proven his mettle as an organiser in Port Elizabeth, La Guma was elected assistant general secretary of the ICU in 1923 and returned to Cape Town. Here he helped establish an efficient administrative system for the organisation and had a hand in setting up its official organ, *The Worker's Herald*, published from April 1923 onwards. It was in the ICU of the early 1920s that La Guma met John Gomas who was to become a close associate throughout his active political career. La Guma joined the CPSA in 1925 and was elected to its Central Committee in 1926. Being one of Kadalie's closest lieutenants, he went to live in Johannesburg in the same year because the ICU had moved its headquarters there. However, he returned to Cape Town at the end of 1926 after being expelled from the ICU in a purge of CPSA members. La Guma subsequently devoted his energies to the CPSA and the ANC. In 1927 he was elected secretary of the Cape Town branch of the ANC and the following year became the organisation's secretary for the Western Cape. In February 1927 he travelled to Brussels, Belgium, as CPSA delegate to the first international conference. La Guma was invited to tour Germany and give lectures. He surprised audiences with his fluency in the language. He went on to visit the Soviet Union (USSR) in the company of ANC president, J.T. Gumede. Later that year he returned to the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet government to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution (1917). La Guma is reputed to have displayed Africanist leanings already in the early 1920s by expressing a desire for the emergence of stronger black political leadership and being sceptical of the value of white workers to the revolutionary movement. He argued that white workers, realising that their privilege rested on the exploitation of the black proletariat, could not be relied upon to support any revolutionary initiative. This tendency was greatly strengthened by his experience at the Brussels conference and his visits to the USSR where he held discussions with Bukharin and other officials of Communism International (Comintern) on strategies for achieving black liberation in South Africa. It is thus no surprise that he returned to South Africa an ardent exponent of the Comintern's new approach to the 'colonial question': establishing independent, democratic, 'native' republics as a step towards the overthrow of capitalism in the colonial empires. La Guma adopted this controversial stance because he felt the empowerment of a black political leadership to be crucial to the success of communism in South Africa. He also argued that this strategy would win a mass base for the CPSA by harnessing the nationalist aspirations of blacks, especially within the petty bourgeoisie. Although a committed communist, La Guma fell foul of the CPSA hierarchy during this period because he was not prepared to toe the CPSA line strictly and because his Africanist sentiments alienated him from its largely white leadership. In 1929 La Guma was expelled from the CPSA for breach of discipline when he canvassed for an opponent of Douglas Wolton, CPSA chairperson, in the general elections of that year. Three months after being readmitted in 1931, La Guma was expelled a second time for ignoring a CPSA directive that he refuse aid from non-CPSA

unions in a strike he was helping to organise. Heated clashes with Lazar Bach, one of the more doctrinaire members of the CPSA, over these and other issues did not promote his cause. After four years in the political wilderness, La Guma re-entered active politics as a founding member of the National Liberation League (NLL), a largely coloured political organisation that sought to unite blacks in a common stand against segregation. He was elected secretary at its inaugural conference in 1935 and was editor of its newspaper, *The Liberator*, published for a few months during 1937. La Guma played a prominent role in the NLL's anti-segregationist protests and is accredited with having composed the organisation's anthem, 'Dark Folks Arise'. He was, however, expelled from the NLL in April 1939 largely as a result of his insistence that the organisation restrict its leadership to blacks. Objecting especially to the prominent role that white CPSA leaders such as Sam Khan and Harry Snitcher were allowed to play in the organisation, he allowed his CPSA membership to lapse. In July 1939, La Guma, together with a small group of followers, formed the National Development League (NDL). The NDL, with its policy of fostering black economic independence under black political leadership, lasted only a few months. In 1939 and 1940 La Guma stood unsuccessfully for election to the Cape Town City Council as the 'Working Man's Candidate'. Thoroughly disillusioned with politics and with the South African left wing, La Guma, at the age of 46, understated his age in order to join the Indian Malay Corps in 1940. He rationalised this move by taking issue with the left-wing stance that the working class should wash its hands of the Second World War as a matter strictly between the imperialist powers. He argued that the Second World War was an anti-Fascist war – in reality a continuation of the Spanish Civil War – and that socialists thus had a duty to volunteer. He spent seven years in the Corps, attained the rank of Staff Sergeant and saw service in East and North Africa. Upon being demobilised in 1947, La Guma rejoined the CPSA, was elected to its Central Committee and served in this capacity until the CPSA's dissolution after the passage of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. In the meantime he was also involved in an abortive attempt to revive the African Political Organisation and was unsuccessful in a third attempt at being elected to the Cape Town City Council in 1947. Disillusioned with the SACP's apparently tame response to state repression and wanting to make up for years of neglect, La Guma spent most of the 1950s with his family. During these years of political isolation he was frustrated as he witnessed the inexorable advance of segregationist measures under apartheid laws. Indeed, he resigned his job as foreman at a Cape Town firm in protest at being demoted to make way for a white employee. La Guma re-entered protest politics in 1957 when his son Alex (J. A. La Guma) was arrested on a charge of high treason in December 1956 for his role in the Congress of the People. He was elected president of the South African Coloured People's Organisation at its first national conference in 1957. With age and ill health catching up on him and his consequent irascibility not contributing to his popularity, La Guma decided once more to retire from active politics in 1959. He was nevertheless arrested with the declaration of a state of emergency that followed the Sharpeville shootings in

1960, and was detained for three months. La Guma's health failed rapidly after this. Suffering a cerebral thrombosis a few months after his release from prison, he died a few months later of a fatal heart attack at Groote Schuur Hospital.¹⁶

- *Oscar Mpetha* – Oscar Mpetha was born at Mount Fletcher in the Transkei in 1909 and in 1934 sought work in Cape Town, where he was employed as a dock worker, waiter, hospital orderly, road worker, and later as a factory worker. In the late 1940s he helped to organise the African Food and Canning Workers' Union and in 1951 became its general secretary. He joined the ANC in 1951 and in 1958 was elected president of the Cape ANC in a disputed election. He was subject to bans from 1954 into the 1960s and was detained during the 1960 state of emergency. In 1983 he was convicted of terrorism and of inciting a riot at a squatter camp in August 1980 during which two whites were killed. He was sentenced to five years in prison. While he was making an unsuccessful appeal of his sentence, he was selected to be one of three co-presidents of the United Democratic Front (UDF), an anti-apartheid body that incorporated many anti-apartheid organisations. Oscar was only released in October 1989 with other Rivonia political prisoners. He spent most of his sentence under armed guard at Groote Schuur Hospital. He was an ill man who had both his legs amputated and moved around in a wheelchair with the aid of his private nurses. He died on 15 November 1994 at his Gugulethu home.¹⁷
- *I.B. Tabata* – Isaac Bangani Tabata (known as I.B. Tabata) was born near Queenstown in the Cape in 1909 and received his secondary schooling at Lovedale. After attending Fort Hare for some time he left the university to seek work in Cape Town in 1931. He became employed as a truck driver and joined the racially mixed Lorry Drivers' Union, serving as a member of its executive. He joined the Cape African Voters' Association and educated himself politically by reading widely in Marxist and other radical literature. He was one of the founders of the Anti-CAD group and was active in the NEUM from its inception in 1943. In the 1940s he traveled widely in the Cape and the Transkei, publicising the NEUM programme and attacking government programmes aimed at limiting African livestock. The Xhosa version of his pamphlet, *The Rehabilitation Scheme — A Fraud*, circulated widely at this time. Contemptuous of the ANC and the CPSA, Tabata favoured a peasant-based liberation movement and a long-range strategy of political education rather than short-range action campaigns. In June 1952, just as the ANC's Defiance Campaign was beginning, he published a new pamphlet, *Boycott as a Weapon of Struggle*, putting forth the case for his own approach and that of the NEUM. In 1956 he received banning orders confining him to Cape Town for five years, during which time he wrote *Education for Barbarism*, a pamphlet attacking the Bantu Education system. On the expiration of his ban in 1961, he helped found the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa, which was intended to be an individual-membership body affiliated to the AAC and the NEUM, and became its president. In May 1963 he fled

¹⁶ www.sahistory.org.za.

¹⁷ www.sahistory.org.za.

South Africa via Swaziland and subsequently took refuge in Zambia. In 1965 and again in 1970 he made speaking tours of the United States. During his period of exile he continued to hold the position of president of both the NEUM (now called the Unity Movement of South Africa) and APDUSA. In addition to the writings cited, he wrote a collection of essays, *Imperialist Conspiracy in Africa* (1974).¹⁸

- *A.C. Jordan* – Archibald Campbell Mzolis Jordan, the son of an Anglican minister, was born on 30 October 1906 at the Mbokothwana Mission Station in the Tsolo District of Pondoland in Transkei (now Eastern Cape). He completed his primary education at Mbokothwana Mission, St. Cuthberts Primary School. After receiving the Andrew Smith bursary he went to Lovedale College in Alice, where he passed his Junior Certificate (Standard Eight or Grade Ten). In 1923, Jordan went to study at St. John's College in uMtata, Eastern Cape. He won a scholarship to Fort Hare University College, Eastern Cape, where he obtained a teacher's diploma in 1932 and a BA degree in 1934. That marked the start of an exceptional academic, political and literary career. Jordan taught for 10 years at the Kroonstad High School, Orange Free State (now Free State) where he mastered seSotho and was elected President of the African Teachers' Association. During this period, he completed a thesis on the phonetic and grammatical structure of the Baca language and was awarded an MA degree by the University of South Africa in 1944. Some of his poetry was published in the *Imvo Zabantsundu* newspaper. In 1940, he started working on his only novel, *Inggumbo Yeminyana*, a tragic epic about the conflict between Western-style education and traditional beliefs. This novel was to become a landmark in isiXhosa literature. On 2 January 1940, Jordan married Priscilla Phyllis Ntantla. In 1945 Jordan began teaching in the Department of African Languages at the University of Fort Hare after the retirement of Professor Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu. In 1956 Jordan became the first African to receive a doctorate for a phonological and grammatical study at the University of Cape Town (UCT). By 1957, Jordan was appointed as a lecturer in African Languages at UCT. While at UCT, he developed a new method of teaching isiXhosa to speakers of other languages and became an inspirational teacher of isiXhosa culture and language. Jordan's term was very short at UCT. Like many others, he became involved in opposition to the government's racial policies. In 1961, he was awarded the Carnegie Travel Grant to tour universities and colleges in the United States, but was refused a passport. Jordan opted to leave South Africa on an exit permit with his son Zweledinga Pallo Jordan. Jordan and his son reached London in October via Botswana and Tanzania. Early in 1962, Jordan settled in the USA, where he was made a professor in African Languages and Literature at the University of California's Los Angeles campus, and later at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. There, after a long illness, he died on the 20 October 1968. Yet his voice continued to be heard long after his death. In 1972, his critical study of Xhosa literature was published, and in 1973, a collection of short stories in Xhosa was translated into English under the

¹⁸ www.sahistory.org.za.

title, *Tales from Southern Africa*. His great novel *Ingqumbo Yeminyana* was published in English as *The Wrath of the Ancestors* (1980), in Afrikaans as *Die Toorn van die Voorvaders* (1990) and in Dutch as *De Wraak van het Voorgeslacht* (1999). Three of his books were published following his death: *Kwezo Mpindo zeTsitsa* (1970), *Tales from Southern Africa*, (1973), and *Towards an African Literature: The emergence of literary form in Xhosa* (1973).¹⁹

- *Nathaniel Impey Honono* – Nathaniel Impey Honono (Tshutsha) was born on 21 October 1908, in the district of Qumbu, in the then Transkei (Eastern Cape). He graduated with a BA degree from the University of Fort Hare. In the 1940s Honono was a member of the Transkei Organised Bodies, an organisation responsible for building unity across political and colour lines. He participated in the inaugural conference of the Non-European Unity Movement in Bloemfontein on 16 December 1943. He was an active member of the All-African Convention (AAC), a federal organisation formed in 1936 to resist the Hertzog Bills which disenfranchised African people in the Cape Province. He was also an active member of the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA), a radical teacher's organisation which was affiliated to the AAC and the Unity Movement. Honono served as the president of CATA for many years. He, together with his colleague, Alie Fataar, was responsible for convening a joint CATA and Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA) conference in Cape Town in June 1952, which was attended by 1,200 teachers from all over the Cape Province. The conference was called to reject separate Bantu, Coloured and Indian education and to build unity among all teachers. Honono passed away on 31 December 1986.²⁰

Eastern Cape

- *Port Elizabeth Workers Massacre, 1920* – On 23 October 1920, 23 workers were killed on what was then the market square. The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, founded in Port Elizabeth in 1919, had been mobilising workers in Port Elizabeth for better wages. In an attempt to end the mobilisation, the South African police arrested the main leader, Samuel Masabala early on the morning of 23 October 1920 and held him at the Baakens Street Police Station. A large crowd of workers assembled outside the building demanding his release. As the standoff developed, the police also armed white civilians. At about 17:45 the police and civilians opened fire from the Feathermarket building and other buildings on the market square on the crowd, killing 23 people.²¹
- *Bulhoek Massacre* – The memorial at Ntabelanga is located at the site of one of several mass graves from the massacre that took place in 1921. The victims were buried in

¹⁹ www.sahistory.org.za.

²⁰ www.sahistory.org.za.

²¹ Nelson Mandela Bay, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 9-10.

several mass graves. On the main one, a simple headstone reading 'Because they chose the plan of God, so the world did not have a place for them' was put up. Later, at the request of the Israelite church the memorial was upgraded.

- *Qhetho Village, Ngqushwa District* – A simple memorial commemorates the conflict that arose from the dispossession and removal of villages in rural areas. The memorial records the conflict that arose between Msutu and Njokweni, sons of Chief Njokweni, one of whom supported betterment and the other who rejected it. Both ultimately died violent deaths: one was shot in 1957 and the other in 1958. The memorial stands as mute testimony to the conflict caused by betterment and the Trust, even amongst family members.
- *Cata Village, Keiskammahoek* – A community museum has been erected with funds obtained through the Land Restitution process. It memorialises all those who lost their land through betterment, including the flooding of the Sandile Dam.
- *Maqashu Village, Lady Frere District* – This site is recognised by the Chris Hani District Municipality Liberation Route to memorialise all those who were burned out of their homes by K.D. Matanzima, the Transkei homeland leader, when the Trust was implemented.
- *Tyamzashe Memorial* – 'B ka T' Tyamzashe, one of the significant music composers in Africa, contributed immensely towards the development of African music. His greatest composition for the Catholic Church is probably his 'Gloria', in which he combined a melody closely related to the melody of Ntsikana's Great Hymn with a flowing traditional rhythmic melody. He also composed songs protesting against the loss of voting rights for Africans in the Cape. He was invited to conduct a massed choir of 3,000 school children at the welcoming ceremony in Mthatha for King George during the 1947 royal visit. In 1975, the University of Fort Hare conferred an honorary degree upon him in recognition of his outstanding contribution to music. He was a popular personality and was greeted with great affection and acclamation as Teacher Tyamzashe wherever he went. He died on 4 June 1978 at the age of 87. He was buried at Zinyoka location. A memorial in his honour was erected at the B ka T Tyamzashe Secondary School at Zinyoka near King William's Town.²²
- *Jabavu House* – D.D.T. Jabavu, son of J.T. Jabavu, was forced to study overseas when refused admission to Dale College on racial grounds. He returned in 1915 to become the first black professor at the then University College of Fort Hare. During the nadir of the ANC in the 1930s, Jabavu was instrumental in forming the All African Convention which fought against General Hertzog's 1936 'Native Bills.' Being a black African, he was forbidden to live in a white town, and therefore built a house at Ann Shaw, just outside the Middledrift town border. The house is still owned by the Jabavu family, and is home to several chapters in *The Ochre People* by Noni Jabavu, who grew up there.

²² Buffalo City, 'Buffalo City Heritage Sites: Potential Tourism Sites of Historical and Cultural Significance and with Natural History Interest', 9-10. http://www.buffalocity.gov.za/visitors/heritagesite_050209.pdf (site accessed 13 June 2013).

Heritage Sites

- *Xuma House* – Dr Alfred B. Xuma (1893-1962), the seventh president of the African National Congress, was born in Manzana. Although his parents were illiterate, they believed in education and Xuma studied at Govodi and Clarkebury. After completing his junior certificate, he taught at Tisane and Newalla to raise funds for his further education in the USA. He was away for 14 years, during which time he qualified as a medical doctor. He returned to South Africa in 1934, just in time to join the fight against General Hertzog's 'Native Bills' which stripped Cape Africans of their last remaining rights. He was elected Vice President of the All African Convention in 1936 but, looking for a more militant alternative, he was persuaded by Reverend Calata to join the ANC. Xuma and Calata directed the revival of the ANC from 1940 to 1949, when they made way for the generation of the ANC Youth League.²³
- *Nontetha Nkwenkwe* – The grave of memorial of this remarkable woman is located at Mngqaba village, KwaKhulile, Debe Nek. She came to prominence in the first decades of the twentieth century prophesising the end of colonial rule and the chiefs and soon attracted a large following. At that time she was preaching against alcohol, adultery and pork-eating, and insisted that impoverished blacks unite because a day of judgement was imminent. In the wake of the Bulhoek massacre, the government was wary of rural resistance movements that challenged its authority. In 1922 she was committed to the Fort Beaufort Mental Hospital for 'medical observation'. After her release she continued with her preaching. In 1924 she was sent to the Weskoppies Mental Hospital in Pretoria. In a remarkable feat, 36 of her followers walked there on a 55-day 'pilgrimage of grace' to request her release. She died at Weskoppies in 1935 and was buried in a pauper's grave. In July 1998 her body was exhumed and returned to her home. The Church of the Prophetess Nontetha survives to this day.²⁴
- *University of Fort Hare* – The University of Fort Hare was established in 1916 when Prime Minister Louis Botha opened the South African Native College, with 20 students (2 of whom were white). Whatever Botha's expectations might have been when he opened Fort Hare, over the years the institution grew and evolved, taking on a unique and significant character. But this was not plain sailing. The take-over of the university from 1959 to 1991 – the 'period of captivity' – by the Nationalist Party government in pursuit of its grand apartheid policies brought profound challenges.²⁵ But, this notwithstanding, or perhaps to an extent even because of this, it became, in the words of Nelson Mandela, 'a beacon for African scholars from all over Southern, Central and Eastern Africa. For young black South Africans like myself, it was Oxford and Cambridge, Harvard and Yale, all rolled into one.'²⁶ The rise of student protests and their link with the

²³ Chris Hani District Municipality, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 45.

²⁴ Buffalo City, 'Buffalo City Heritage Sites', 3.

²⁵ D. Williams, *A History of the University College of Fort Hare, South Africa, the 1950s: The Waiting Years*, Lewiston, Edwin Messen Press, 2001, v.

²⁶ N. Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, Randburg, Macdonal Press, 1994, 41.

broader struggle against apartheid has been well-documented.²⁷ Fort Hare was a nursery for the Christian elite co-operating with paternalistic White; an ethnic college producing functionaries for a Xhosa republic; a bastion of resistance and a school for freedom; and a pan-African academy.²⁸ Popular accounts of the university frequently point to the many prominent people associated with the university: Nelson Mandela, O.R. Tambo, Duma Nokwe, Godfrey Pitye, Robert Sobukwe, Yusuf Lele (Uganda), Seretse Khama (Botswana), Ntsu Mokehle (Lesotho), Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Dennis Brutus, Can Themba. They also point to the important and pioneering contribution of African intellectuals like Prof. Z.K. Mathews and D.D.T. Jabavu. Whilst it is true that the University and Federal seminary (and hence Alice) can claim to have been home to no less than two Nobel Peace Prize laureates, the history of the institution is not only a list of great men and women. It was perhaps this broad formative role that the Presidency had in mind when, on 26 April 2005, the Supreme Order of the Baobab (Gold) was conferred on the University of Fort Hare in recognition of the role it played in academic training and leadership development of legions of men and women from South and Southern Africa.

- *Calata House, Cradock* – Reverend James Calata (1895-1983) lived in Cradock and worked as a minister at the St. James Anglican Church from 1928. During the Cape Provincial Congress of the ANC, held at Cradock in 1930 he was elected President of the Provincial ANC. From 1937 to 1949 he served as Secretary-General of the National ANC, during the Presidencies of Z.R. Mahabane and A.B. Xuma. He stepped down in 1949 to make way for Walter Sisulu, but remained a member of the ANC National Executive. Calata was one of the accused at the Treason Trial in December 1956. Although acquitted, he was banned. He remained politically active for more than 40 years under conditions of harsh repression. His house, situated at 26 Mongo Street in Lingelihle, is unique in that it still preserves many of the original rooms and furnishings – including his library and his private chapel.²⁹
- *King Sabata Dalindyebo Memorial* – Sabata became King of the abaThembu in the 1950s, just as the Bantu Authorities system was introduced by the apartheid regime. He became a fierce opponent, precisely at a time when the majority of traditional leaders, headed by his cousin, K.D. Matanzima, sought advantage in collaboration. Sabata became a strong supporter of the opposition Democratic Party within the Transkei homeland, but lost control of the core Thembu District when K.D. carved out the rival 'kingdom' of western Thembuland. He was jailed by Matanzima for insulting Transkei independence, and escaped to Lusaka where he died in 1986. The family were always suspicious of the way Matanzima had Sabata buried, and his reburial in 1989 was the

²⁷ D. Massey, *Under Protest: The Rise of Student Resistance at the University of Fort Hare*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

²⁸ M. Nkomo, D. Swartz and B. Maja (eds.), *Within the Realms of Possibility*, Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2006, 86.

²⁹ Chris Hani District Municipality, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 7.

signal for the public re-emergence of the ANC in Transkei. In 2005 a memorial was erected in his memory at the Bumbane Great Place.

- *Dimbaza Wall of Remembrance* – One of the cornerstones of the apartheid policies was the forced removal of Africans from so-called white areas and dumping them in resettlement camps. Resettlement camps like Thornhill and Dimbaza became notorious for the harsh living conditions, high infant mortality rates and general inhumane implications of macro-apartheid. The Dimbaza Wall of Remembrance commemorates those who died and suffered in the area as a result of forced removals.³⁰
- *Mgwali* – The Mgwali Mission settlement near Stutterheim is home to a number of important historical buildings associated with its first missionary, the Rev. Tiyo Soga. It is, however, also important in telling the story of resistance to forced removals. The settlement was identified by the apartheid government as a so-called ‘black spot’ – an area occupied by Africans within an area demarcated for whites in terms of apartheid policies. The residents successfully resisted forced removals to Frankfort in the Ciskei.
- *Sister Mary Aidan Quinlan Memorial, Duncan Village* – This memorial, in the grounds of the Catholic Church in Duncan Village, was officially unveiled on 9 November 2002. It provides an opportunity to tell the broader story of Duncan Village and resistance to apartheid in the 1950s, the activities of notorious security policemen like Donald Card and the Defiance Campaign. The context, briefly stated, was that in the wake of the Defiance Campaign, a ban on gatherings and restrictions on 52 Eastern Cape leaders were imposed in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act. About 1,500 members of the Duncan Village community met at Bantu Square under the banner of the ANC on Sunday 9 November for a prayer meeting to protest the bannings.³¹ The police decided the meeting was not religious and ordered the crowd to disperse. They then opened fire with rifles, revolvers and Sten guns and dozens of people were killed. Angry and defiant, the crowd broke up into smaller groups and began to march to East London. A smaller group came across a white insurance salesman and beat him to death. Another group of youths came across the car driven by Sister Quinlan, dragged her from her car and killed her. By evening, nine people had died, including the two whites, and 27 had been injured.³² Some accounts hold that Sister Quinlan, as a medical doctor, was popular and well-known in Duncan Village. She had been in another suburb when the police opened fire on the crowd and had rushed to Duncan Village to assist the wounded. During the night, the Catholic Church was burnt to the ground and other buildings, including the Peacock Hall and the Teacher Training College, were destroyed. The following day the violence spread to the West Bank location where the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches were burnt. The police began to systematically clamp down, arresting some people on pass law offences and deporting many others to rural areas. One hundred and

³⁰ Refer to P. Green and A. Hirsch, ‘The Impact of Resettlement in the Ciskei: Three case studies’, SALDRU Working Paper No. 49, Cape Town, Southern Africa labour and Development Research Unit, April 1983, 87ff.

³¹ A. Manger and G. Manley, ‘Reaping the Whirlwind: the East London Riots of 1952’, Wits History Workshop, 6-10 February 1990, 1.

³² *Ibid.*, 1-2.

seventy-eight people were arrested for murder, arson and public violence. Fifteen were charged with the murder of Sister Mary Aiden Quinlan, of whom five were convicted.³³

- *Lock Street Prison, East London* – Women’s prison where activists were held during the Defiance Campaign.

KwaZulu-Natal

- *Lakhani Chambers* – Lakhani Chambers in Durban housed the offices of the regional ANC, CPSA and SACTU, as well as the Natal Indian Congress and various trade unions.
- *YMCA (Beatrice Street) Bantu Social Centre* – A centre established by the Durban municipality, initially in Victoria Street in October 1933, but later moved to Beatrice Street, where urban workers and African intelligentsia, cultural and religious activists could gather. Ironically, the Durban Bantu Social Centre was intended to serve solely as a social, recreational, and educational place of gathering for urban black citizens; it reached far beyond this mandate and was simultaneously utilised to breed political consciousness and provided space for patrons to engage in critical ideological discourse. Patrons of the centre included the likes of H.I.E. Dhlomo, R.R.R. Dhlomo, Jordan Ngubane, B.W. Vilakazi, Charlotte Manye Maxeke, Bertha Mkhize, Selope Thema, Ruben Caluza and many others.³⁴
- *Red Square* – The western end of the Pine Street Reserve developed as a public square which, in later years, was used as a site for open-air meetings by the budding labour movement and the Communist Party, becoming popularly known as Red Square. Although its size and status has since been seriously compromised by subsequent developments, it remains an important component in the fabric of the Grey Street-Warwick historical precinct.³⁵
- *Vacant plot in Prince Edward Street that was owned by the Natal Indian Congress* – Venue of many meetings of the Congress Movement.
- *Memorial to the women’s struggle in Cato Manor - Two Sticks.*
- *Cartwright Flats (Umgeni Road)* – Site of SACP meetings and where Johannes Nkosi was killed.
- *Johannes Nkosi’s gravesite in Stellawood Road Cemetery.*
- *Drill Hall (Lamontville)* – Site of many community meetings.
- *War Memorial Hall* – The ‘white man’s thank you for fighting in the war’. Many community meetings were held there.
- *Bell Street Togat Barracks* – Industrial action began in these barracks in 1941 with some 1,000 workers on strike brought the docks to a standstill. The stay-away was rather peaceful. This protest action was one example of the conflicting perspectives of the

³³ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

³⁴ M. Cele, ‘A brief history of the Durban Bantu Social Centre’, *The Thinker*, Vol. 33, 2011, 34-38

³⁵ www.sahistory.org.za.

Heritage Sites

Durban municipality and white employers when it came to responding to workers' demands and keeping labour under control. The Department of Labour had agreed to a small increase in wages, whilst employers maintained that a wage increment was not possible.

- *Statue of Josiah Gumede (Pietermaritzburg)* – Site where the statue is going to be erected.
- *Mzisi Dube* – Msizi Dube, a Lamontville based activist and anti-poverty campaigner, was born in Glencoe in 1933. When his family moved to the Durban area in the 1940s, Dube enrolled at Lourem Secondary School in Somtseu Road. The school was closed when the then Durban City Council moved blacks from the 'white area' and settled them in townships, including Lamontville. Because there was no high school in Lamontville at the time, Dube was sent to the Roman Catholic Inkamane High School in Vryheid, where he was described in a school report as disruptive, asking too many questions and never satisfied with the answers. He was asked to leave the school despite a plea from his father. His sister Daphney said Dube had already joined the ANC at the time but had asked her not to tell his parents. He could not hide his true colours for long, though, and soon started coming home late from political meetings. His mother tried to discourage him, but his interest in politics only deepened when he was admitted to Adams College in Amanzimtoti, the alma mater of political heavyweights such as Albert Luthuli, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Joshua Nkomo. He became a community leader of note, and was the founder of the Joint Residents Association, which included residents from Lamontville and Chesterville. He is perhaps best known for his role in founding the famed 'Asinamali' rent boycott campaign. In 1959, when the Council forcibly moved black people from Cato Manor to KwaMashu, Msizi and other ANC members tried in vain to resist. He was a great opponent of the Advisory Boards established to control black townships. Dube was shot by unknown assassins in Lamontville on 25 April 1983.

The North West Province

- *Nye-Nye Tree in Dinokana, near Zeerust* – Situated outside the *kgotla* in the village of Dinokana, this tree was a meeting point where the residents planned their strategies during the Hurutshe Revolt of 1957-58. Thereafter, it served a similar purpose for planning the kind of assistance that could be given to guerrillas and insurgents to cross the border or seek refuge in Dinokana.
- *Anglican Church, Zeerust* – During the 1957-58 Hurutshe revolt, an Anglican priest in Zeerust, the Rev. Charles Hooper, and his wife Sheila housed and fed hundreds of refugees who fled the Reserve during times of trouble. Hooper arranged for legal assistance for people and provided information for the legal team. Hundreds of the baHurutshe villagers found refuge in the Anglican Church in Zeerust. Hooper wrote what is still the best account of the affair, in a book entitled *Brief Authority*, published in 1960.

He and his wife were deported from South Africa and they went to Swaziland. The Hoopers later moved to London, where he joined the ANC.

- *Silas Thelesho Molema* – Silas Molema was a councillor and later private secretary of the Barolong bo Ratshi under kgosi Montshiwa. Molema supported the founding of the South African National Native Congress (later ANC), and raised funds for the delegations of 1914 and 1919 to travel to Great Britain to protest against the provisions of the Native Land Act of 1913. Shortly before his death in September 1927, he successfully led a deputation to the government to protest against discriminatory provisions in the Native Administration Act. He also provided financial support for Plaatje to launch the important Setswana newspaper, *Koranta ea Becoana*.³⁶ The close ties between the Barolong in Mafikeng and the SANNC were not only maintained through the Molema family but also through the ruling Montshiwa lineage. John L. Dube, the SANNC's first President, called upon the financial assistance of Kgosi Lekoko Montshiwa of the Barolong in funding expenses incurred by Plaatje in carrying out work for the SANNC. This applied in particular to the 1912 deputation by the SANNC to discuss a range of issues with the colonial government in Cape Town.³⁷ Plaatje was considered to be a 'special representative' of the Barolong by John Langalibalele Dube, the first president of the ANC.
- *Dr. Modiri Molema's house, Maratiwa* – Situated in the Mafikeng city centre, Dr Molema's house was constructed in the 1890s. Born in 1891 in Mafikeng, Molema was educated at Lovedale and the University of Glasgow where he graduated as a medical doctor in 1919. He returned to South Africa in 1921 to follow his profession. His practice in the town served all races, until he was forced by the Group Areas Act to move from the Mafikeng city centre. He published three works on the history of the Barolong. He became active in politics from 1936 after the passing of the Hertzog Bills, which removed the qualified franchise for African voters in the Cape, and his involvement was extended further in 1940 when Dr. A.B. Xuma assumed leadership. He was National Treasurer of the ANC from 1949 until 1953. Arrested for civil disobedience in the 1952 Defiance Campaign, he was later forced to resign his position as a member and office bearer of the ANC in September 1953 in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950.
- *Moses Kotane's house in Pello (Tamosstad)* – Moses Kotane (1905-1978) was from the village of Pella, in the district of Swartruggens where the ba Kwena ba Mmatlaku live. In 1928 he joined the ANC but found it to be a disappointingly ineffectual organisation. The same year he joined the African Bakers' Union, an affiliate of the new Federation of Non-European Trade Unions then being built up by the Communist Party. In 1929 Kotane joined the CPSA, and soon became both the vice-chairman of the trade union federation and a member of the party's political bureau. In 1931 he became a full-time party functionary. Working as both a party and a union organiser, he also set the type for

³⁶ This sketch is taken from the Introduction to the Inventory of the Silas T. Molema and Solomon T. Plaatje Papers, Historical and Literary Papers Collection, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand.

³⁷ J. L. Dube to Lekoko Montshiwa, 3 November 1911. Silas Molema Collection, Cc9.

Umsebenzi, the Communist paper then edited by Edward Roux. As one of the CPSA's most promising African recruits in a period when the party was promoting the goal of a 'Native Republic', Kotane was offered an opportunity to go to the Soviet Union, and for a year in the early 1930s he studied at the Lenin School in Moscow. In 1935, because of an ideological dispute with Lazar Bach, then chairman of the CPSA, Kotane was removed from the party's political bureau. He was later restored to his position, however, and in 1939 he became general secretary of the party, a post he continued to hold through the CPSA's subsequent phases of legality, illegality, and exile. Kotane combined his strong convictions as a Marxist with a commitment to the goals of nationalism and a firm belief in the importance of an African leadership and initiative in the struggle for equal rights. As he rose to leading positions in both the Communist Party and the ANC, his loyalty to one organisation did not appear to be subordinate to his loyalty to the other. Even staunch anti-communists in the ANC held him in high regard for his clear-headedness as a thinker and his courage and pragmatism as a leader. In 1943 he was invited by A.B. Xuma to serve on the Atlantic Charter committee that drew up *African's Claims*, and in 1946 he was elected to the ANC National Executive Committee, a position he held until bans forced his nominal resignation in 1952. Following the 1946 mine strike, he was subjected with other leaders of the Communist Party to two years of futile legal proceedings, while the Smuts government tried to demonstrate its determination to deal with the 'red menace'. As in the late Treason Trial, when Kotane was also a defendant, the government eventually failed to make its case, although in the meantime the burdens on the accused were heavy. When the Communist Party was banned in 1950, Kotane moved from Cape Town, which had been the party's headquarters, to Johannesburg, where he opened a furniture business in Alexandra Township. He was one of the first to be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, but he ignored his bans to speak in support of the Defiance Campaign in June 1952 and was arrested with one of the first batches of defiers. Sometimes critical of cautious leadership in the ANC, he did not hesitate to thrust himself forward as an example of militancy. In December 1952 he was tried with other leaders of the Defiance Campaign and given a nine-month suspended sentence. In 1955 he attended the Bandung conference of Third World leaders as an observer and remained abroad for the better part of the year, travelling widely in Asia and Eastern Europe. Charged with treason in December 1956, he remained a defendant in the Treason Trial until charges against him were dropped in November 1958. During the 1960 state of emergency he was detained for four months and in late 1962 he was placed under 24-hour house arrest. In early 1963 he left South Africa for Tanzania, where he became the treasurer-general of the ANC in exile. In elections held in Tanzania in April 1969 he was returned to the National Executive Committee. He later suffered a stroke and went for treatment to Moscow, where he remained until his death in 1978.³⁸

³⁸ www.sahistory.org.za.

Limpopo Province

- *The Sekhukhuneland revolt* – The Nationalist Party wanted to expand and entrench the system of racial segregation by establishing homelands for each of the country's ethnic groups. A plethora of founding legislation were passed to this effect including, the Bantu Authorities Act, the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act, the Regional Authorities Act and the Territorial Authorities Act. These were therefore some of the key founding legislation for the Bantustan system. The chiefs were supposed to be the bedrock, the foundation and the cornerstone of the fraudulent system. The people in the rural areas heroically rose to oppose these and stoically fought against the expansion of the fascist racial supremacist policies and practices of the apartheid regime. In the Eastern Transvaal, in Sekhukhuneland, opposition to Bantu Authorities flared into open resistance, when the government banished King Moroamoche and some of his councillors.
- *Alpheus Maliba* – Alpheus Madaba Maliba was born in 1901 in Nzhelele in the northern Transvaal, into a Venda peasant family. In 1935 he went to Johannesburg and, while working in a factory, he enrolled in classes at a Communist-run night school. He joined the CPSA in 1936 and from 1939 to 1950 served on its Johannesburg district committee. He was a founder of the Zoutpansberg Cultural Association and the editor of *Mbofolowo*, the Venda language section of *Inkululeko*. He was a leader of the short-lived Non-European United Front in 1939 and an unsuccessful CPSA candidate for the Natives' Representative Council in 1942. In 1953 he was banned while serving on the executive committee of an ANC branch in Orlando township, Johannesburg. He committed suicide by hanging in September 1967, while being held in the Louis Trichardt prison under the Terrorism Act.³⁹
- *David Bopape* – David Wilcox Hlahane Bopape was the son of Pedi-speaking farm workers, Levi and Jerita Bopape. He was born in 1915 at Houtboschdorp on a farm approximately 25 kilometres from Pietersburg (now Polokwane) in the northern Transvaal. In 1916 his father fought against Germany in the First World War. Bopape finished his secondary education at the Botshabelo Training Institution in Middleburg, Transvaal. Beginning a nine-year career in education in 1936, he enrolled at this same institute for a Teacher's diploma which he completed three years later. He then taught English, Physical Science and Agriculture for one year in Chief Letswalo's district in Tzaneen. After this, in 1940, he moved to Tsakane location in Brakpan. He secured a teaching post at the Berlin School, where almost upon arrival he became a member of the Transvaal African Teachers Association that enlisted most teachers in the area. A short while later, Bopape became the secretary of the Teacher's Salary Campaign for the years 1940 and 1941. Moving left in his politics, Bopape joined the CPSA in 1940 under General Secretary Moses Kotane and, finding no contradiction between communism and

³⁹ www.sahistory.org.za.

his faith, he remained a Christian. He was elated to find that in the Communist Party there was no race or gender discrimination. In the late 1940s, he also served on the editorial staff of *Inkululeko*, a CPSA newspaper. The CPSA called on members to belong to national organisations, arguing that they were the ones fighting for liberation. In 1942 he joined the ANC under President Dr. AB Xuma. Shortly after joining the ANC, he was tasked as secretary of the Anti-Pass campaign of 1943-44. Bopape was also a central figure in the Alexander bus boycott of 1943-1944, when thousands walked 18 miles to and from work rather than submit to an increase in bus fares from 4 pence to 5 pence. Bopape's teaching career was terminated when he rejected the municipality's criminalising of traditional beer brewing in the township, and their creation of beer-halls. This was designed to generate revenue for the White's-only council. Bopape was elected to represent the Brakpan community on matters such as the housing shortage and the removal of White managers of municipal township beer-halls. From 1943, Dr. A Language was the township's manager for Native Affairs. A Stellenbosch University graduate, he had been an activist of the right wing organisation, Ossewa Brandweg appointed ostensibly for his 'expert knowledge of natives'. When Bopape publicly contradicted Dr. Language, the latter corresponded with the Department of Education. Bopape was summoned to the Department's offices and instructed to resign from the Communist Party and the ANC, or face expulsion. Bopape's response was that as a representative of the people, he was responsible to them, and that the nation was more important than he as an individual. His expulsion sparked protest action by teachers, school children and parents. On August 10, 1944, some 7,000 residents participated in a stay-away, chanting 'No Bopape, No Schooling'. In addition to the reinstatement of Bopape, they demanded the removal of Dr. Language as township manager. The protest action finally came to an end when the Town Council promised Bopape's reinstatement and to hold an inquiry into Dr. Language's conduct. Neither the inquiry nor the reinstatement occurred however. In 1944, Bopape was elected Transvaal ANC Secretary. In the same year, Bopape helped found the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) and served in its first National Executive Committee with Anton Lembede, Oliver Tambo, A.P. Mda, Godfrey Pitje, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela. The founding meeting was held at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Eloff Street, Johannesburg, and was attended by a selected group of 150 men. In his new occupation, Bopape organised ANC branches in virtually every town in the Transvaal (today, Mpumalanga, Limpopo, North West and Gauteng provinces). Bopape was an organiser of the 1948 Votes for All Convention, and in March 1950 he participated in the Defend Free Speech Convention as a joint secretary. This campaign attracted 10,000 men to Marshall Square in Johannesburg, and called for a one-day general strike on May Day (1st of May). This was an effort to call on the government to abolish the Pass Law and all discriminatory laws. On that day, 18 Africans died and many were wounded in unprovoked attacks by the police. After Dr. H.F. Verwoerd introduced Bantu Education, Bopape, together with Bernard Molewa, became instrumental in organising ANC 'Cultural Clubs'. These were meant to counter inferior

state education of African children and to teach them to love their people and country. Bopape held the position of Provincial Secretary until a banning order forced him to resign. At the time of the Defiance, Bopape was banned along with Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Kotane and J.B. Marks, and again ordered by the apartheid government to resign from the ANC and CPSA. But his experience as an organiser and leader of mass action made him an asset to the movement. Undeterred, the four rejected their banning orders and addressed mass meetings calling on others to defy their banning orders. In 1953 Bopape was arrested and imprisoned for four months at the Johannesburg Prison. Whilst in prison, he was served with a lifetime banning order under the Suppression of Communism Act. Although banned, Bopape continued with political work, secretly helping to organise the Defiance Campaign. As the ANC prepared for the Congress of the People, which adopted the Freedom Charter, he travelled to Cape Town to mobilise people to attend the meeting. He held a meeting on top of Table Mountain and succeeded in organising 100 people to attend the Congress. He then went to Knysna, Port Elizabeth, East London, Umtata, Tsolo and Qumbu. At this time, he was arrested for entering the Transkei illegally and was sentenced to 24 days hard labour. After returning to Johannesburg, he continued to defy the orders by attending the Congress of the People at Kliptown. Bopape was arrested again following the declaration of the State of Emergency after the Sharpeville shootings. Although the leadership of the ANC and SACP went into exile, he opted not to follow suit. Instead he continued with his underground activities, stating that 'when in exile you are only safe from police harassment and imprisonment, possibly death also, or, safe from possible enemy attack. But one cannot organise membership from there or organise in fear of death. Remember the highest sacrifice to the struggle is death. Secondly, there is no suffering in exile. The leadership would organise food and other necessities for the camps. At home you suffer'. Bopape died on 2 September 2004.⁴⁰

- *Elias Moretsele* – Little is known about Elias Moretsele's youth. At an early age he moved to Johannesburg where he joined the SANNC in 1917. He was the owner of an eating-house in the city, which in due course became a popular rendezvous for African politicians. In 1933 he was a committee member of the then-Bapedi National Club in Johannesburg, a non-political club that was formed so that its members could help one another and provide social upliftment. This underscored Moretsele's commitment to and love for his tribe of origin, the Pedi of the North-Eastern Transvaal, which characterised his entire public career. Moretsele's leadership role in the ANC only began after the drastic reorganisation of the Transvaal ANC in 1943 when he was elected to their working committee. He also became the provincial treasurer of the ANC in the Transvaal. During the black mineworkers' strike in August 1946 he was involved in liaison between the ANC and strike leaders. At the annual congress of the Transvaal ANC at Sophiatown in October 1953 he was unanimously elected provincial president, after

⁴⁰ www.sahistory.org.za.

having been appointed a month previously as acting president by the Transvaal Executive Committee because Nelson Mandela, by virtue of the Suppression of Communism Act, had been one of those ordered to relinquish the office in question. Shortly after Moretsele's election as ANC president of the Transvaal, he became officially as well as personally involved in various quarrels. The first was a clash in the Newclare branch between supporters and opponents of the ANC's alliance with organisations of other races. The second was about his successful participation at the end of 1953 in the election of members of the Native Advisory Committee of the Western Native Town in Johannesburg where he became a candidate for the local 'Vigilance Committee' (also called the Blue Party). His involvement with that committee brought considerable criticism down upon his head. The third was the dispute between supporters and opponents of school boycotts as a weapon of resistance against the implementation of the Bantu Education Act in 1955. Moretsele was a zealous supporter of school boycotts. However, after a large number of children were permanently suspended because they had gone ahead with boycotts, many parents and ANC leaders – to his dissatisfaction – directed a representation to the government to have the children readmitted. By 1955 Moretsele was also a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. In this capacity he was involved in arranging and attending meetings of the Congress of the People, where he officially welcomed all the delegates. Thereafter, he continually defended the Freedom Charter against the Africanists who rejected its multiracial basis. At the time, especially within the ANC in Johannesburg's western areas, there was bitter disagreement about the Freedom Charter. On 25 February 1958, two days after a chaotic provincial conference of the Transvaal ANC, during which the executive could not satisfactorily counter charges against them, Moretsele resigned as president of the Transvaal ANC. He did not, however, withdraw from politics. Not only was he again elected as provincial treasurer of the Transvaal ANC later in 1958, but he regularly visited the unrest-afflicted areas of Sekhukhuneland to help keep the flame of rebelliousness against apartheid burning. In 1956 Moretsele was one of the 156 accused who were tried during the famous treason trial. He was in fact one of the last 30 accused held until the end of the trial, but died early in March 1961, three weeks before the acquittal of all the accused.⁴¹

- *Flag Boshielo* – Boshielo was born to a poor family in 1920 in Phokoane village, in the Sekhukhuneland district in Northern Transvaal, now Limpopo Province. Boshielo joined the ANC and CPSA in the 1940s and served in the ANC Transvaal Executive Committee. The CPSA helped Boshielo to pursue his studies through evening classes. He was one of the participants of the 1952 Defiance Campaign. He was a founding member of *Sebatagomo*, a migrant worker-based movement formed in 1954. The movement played a leading role in the 1958 Sekhukhuneland Revolt. Boshielo moved to Johannesburg, where he was employed as a driver for a bakery. He recruited bakery

⁴¹ www.sahistory.org.za.

workers to join the Bakery Workers' Union and broader liberation movements. His leadership qualities saw him elected to the national leadership of SACTU. Because of his involvement in the liberation struggle, Boshielo became a prime target of the oppressive apartheid machinery. He was prohibited from attending political gatherings and ordered to renounce membership of all organisations. The ANC subsequently sent him to Moscow for political and military training. From Moscow he went to Tanzania where he became part of Kongwa Camp of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK). In 1972, he was captured near Caprivi (bordered by Botswana, Namibia and Zambia) by the then Rhodesian security while trying to infiltrate South Africa with other freedom fighters on an MK mission. His fellow MK combatants were killed in a shoot-out, but it is believed that Boshielo was captured and incarcerated by Ian Smith's forces in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Boshielo has not been seen since. Boshielo was awarded the Order of Luthuli in Gold in 2005 by President Thabo Mbeki for his contribution to the liberation struggle and workers' rights.⁴²

- *Godfrey Pitje* – Godfrey Mokgonane Pitje was born in 1917. He studied at Fort Hare University, where he graduated with a B.A. degree in 1944, later obtaining advanced degrees in anthropology, education, and law. In 1948 he was invited to lecture in anthropology at Fort Hare, and, encouraged by A.P. Mda, a friend and fellow teacher, he joined politically-minded students in establishing a Fort Hare branch of the Youth League. Pitje and members of the Fort Hare branch subsequently played a key role in pressing for adoption of the 1949 Programme of Action. At the annual ANC conference of 1949, Mda resigned as ANC Youth League's president because of ill health, and Pitje was brought in as his successor. He was also elected to the ANC National Executive Committee the same year. Although staunch in his nationalism, Pitje was not by nature inclined to politics, and the League lost momentum during his term of office. In 1951 he was succeeded as president by Nelson Mandela and retired from active politics. When teaching lost appeal as a profession with the introduction of Bantu Education, Pitje took up law and served articles in the firm of Mandela and Tambo, qualifying as an attorney in 1959. He was subject to bans from 1963 until 1975 when leaders of the Lebowa 'homeland' successfully appealed for an end to his restrictions.⁴³

⁴² www.sahistory.org.za.

⁴³ www.sahistory.org.za.

Phase 3: 1960-1994

Chapter 15

Introduction

The period 1960 to 1994 saw both an escalation of the struggle and the intensification of repression. This section is divided into four chapters based on the various decades: the 1960s, the 1970s, the 1980s and the 1990-1994 period.

The 1960s has generally been considered a time of silence in the literature on the liberation struggle. It is said that a vacuum existed in the conduct of the liberation struggle due to the banning of the liberation movements and the extensive state repression which characterised the decade. At the beginning of 1960, several events took place that eventually led to a decade characterised by extreme repression and demoralisation in the political life of the nation.¹ The Sharpeville Massacre and the banning of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in April 1960 led to a wave of repression through the country. The liberation movements responded by going underground, and eventually turning to armed struggle in an effort to end apartheid. Acts of sabotage carried out by the ANC's armed wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK), and the acts of violence carried out by members of the PAC's *Pogo* led to an escalation of repression, the imprisonment of opposition leaders, and the movement into exile of large number of leaders and members of the liberation movements. It appeared as if resistance to white oppression had been silenced. However, several events during the period indicated continuing resistance, accompanied by intensified repression.

In the closing years of the decade, black students at universities established the South African Students Organisation (SASO), and, in the early 1970s, laid the foundation of what became known as the Black Consciousness philosophy. The student organisation also set out to establish a number of other organisations, giving rise to the Black Peoples Convention (BPC) and structures for students at schools, the youth, women and workers. A wave of strikes which began in Durban in 1973 added impetus to the growth of the trade union movement throughout the country. However, the significant event of the 1970s was the 1976 student uprising, which began with a march of Soweto students on 16 June against the imposition of Afrikaans as a language of instruction. This was a watershed event, which stimulated internal popular resistance and the activities of the exiled liberation movements. A further impetus to revolutionary action was the independence of the Portuguese colonies, Mozambique and Angola, in the mid-1970s. Thus, by the end of the decade both internal

¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter TRC), *The Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 29 October 1998, 164. Available at www.info.gov.za/otherdocs/2003/trc/.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

above-ground and underground political activity had been revived, while the exiled liberation movements stepped up their infiltration and military actions inside the country.

The events towards the end of the 1970s set the foundation for the escalation of the liberation struggle. The ANC also used these favourable conditions to re-assert its primacy in the liberation struggle, and increased the activity of its political underground and military wing during the early part of the 1980s. The efforts of underground members of the ANC, as well as thousands of other unaligned individuals, led to the emergence and growth of a large number of popular organisations, most notably student and youth organisations, civic organisations, women's organisations and trade unions. The introduction of a new political dispensation, which provided for political rights for Indians and coloureds, but not for the African population, stimulated resistance. The organisations which had emerged in the late 1970s and 1980s came together in 1983 to form the United Democratic Front (UDF) and National Forum (NF). In the meantime, the expanding trade union movement also resulted in the formation of two large trade union federations by the mid-1980s: the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU). The escalation of the internal struggle prompted a violent response by the state, and many of the actions of the popular and political organisations during the decade were met with violence. There was also a significant increase in armed actions of the liberation movements, the ANC in particular.

The 1990s began with the historic announcement on 2 February 1990 that the liberation movements were to be unbanned and Nelson Mandela to be released from prison. The period 1990-1994 was dominated by the negotiations for a new South Africa, the re-establishment of the liberation movements inside the country, and political violence. Another feature was the armed activity of the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA).

Chapter 16

The liberation struggle and heritage sites in the 1960s

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first, the focus is on key historical organisations and events, leading personalities and various historical processes, events and campaigns during the period. The focus is on:

- the PAC anti-pass campaign;
- the Pondoland revolt;
- the ANC's turn to armed struggle and the sabotage campaign;
- PAC/Poqo activities;
- the activities of other organisations such as the African Resistance Movement, the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa; the Yu Chi Chan Club and the National Liberation Front; and the Claremont Muslim Youth Association;
- the ANC's Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns; and
- the formation of the South African Students' Organisation.

In the second section, attention is drawn to some of the potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites could be developed.

Historical processes and events

The PAC anti-pass campaign and the Langa shootings

In December 1959, the ANC held its national conference in Durban, where it was decided that an anti-pass campaign would take place on 31 March 1960. However, the newly formed PAC National Executive Committee convened in Bloemfontein a week later and proposed an anti-pass campaign for ratification at its first annual conference. At the conference, PAC president Robert Sobukwe requested a mandate to launch an anti-pass campaign. The call was unanimously supported, and the PAC decided to launch its campaign on 21 March, 10 days before the scheduled launch of the ANC's campaign. On that day, thousands of volunteers around the country marched to police stations. At Sharpeville,¹ police fired about 1,000 rounds on an angry crowd of about 25,000 gathered outside the location police

¹ There are numerous accounts of the Massacre. See for instance P. Frankel, *An ordinary atrocity: Sharpeville and its massacre*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 2001; T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Aftermath*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011.

station without warning, killing 67 people and wounding another 186, including women and children.²

The Western Cape

When that news reached Cape Town, a crowd of 5–10 000 people assembled at the Langa Flats bus terminus in defiance of a country-wide ban on public meetings. A police contingent at the scene instructed the crowd to disperse, and when they refused the police charged with batons and fired on the crowd. Three people were killed, and several injured.³ Richard Lombard, an employee of the *Cape Times*, was killed by the crowd in the chaos that followed the shootings.⁴

Three people were shot dead by police on 21 March, and at least 46 people were hospitalised for injuries. The subsequent siege of the African townships and associated assaults by police produced the climate for attacks on other individuals seen as ‘collaborators’, such as Constable Simon Mofokolo.⁵ The events of 21 March were followed by a mass strike in the Peninsula for the abolition of passes and a higher minimum wage for African workers. The African townships were under siege for two weeks, with an estimated 95 per cent of the African population, as well as a substantial proportion of the coloured community in Cape Town, joining the stay away. There were widespread allegations of police brutality during this siege. In April, an African detective constable, Simon Mofokolo, was battered to death at Nyanga by PAC supporters.⁶

Armed troops were brought in and they threw tight cordons around Langa, Nyanga East and Nyanga West townships. The troops carried rifles with fixed bayonets, Sten guns and Bren guns and were supported by armoured cars and Saracens. On March 24, 101 PAC supporters left Langa for Caledon Square, where they handed themselves over to the police.⁷ On 30 March, a mass march of about 30,000 people protesting against the pass laws and detention of leaders marched to the city centre and assembled at the Caledon Square police station. The marchers dispersed after the promise of a meeting with the Minister of Justice which never transpired. When Philip Kgosana, who had led the march, and a small group of PAC members returned in the evening they were arrested and charged with inciting public

² Frankel, *An ordinary atrocity*, 116.

³ They were Cornwell Tshuma, Leonard Mncube and C Makiwane. Richard Lombard of the *Cape Times* was killed by the crowd in the chaos that followed the shootings.

⁴ See for instance T. Lodge, ‘The Cape Town Troubles March-April 1960’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1978; T. Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*, London, Longman, 1983; P. Kgosana, *Lest We Forget*, Johannesburg, Skotaville, 1988; M.A. Mgxashe, *Are you with us? The story of a PAC activist*, Houghton, Mafube, 2006.

⁵ Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter TRC), *The Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (hereafter The Report)*, Volume 3, Chapter 5, *Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 29 October 1998, 396-8. Available at www.info.gov.za/otherdocs/2003/trc/.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 398.

⁷ Lodge, ‘The Cape Town Troubles’, 229.

violence.⁸ This was followed by a wave of arrests of the PAC leadership that decimated the organisation.

The impact of the anti-pass campaign was felt even in the rural towns of the Western Cape, and an anti-pass demonstration in Paarl is recorded to have been disrupted by the police. Similar demonstrations in Stellenbosch and Somerset West were baton-charged by the police, and a march in Worcester was dispersed by tear gas.⁹

Meanwhile, in response to the Sharpeville Massacre, the ANC called for a day of mourning set for 28 March, on which day people around the country gathered and burnt their pass books. There were reports of numerous clashes with police on that day, and on 30 March the government declared a state of emergency. Over 2,000 people were detained in the following days, and on 8 April the government banned the ANC and PAC.¹⁰

The Pondoland Revolt

The Pondoland Revolt took place primarily in 1960-61 in the Pondoland region of the former Transkei. The revolt has its roots in the resistance by Pondoland communities to the imposition of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 which provided for the establishment of tribal, regional and territorial authorities in the homelands. By the 1960s, the Pondoland communities were accusing the chiefs of being dictatorial and of abusing the powers granted to them, which included the running of tribal courts and the allocation of land. There was dissatisfaction with the rule of Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau. Requests to the magistrate to meet with the community to discuss grievances were turned down.¹¹

Those who opposed the traditional authorities held meetings in forests and hilltops, leading to the naming of the movement as the '*Intaba* (mountain) Committee'. It later became known as *iKongo*. The first mountain committee was formed at Nonqulwana Hill near Bizana, followed by committees at Ngqindilili Hill, Indlovu Hill and Ngquza Hill, all in the Flagstaff–Lusikisiki area. While this movement clearly involved ANC supporters, the revolt appears to have been a local initiative in response to local grievances rather than a planned ANC campaign. Action was initially taken against the property of traditional leaders and

⁸ *Ibid.*, 233-6. Refer also to C. Saunders, 'Pan-Africanism: The Cape Town Case', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2012, 296.

⁹ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 399.

¹⁰ B. Magubane, P. Bonner, J. Sithole, P. Delius, J. Cherry, P. Gibbs and T. April, 'The Turn to Armed Struggle', in SADET (ed.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960–1970*, Zebra Press, Cape Town, 2004, 69.

¹¹ TRC, *The Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 51.

their supports – huts were burnt down – but *iKongo* soon carried out attacks on individuals, which resulted in at least three deaths.¹²

On 6 June 1960, a group of *iKongo* members were meeting again at Ngquza Hill when two aircraft and a helicopter dropped tear gas and smoke bombs on them. They had been expecting a representative from the government to come and meet with them at Ngquza. When the police arrived instead, the group raised a white flag. Police emerged from nearby bushes and opened fire, killing eleven people. The Ngquza Hill shootings were followed by mass detentions and arrests by police, and further attacks on Bantu Authorities supporters by *iKongo* members. Nineteen people were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 18 months with six strokes to 21 months. Some of the *iKongo* members were sentenced to death.¹³

On 14 December, a state of emergency was declared prohibiting meetings and giving chiefs powers of banishment. According to Govan Mbeki, 4,769 people were detained during 1960, 2,067 of whom were eventually brought to trial. By the end of 1960, the uprising appears to have been over. Most of the leadership was in jail, dead or in hiding. Mbeki records that, between 24 August and 28 October 1961, thirty people were sentenced to death in trials arising out of the revolt; Southall states that nine of these were later reprieved.¹⁴

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) found that during and in the aftermath of the revolt, ten people were killed by the security forces outside of custody. There were also eight deaths and disappearances while people were in custody, three people were killed by *iKongo* members, five permanent disappearances, 17 judicial executions, approximately 90 people whose subsequent deaths attributed to treatment in custody, numerous cases of assaults and torture in custody, and various attacks on property both belonging to *iKongo* members and to those who supported Bantu Authorities. A total of 53 deaths was directly attributable to the conflict, and a further 90 deaths are believed by community members to have flowed from the conflict. Several *iKongo* members were banished to different areas.¹⁵

Re-organisation of the ANC underground

In the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, the National Executive Committee met to discuss the way forward in the event that the ANC was banned by the apartheid regime. At this meeting it was agreed that the movement would not dissolve itself, but would take

¹² *Ibid.*, 51.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 51-2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

certain steps to set up the 'machinery for illegal work'. Such steps included the suspension of parts of the ANC Constitution in order to bring about a more efficient mode of operation suited to underground activities. To streamline the cumbersome structures, the provincial level was discarded, leaving the national, regional and branch levels. In place of the National Executive, a seven-man committee was appointed to direct the struggle. Both the Youth League and Women's League, which had enjoyed a measure of autonomy, would be dissolved and replaced by five-person advisory committees working directly under the seven-man committee at the branch level.¹⁶

The Western Cape

In late August 1960, people detained from April were released from prison and concentrated their energies on rebuilding the ANC underground and laying the foundation for mass mobilisation. The ANC took a decision to extend the M-Plan – the system of street and zone committees named after Nelson Mandela – to Cape Town and reform itself underground. Earlier, before the declaration of the state of emergency and banning, the ANC took a decision to extend the M-Plan to Cape Town and reform itself underground. In 1959, Elijah Loza was given the task of forming street committees throughout the Western Cape. When the state of emergency was lifted in August 1960, the network was extended and refined. Each branch was controlled by a seven-man committee; and each branch in turn furnished one representative to the seven-man regional committee.¹⁷ Another way of adjusting to underground work was to streamline the organisation by paring provincial and local executive committees from 25 to seven members each. In the Western Cape, the Provincial Committee of Seven was made up of Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle, Bernard Huna, Elijah Loza, Archie Sibeko, Joseph Mpoza, and Ben Baartman. Chris Hani and Zola Skweyiya were later co-opted onto the committee.

During this period, individuals such as Chris Hani and James April participated in a number of activities. For instance, one of Hani's key tasks in the ANC was to organise the youth. He formed a football club for young men to carry out this task, and a number were recruited into the ANC in this way.¹⁸

Branches were divided into wards, zones, and cells. Streets formed committees of approximately 10 people, with a leader who met and organised things in the underground cells. In the strike organised for May 1961, for example, the cells were charged with the task of distributing pamphlets containing information about the labour action. Street committees were grouped into zones, which were in turn divided into wards. Door-to-door

¹⁶ G. Mbeki, *The struggle for liberation in South Africa: A short history*, Bellville, Mayibuye Centre, Cape Town, David Philip, 1992. Available at www.ancyl.org.za.

¹⁷ Magubane et al., 'The Turn to Armed Struggle', 97.

¹⁸ T. Mali, *Chris Hani: The sun that set before dawn*, edited by Ivan Vladislavic, SACHED, Johannesburg, 2000, 34.

visits were made to recruit people into underground structures. Individuals such as Archie Sibeko, Chris Hani, Alfred Willie, Felinyaniso Njamela, Gayika Tshawe and scores of others were instrumental in carrying out these tasks.¹⁹

Eastern Cape

The Eastern Cape has a long tradition of grassroots activism and organisation that was particularly evident during the 1940s mobilisation by trade unions affiliated to the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and local branches of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) and during the 1950s mobilisation for the Defiance and Freedom Charter Campaigns. It also had an earlier experience of underground organisation than any other part of the country. Port Elizabeth, for example, had experienced underground organisation from 1953 when the City Council banned all meetings in the wake of riots in New Brighton a year earlier. The ANC had built a core of volunteers (*amaVolontiya*) during the course of the Defiance Campaign, and this core had set out to establish a network of street committees in accordance with the M-Plan after the banning of meetings. By the time of the banning in 1960, 'a particularly strong grassroots organisational network had been developed in Port Elizabeth and East London'.²⁰

Nevertheless, there was some resistance to the re-organisation of the ANC into seven-man committees in this region. Nelson Mandela was charged with conveying the instructions to structures in the Eastern Cape, and found some resistance. The main concern was the paring of committees from 25 to 7, which members of the Port Elizabeth Executive resisted because they had not been consulted. After a second meeting with Mandela, however, the new structures were implemented.²¹

KwaZulu-Natal

As was the case in other parts of the country, the Natal ANC was also preoccupied with the reconstitution of the organisation as an underground movement after the bannings and the lifting of the state of emergency in August 1960. At the time a close relationship had developed between members of the ANC, the South African Communist Party (SACP), and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), with many people having membership in all three organisations. Natal had also experienced a wave of militancy in the late 1950s up to the period prior to the Sharpeville Massacre. In this province the M-Plan was implemented differently to the way it was done in other provinces. The various areas were divided into blocks, each with its own network of cells led by seven member committees. Several cells existed on the same street, depending on the length of the street. Members of

¹⁹ Magubane et al., 'The Turn to Armed Struggle', 100.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 114.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 75-6.

different cells didn't know one another. Only the block leaders knew the leaders of the various cells within the block, but not the members of each cell. The combination of factory committees and clandestine organisation in the townships, built around the M-Plan, helped forge the kind of organisation that could survive the repressive response of the state.²²

The ANC's turn to armed struggle and the sabotage campaign

After the banning of the ANC and PAC, both organisations considered violence as a strategy to confront the apartheid regime. The impetus for the decision to turn to armed struggle followed the government repression of anti-republic day protests and the three-day stayaway scheduled to be held at the end of May 1961. By June 1961, the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Johannesburg Working Group of the ANC had reached consensus on the need to form a military wing and to prepare for its initial phase of armed struggle. At this time, the SACP sent the first group of cadres out of the country for training in China.²³ Wilton Mkwayi, Andrew Mlangeni, Steven Naidoo, Patrick Mthembu, and Joe Gqabi were part of this group.

Once the decision was taken to form *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK), an organisational structure had to be set up and various splinter groups consolidated into a single military body. A National High Command was formed consisting of Mandela, Sisulu, Joe Slovo and Raymond Mhlaba. Regional high commands were set up in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Durban. The National High Command determined tactics and targets, and was in charge of training and finance. Regional structures were responsible for directing local sabotage groups in their areas. Between the launch of the campaign on 16 December 1961 and March 1964, 203 serious cases of sabotage had been recorded by the police, while 2,169 people had been arrested in 1963 and 1,931 sentenced to terms of imprisonment for carrying out acts of sabotage by June 1964.²⁴

The Western Cape

In the Western Cape, the regional high command of MK consisted of Gayika Tshawe, Solwandle (Looksmart) Ngudle, Elijah Loza, Mountain Qumbela and Felinyaniso Njamela. The original composition changed over time, however, and others such as Denis Goldberg, Matthews Huna, and McDonald Mgothini were brought into the structure.²⁵

²² *Ibid.*, 103-113.

²³ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

²⁴ H. Strauss, 'South Africa 1960-66: Underground African Politics', *Collected Seminar Papers*, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 16, 1973, 134-5.

²⁵ Magubane et al., 'The Turn to Armed Struggle', 80-81.

Eleven separate MK units were formed in the Western Cape, including Nyanga West, Nyanga East, Langa, Retreat (two), Maitland, Cape Town Central and Kraaifontein. MK announced its existence on 16 December with a series of explosions around the country. In Cape Town, Goldberg made some bombs for the 16 December launch of MK and provided training to others in the manufacture of bombs. Cape Town was the scene of 35 MK attacks in the brief period of 1961 and 1962, the highest in the country after the Eastern Cape.²⁶ Many of those arrested in connection with these acts resided in the township of Nyanga.

MK recruits underwent military training in December 1962 at a farm in Mamre, which had been hired by Denis Goldberg for this purpose. The group included Albie Sachs, Archie Sibeko, Chris Hani, Mountain Qumbela, and Reggie September. A number of tents were set up on the farm 'some distance from the road, behind some large bushes'. The cadres were divided into six groups of four people each, led by a 'sergeant', and guards were deployed around the camp at night 'to warn against any possible intruders'. The three week training course included, 'among other things, lectures on politics, economics, the workings of the internal combustion engine, first-aid, the use of field telephones and judo classes'. They were given lectures on guerrilla warfare, the Cuban revolution and the writings of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro. Each morning the cadres engaged in physical exercises.²⁷

They were provided training in sabotage, 'how to handle guns, how to communicate, and so on'. There were 38 cadres in the camp, and Denis Goldberg was in charge of the whole group. The training was supposed to take three months, but the group was discovered before the month was over. Farmworkers on the farm noticed smoke coming from the area where the group had set up camp. They investigated and revealed the presence of the group on the farm to the police. The camp was raided by policemen and soldiers who were dropped on the scene by helicopters. The senior cadres were arrested, while the rest were released. Ultimately, it was the arrest of two recruits who were being smuggled out of the country that led to the arrest of Mountain Qumbela, and then the entire regional command, in 1963.²⁸

The Eastern Cape

The initial High Command of MK in the Eastern Cape consisted of Vuyisile Mini, Diliza Khayingo, Zinakile Mkaba and Kholisile Mdwayi. Below the Regional High Command was a committee of three, consisting of Jacob Skundla, Thompson Daweti and Charlie January; and at the next level, there was a committee of five who were charged with distributing information to the masses. The Eastern Cape also established a technical committee, which

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 94.

²⁷ C.J.B. le Roux, 'Umkhonto we Sizwe: Its role in the ANC's onslaught against white domination, 1961-1988', Ph. D. thesis, University of Pretoria, 1992, 477-8.

²⁸ Magubane et al., 'The Turn to Armed Struggle', 94-103.

included Benson Fihla, Tolly Bennun, Jock Strachan and Joseph Jack. This committee played a central role in developing the crude explosives that were used in many sabotage acts throughout the country. The region also had the support and involvement of two of the members of the National High Command of MK, Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba.²⁹ Mbeki had been involved in the Pondoland revolt and was deeply affected by it, while Mhlaba had been part of the SACP group who had been sent to China for military training in mid-1961.

MK in the Eastern Cape carried out the highest number of sabotage acts in the country: 58 in Port Elizabeth; 6 in East London; and 5 in Uitenhage.³⁰ About five acts of sabotage were carried out in Port Elizabeth alone on 16 December 1961, the night the sabotage campaign was launched. Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayinga and Zinakile Mkaba, three leaders of the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in Port Elizabeth, were sentenced to death in March 1964. The indictment they were charged with referred to a petrol bomb attack on the house of an informer which resulted in his death, but none of them were charged with direct participation in the attack. Washington Bongco, an ANC leader in East London, was similarly sentenced to death in the same month under the 'sabotage act'. The three men in Port Elizabeth were hanged on November 6, 1964, and Mr. Bongco in February 1965.

KwaZulu-Natal

On 16 December 1961, MK launched a sabotage campaign directed mainly at government installations. This led to a large number of bannings, arrests and prosecutions, and the torture of detainees in Natal. Many operatives and activists were sentenced to jail terms for sabotage or for membership of the banned liberation organisations; many more were driven into exile.

From the mid-1950s, many young people in the Natal province were recruited into the various affiliates of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and thereafter into the ANC. Among these new recruits were Louis Mkhize, Japhet Ndlovu, David Ndawonde, Justice Mpanza, Cletus Mzimela, Matthews Meyiwa, Leonard Mdingi, Zakhele Mdlalose, Cleopas Ndlovu, Jethro Ndlovu, Russel Maphanga, Queeneth Dladla and many others. Gwala and Mabhida recruited activists like Anthony Xaba, William Khanyile and Joel Kunene in the Pietermaritzburg area. Once the MK national high command had been established, a regional high command was constituted in Natal. It consisted of Ronnie Kasrils, Bruno Mtolo, Eric Mtshali, Curnick Ndlovu and Billy Nair. Each member of the regional high

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 119-121.

³⁰ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 48.

command was made responsible for a particular area of the province: the South Coast, North Coast and Midlands.³¹

Most MK units were manned by trade unionists, including Justice Mpanza, Cletus Mzimela, David Ndawonde, Abolani Duma, Kay Moonsamy, Natrival Babenia, George Naicker, Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, Billy Nair, Bruno Mtolo, Solomon Mbanjwa, Alfred Duma, Bernard Nkosi and Queeneth Dladla. In the Pietermaritzburg area, Harry Gwala had organised units that included Anthony Xaba, John Mabulala Nene and David Mkhize. Riot Mkhwanazi maintained links between the Durban-based units and those on the North Coast. MP Naicker served as the main link between the Natal Regional Command and the National High Command. Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim and Solomon Mbanjwa were co-opted into the regional command to bolster the Natal structures, while David Ndawonde, Stephen Mtshali and Abolani Duma served as members of the reserve command in Natal. They reported to the Commander of MK, Nelson Mandela, until his arrest in Howick in 1962, and thereafter to Raymond Mhlaba.³²

Units were formed in several parts of Natal. Some operated from Hammarsdale under the leadership of Solomon Mbanjwa, while others were based in Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Clermont, Tongaat and Stanger. MK members received their initial training internally. Members of the high command received training in the handling of explosives and sabotage from Jack Hodgson. In December 1961, MK began a campaign of sabotage directed at government installations, especially communications and power installations. The Natal region carried out more than 30 acts of sabotage in and around Durban.³³

The sabotage campaign began with an attempt on 15 December 1961 to bomb the Durban offices of the Department of Bantu Affairs. Other acts included the November 1962 attempt to sabotage pylons in the Durban/Pinetown area, the bombing of the Durban Post Office in December 1962 and the January 1963 attempt to sabotage telephone services in an industrial area of Durban. An African tax office, a beer hall and a section of railway line were also damaged by sabotage at this time.³⁴

In the 1964 'Spear of the Nation' trial, Billy Nair, Curnick Ndlovu and seventeen others stood accused of 27 acts of sabotage in Natal, the possession of explosives and the recruitment of military trainees. Bruno Mtolo gave evidence for the state, allegedly at the behest of Jan Daniel Potgieter from the Security Branch's intelligence unit. Potgieter claims to have 'turned' many of the informers and/or askaris ['turned' guerrilla fighters] who assisted the

³¹ Magubane et al., 'The Turn to Armed Struggle', 103-110.

³² TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 170.

³³ Magubane et al., 'The Turn to Armed Struggle', 109-110.

³⁴ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 170.

Security Branch in Natal. Nair and Ndlovu were sentenced to twenty years, one was discharged and the rest were given sentences of five to fifteen years.³⁵

In response to the sabotage campaign, the General Laws Amendment Act (76 of 1962) created the offence of sabotage. Sabotage was loosely defined as 'wrongful and wilful' acts designed to 'obstruct, injure, tamper with or destroy' things such as the 'health and safety of the public' or the 'supply of water, light, fuel or foodstuffs'. The penalties ranged from a minimum five-year sentence to the death penalty. From the beginning of August 1963, many members of MK units in Natal were detained, including the three members of the Natal Regional Command, Curnick Ndlovu, Billy Nair and Bruno Mtolo. Others arrested included Harry Gwala, Matthews Meyiwa, Alpheus Mdlalose, Natrival Babenia, David Mkhize, Bernard Nkosi, George Naicker, Siva Pillay, Sunny Singh, Solomon Mbanjwa, Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim and David Ndawonde.³⁶ Many others left for exile, while the majority listed here were sentenced to years' of imprisonment for sabotage.

The North West Province

Undoubtedly the most outstanding feature of the North West Province (NWP) in relation to the liberation struggle during this period lies in its geography. It has an extensive border with Botswana and it was through this border that many members of the liberation movements were able to exit and enter the country. Significantly, all three of South Africa's post-liberation Presidents used this route to escape from South Africa. The province's proximity to the border is in itself significant, but without the co-operation and commitment of the local residents, this crucial 'pipeline' would not have been nearly as effective.

Not only was the NWP an important transit route for people, materials and weaponry into and from Botswana, it was also a transit route through to the Witwatersrand and beyond. The success of the struggle for freedom was thus dependent on maintaining contacts and safe houses along this route to ensure the secure passage of activists through to Johannesburg, Pretoria and environs. This route was through Zeerust/Mafikeng and Rustenburg. Key individuals in the Zeerust community played a significant role in taking individuals and groups across the border into Botswana.

Limpopo Province

Limpopo, as the northern Transvaal is called today, was also used as a route into exile by many South Africans, running away from the reprisals of the apartheid state. Exiles crossed the Zambezi River and also used other routes closer to the province into southern Rhodesia,

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Magubane et al., 'The Turn to Armed Struggle', 103–113.

now Zimbabwe. From there they would find their way to other parts of the continent and elsewhere abroad.³⁷

Into exile

Western Cape

Large numbers of young ANC recruits left for exile from Cape Town in the course of 1962 and 1963. Groups consisting of numbers of youths would converge at Cape Town Station from where they would travel to Johannesburg.³⁸ From Johannesburg they were taken through Bechuanaland (Botswana), into then Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), and then to Tanganyika (Tanzania).

KwaZulu-Natal

Many cadres were ordered to leave the country and undergo military training abroad. Among those who left from Natal were Eric Mtshali, Cletus Mzimela and Justice Mpanza. From mid- to late 1963 there was an exodus of young men and women from different parts of the country. Many travelled through Johannesburg, from where they were taken through Bechuanaland (Botswana), through Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), through Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and eventually to Tanganyika (Tanzania). Cadres from Natal made up a large contingent of the groups that were subsequently sent to Morocco, Egypt, China and the Soviet Union for military training.

By the mid-1960s, the underground structures of the ANC had collapsed and formal opposition politics were at their most subdued. After the Rivonia Trial (1963–64) in which Nelson Mandela and other members of the MK high command were tried, an attempt was made to reconstitute the high command, but all its members were subsequently arrested (see below). The internal units of MK were in disarray, and any Natal operatives who were not in prison or on trial went into exile. About 800 MK cadres were in exile by 1965, undergoing training in Tanzania, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and China under the command of Joe Modise. The leadership of the struggle was shifted to the ANC in exile.

PAC/Poqo activities

³⁷ Sifiso Ndlovu, 'Heritage routes for the liberated South Africans: using oral history to reconstruct unsung heroes and heroines' routes into exile in the 1960s', *Historia*, 57 (2) (2002), 479-510.

³⁸ Magubane et.al., 'The turn to armed struggle', 92-3.

After the PAC was banned, members from branches and regions throughout the country were invited to a meeting in Port Elizabeth. It was at this meeting that the issue of armed struggle was raised for the first time. The decision to turn to armed struggle was taken at a conference held in Maseru in September 1961.³⁹

The Western Cape

Among the key PAC members of the time based in Cape Town were Christopher Mlokothe, the chairperson of the Western Cape Regional Executive, Phillip Kgosana, regional secretary, Clarence Makwethu, the secretary of the Langa branch, T.M. Ntantala, Michael Ndobongwana, and Sipheto Quina.

Soon after it was founded in 1959, the PAC established branches in various Cape Town townships. In May, the Nyanga branch was set up, and quickly dominated by youth vehemently opposed to the pass laws. An anti-pass meeting in February 1960 attracted an audience of 500. On 21 March, Nyanga and Langa were among the few places in the country where major anti-pass demonstrations took place. Nine days later, residents of the two townships also staged the celebrated PAC-led march on Cape Town, and launched an extraordinarily protracted stay-away that lasted nearly three weeks. With the exception of Paarl, Langa became perhaps the most active and vibrant PAC branch. The PAC also had significant support in Nyanga, but that township nevertheless remained an ANC stronghold.⁴⁰

The PAC claimed that its 21 March 1960 campaign was only a part of an 'unfolding programme of action' which would lead to total independence by 1963.⁴¹ With PAC leaders in prison, the task fell on the regional echelons. The wide media coverage of the anti-pass campaign and the state's violent response increased the PAC's image and membership, particularly in the Western Cape. However, the campaign was followed by a wave of arrests that effectively removed the leadership of the PAC for the rest of 1960.

At a secret meeting in 1961 in Cape Town, it was announced that new office bearers were to be elected and substructures were to be formed to embark on a vigorous recruitment programme. A Task Force called *Lutsha*, an isiXhosa word for 'youth', was formed to act as a military and defence unit of Poqo, the name given to the military wing of the PAC, with membership mainly drawn from young men aged between 16 and 35.⁴²

³⁹ B. Maaba, 'The PAC's war against the State, 1960-1963', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970*, Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2004, 258.

⁴⁰ Magubane et al., 'The Turn to Armed Struggle', 97.

⁴¹ Lodge, 'The Cape Town Troubles'.

⁴² Maaba, 'The PAC's war against the State', 263.

Poqo carried out a number of activities in Langa and Paarl, which included forcible conscription drives and attacks on alleged 'collaborators' and 'dissidents' within the movement who opposed their activities. The focus of attacks was human targets rather than government buildings or installations. On 16 March 1962, Poqo members, armed with stones, petrol bombs and bricks, stormed two police vans on patrol. In the confusion that followed, a policeman by the name of Moyi was dragged from one of the vans by the mob of about 50, and killed. Five other policemen were injured while the rest escaped unharmed. Poqo members Nontasi Albert Tshweni (or Sheweni), Jim Ngatweni (or Ngantweni), Donker Ntsabo and Zibongile Serious Dodo were subsequently found guilty of Moyi's murder. All four were hanged on 31 October 1967. Two of their co-accused were found not guilty. In a separate trial Veyusile Sharps Qoba was also found guilty of being involved in Moyi's death and was hanged on 7 March 1968.⁴³

Golifile Tile, Goli Zonanzi, Gladstone Nqulwana and Jasofisi Yeni were accused of murdering Mthobeli Nathaniel Magwaca, a municipal policeman, at Langa Zone 8 on the night of 26 September 1962. Poqo members had been instructed to attack and kill any policemen found in the township. Gladstone Nqulwana, who was already serving a 15-year sentence for sabotage related to Poqo activities in the Eastern Cape, was sentenced to death on 15 June 1967 for his role in Magwaca's murder and was hanged on 23 November 1967.⁴⁴ Among those killed by Poqo members in 1962 were several people in Paarl suspected of being police informers. Included here were coloured women accused of keeping members away from the Poqo meetings, and their bodies were found in a nearby plantation on 16 June 1962. Magriet had 12 wounds caused by assegais, daggers and axes, while Sarah Kamos had been stabbed 19 times. Her head had been split open and her fingers chopped off. Susie Noriet, aged 17, had 13 wounds, and was permanently disabled. Joseph Bazalele Mqitsane, Wellington Zilindile Makele and Aaron Kinki Njokwana were charged with the murders, and hanged on 11 December 1963.⁴⁵

Milton Chumani Nozulu Matshiki was one of those killed by Poqo members in October 1962. PAC or Poqo militants were responsible for the deaths of at least eight people in the period up to and including 1963. These included two whites and three suspected 'collaborators' in Paarl and at least three policemen in the peninsula. Poqo adopted aggressive conscription methods, allowing no room for dissension, resulting in at times violent intolerance towards non-supporters of their methods and towards criticism by their own members or outsiders. Poqo militants targeted civilians indiscriminately, including suspected 'collaborators' who were probably merely critical individuals.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 265-6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 269.

⁴⁶ TRC, *The Report*, 399-400.

The 1960s

On 21 November 1962, Poqo members from Mbekweni, Paarl, met and resolved to attack the white section of the town of Paarl. Over 200 men armed with axes, pangas, sticks, sabres and possibly a few revolvers gathered and split into two groups, one to attack the prison and the other the police station.⁴⁷ The latter group approached the police station and began attacking police patrol vans. Three were shot dead in front of the police station and others were wounded. As the rest of the group fled, they met those who had been planning the prison attack and formed a new group which began attacking houses in Loop Street. Two white people, Rencia Vermeulen and Frans Richards, were killed. The final death toll was seven, including five Poqo members: Godfrey Yekiso, Madodana Camagu, John Magigo and Ngenisile Siqwebo. Matthews Mali was shot by the SAP on 23 November 1962. Mali was shot in the head and chest while marching to the Paarl police station to hand over a list of grievances on the day after the disturbances. Several people were tortured and assaulted in custody in the wake of these events.⁴⁸

However, a number of other murders around Paarl in 1962 were attributed to Poqo, including that of Klaas Hoza, who was hacked to death with axes and other sharp instruments on the farm Rust-en-Werk on January 27. Hoza, a cleaner and teamaker at the local municipality's 'Bantu Office', was allegedly a police informer. Johannes Notyawe and Vanele Matikinca, were convicted and sentenced to death for the killing. They were also convicted of the murder of George Tshisa, who was hacked and burned to death on April 29. Poqo members from Paarl also allegedly killed Morris Berger, a white shopkeeper in Wellington on 22 September 1962.⁴⁹ 11 people were charged with his murder. Nine of the accused, some already serving sentences for other Poqo activities, were convicted on 14 December 1966, sentenced to death and executed on 30 May 1967.

The police crackdown after this incident was extensive, and close to 400 Paarl residents were arrested or detained and at least six separate trials involving 75 people resulted. In the main case, 21 accused faced charges of sabotage. Five were acquitted and 13 were given prison sentences ranging from 12 to 18 years. Lennox Madikane, Fezile Felix Jaxa and Mxolisi Damane were the first people sentenced to death for the crime of sabotage, and were hanged on 1 November 1963. Two other trials involved groups of 20 and 21 accused each, while another 12 were tried separately. Several were acquitted, but most were given prison sentences ranging from eight to 18 years.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ T. Lodge, 'The Paarl Insurrection: A South African Uprising', *African Studies Review*, Vol. 25, No. 4, December 1982, 95.

⁴⁸ Maaba, 'The PAC's war against the State', 273; TRC, *The Report*, 400; B.P. van Laun, 'In the Shadows of the Archive: Investigating the Paarl march of November 22nd 1962', M.A. dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2012.

⁴⁹ Lodge, 'The Paarl Insurrection', 111.

⁵⁰ Maaba, 'The PAC's war against the State', 273.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

The actions of Poqo supporters in Paarl were essentially locally planned and executed. There were serious local grievances in Paarl, resulting from the strong enforcement of influx control as well as the corruption of Bantu Administration Board officers which heightened the political anger of local residents. Although not officially sanctioned by the regional or national PAC leadership, the Paarl attack fell in line with the planned overall mass uprising for 8 March 1963 which specified the targeting of whites and government agents.

Of a total of about 71 PAC members executed throughout the country between 1962 and 1967, at least 21 came from the Western Cape, 18 from Paarl and three from Langa. These were amongst the first death sentences imposed for political activity in the country during the period. Gqibile Nicholas Hans was one of those executed from Paarl. Those executed from Langa included Vuyisile Qoba, Gladstone Nqulwana, Thwayi Thwayi and Nontasi Albert Tshweni. They were accused of having murdered Sergeant Moyi in Langa in March 1962. According to Kwedi Mkhali, a member of the local Langa PAC executive, Qoba, although he was a task force leader, was not present at the killing, which was an impromptu ambush.⁵¹

A unique set of arrests and trials unfolded in the Karoo region of the Western Cape in the second half of the 1960s after allegations emerged that Poqo networks were conspiring to rise up against the white population in several small towns. In Victoria West, 26 Africans and coloured people were arrested at the end of April 1968 on charges of having conspired with one another and with 65 others to storm the police station, kill the police officers and other whites, and steal weapons and poisons for the town's drinking water.⁵²

During November 1968, ten of these men were sentenced to three years each for belonging to Poqo and furthering its aims. Twenty-four who appeared in the Supreme Court on the more serious charges of sabotage and Poqo activities spent as long as 17 months in prison before being discharged because of insufficient evidence. Similar cases occurred in Graaff-Reinet, Laingsburg and Oudtshoorn.⁵³

Eastern Cape

Poqo activity in the Eastern Cape was concentrated in parts of Transkei, in the Queenstown area and in Graaff-Reinet (the hometown of PAC leader Robert Sobukwe). Much of this activity, particularly in the Queenstown and Transkei regions, seems to have been influenced by migrant workers who lived in Transkei and worked in Cape Town.⁵⁴

⁵¹ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5: Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 401.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 401-2.

⁵⁴ TRC, *The Report Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 48.

Queenstown Station: In 1962 Poqo members were deployed from Cape Town to the African rural areas. Their analysis was that African people were oppressed by the white government, and that Tribal Authorities had been established as a barrier to protect the whites. It was therefore necessary to take action, more especially as Poqo suspects were being detained and beaten at Qamata. The first group got through and camped at Ntlonze Mountain. The train carrying the second group was deliberately delayed at Stormberg junction, so that when it arrived at Queenstown, the police were waiting for them. They demanded passes from the passengers, but the Poqo members carried no passes and resisted the police. This was the very first time that the power of the white state was openly and publicly challenged in Queenstown. Three Poqo members were killed on the spot. Others were arrested and sentenced to lengthy terms of imprisonment on Robben Island. Mtutu Aplini and Bhozwana were sentenced to death and executed.⁵⁵

An armed clash took place at Ntlonze Hill on 12 December 1962 when armed Poqo members were intercepted by police while on their way to assassinate Chief Kaiser Matanzima. Seven Poqo members were killed in the encounter and three policemen seriously injured in what could have led to more police fatalities, but for the inability of the Poqo members to use the guns they had obtained from the police.⁵⁶

In December 1962, three groups of Poqo fighters from Cape Town converged to mount an attack on Cofimvaba prison. Their meeting point was Ntlonze Mountain which had caves where they could hide. The first group of nine Poqo members camped on the mountain, awaiting the others, however their presence had been noted while passing through Queenstown and the security forces followed up. The white police were armed with rifles, the African police with sticks only. The Poqo forces split up to evade the pursuit but six were killed. Their leader, Albert Shweni, was sentenced to 20 years on Robben Island but was charged with other offences while serving that sentence and hanged.⁵⁷

On 4 February 1963, Poqo members attacked a group of whites who were sleeping at the roadside near the Bashee (Mbashe) River bridge in Transkei, killing five people. A massive police crackdown on the PAC followed and 55 people were arrested and charged with murder, 23 of whom were convicted and sentenced to death.

*April 1963 revolt:*⁵⁸ When the PAC took the decision to turn to armed struggle, it set 1963 as the year when the revolution would be won. The final insurrection was set for 8 April 1963, when thousands of armed PAC members were expected to converge on the 'white' cities and attack white citizens and businesses, thus forcing the authorities to disperse their

⁵⁵ Chris Hani District Municipality, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 27.

⁵⁶ TRC, *The Report, Volume 2, Chapter 4, The Liberation Movements from 1960-1990*, 414.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁵⁸ This section is taken from B. Maaba, 'The PAC war against the state', 290ff.

security forces over a wide area instead of focusing on one town or city. Prior to the launch of the revolt, however, the PAC suffered a setback in March 1963 when its offices in Basutoland (Lesotho) were raided and the list of 10,000 names of PAC members based inside the country ended up in the hands of the South African police. On 25 March, PAC leader Potlako Leballo held a press conference in which he informed reporters that the organisation had 15,000 members who would ensure the final demise of apartheid. He announced that a large scale uprising would be launched during 1963, and that the PAC were discussing the time and manner in which it would be launched. He credited the outburst in Paarl as 'impatient PAC members disobeying orders to wait until instructions were given'.⁵⁹ Two days later two members of the PAC were arrested in Ladybrand bearing letters from Leballo to PAC members inside the country with the instructions for the revolt.

The police were thus prepared for the various PAC units that gathered on that day in various parts of the Eastern Cape, armed mostly with pangas, to participate in the revolt. The co-ordinator of units in the Ciskei and Transkei, V. Mgaza, was arrested on his return to a trip where he gave instructions to units in Centani, Gcuwa, Ngqeleni and Mqanduli to be ready to strike on 8 April. A unit from Duncan Village led by Washington which had planned to attack the East London police station and the city itself was fired upon by police as they set out from their gathering place at Ezipunzana for their targets. One cadre was killed and 11 arrested, while another 100 were arrested in the days that followed. Another unit from Duncan Village led by an individual named Mayedwa was surrounded by the police at their gathering place at Emasokeni on the day of planned uprising. Another group from East London led by Zifozonke Tshikila was arrested before he could bring his 17-man unit together for the attack, while the others were arrested when they gathered on 8 April. In both Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage key leaders were arrested before 8 April. A group from Zwelitsha in King Williams Town was attacked by the police while making their way to the town. The unit managed to make its way to the police station after the police retreated, and some were arrested at the police station. Others fled and were arrested later. By the end of May, arrests throughout the country netted about 3,246 PAC members.

The consequences of Poqo activities were devastating for the PAC and its underground operations, leaving it more or less rudderless. The regime set up a commission to investigate the spate of white killings, including women and children in the Eastern and Western Cape. Because of the brutal nature of the attacks and the fact that among the dead were a number of innocent white people, the state responded with equally determined brutality to reassure whites of its ability to quell the violence. The spate of mass PAC arrests began in 1963 and continued until 1969. By June 1963, a total of 3,246 PAC members had been arrested and 124 had been found guilty of murder.

⁵⁹ Strauss, 'South Africa 1960-66', 136.

The African Resistance Movement (ARM)

At the same time that leaders of the ANC-led alliance and PAC were considering the use of violence, other groupings were doing the same thing. One such organisation was the African Resistance Movement (ARM), which was constituted in the wake of the 1960 state of emergency by radical white members of the Liberal Party (including Ernest Wentzel, John Lang and Monty Berman from Cape Town), and dissident members of the Transvaal ANC Youth League (ANCYL) and the Trotskyist Social League of Africa (SLA). Half the white and so-called coloured members were also members of the Liberal Party. The ARM initially had a small membership with only two cells, one led by Jerry Mbuli. Training in the use of explosives was provided by two engineers. Initially, the NCL assisted people to flee South Africa and go into exile. In late 1961, however, the ARM carried out a small number of acts of sabotage in the Johannesburg area. One of these at the Johannesburg railway station was linked to John Harris, who was subsequently arrested, charged, sentenced to death and hanged.

The Western Cape

In 1962 the focus shifted to recruitment, and among those who joined the ARM were Neville Rubin (former NUSAS president), Adrian Leftwich, Stephanie Kemp, Alan Brooks, Lynette van der Riet, Millie McConkey, David de Keller, Rosemary Wentzel, Hugh Lewin, Hilary and Ronald Mutch. By year's end there were approximately 30 white members and at least seven active non-whites. Most of the new members came from the Liberal Party. The leadership of the ARM shifted to Cape Town in the middle of 1963.

Among the key figures of the Cape Town cells of the ARM were Randolph Vigne and Adrian Leftwich. Robert Watson, a student at the University of Cape Town who had served in Malaysia and Cyprus during the anti-guerilla campaigns, provided training to cells based in Johannesburg and Cape Town. In August 1963, Cape Town cells made two attempts to sabotage the FM tower on Constantia Mountain. The first failed when Eddie Daniels lost the revolver he was carrying. A few days later, on the second attempt, the explosive charges failed to detonate. The national committee subsequently banned the carrying of firearms during operations. Co-ordinated attacks on signal cables at four Cape Town railway stations in September were highly successful as was an attack on an electricity pylon in November.

The successful destruction of five pylons in the week of 18 June 1963, three around Cape Town and two in the Johannesburg area, was both the high point and swan song of the ARM. Preparation for these attacks showed a high capability based on meticulous planning. Up to that point, there had been nine sabotage attacks (eight successful) in 1964, as against seven (six successful) in 1963, three (including the theft of dynamite) in 1962 and five (three pylons, damage to a Bantu Affairs office and theft of dynamite) in 1961. By the end of 1963,

however, of the 57 members of ARM known to the Security Police, 29 had been arrested. Of these, 14 were charged with various criminal acts and 10 were convicted. The rest fled the country.⁶⁰

The African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA)

Another militant organisation, which has its basis in the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), took root in the Western Cape in the early 1960s. The African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA) was launched in Cape Town in April 1962, with I.B. Tabata as president, Nathaniel Honono, the president of the All African Convention (AAC), as vice-president, Livingstone Mqotsi, joint secretary of the NEUM, the general secretary, Alfred Wilcox assistant secretary, Andrew Lukele treasurer, and Enver Hassim publications officer. In the Western Cape, APDUSA drew its support from dissidents of the predominantly coloured Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD), an affiliate of the NEUM that had declined significantly after a split in the NEUM in 1958, and African members of the Society of Young Africans, a national youth organisation affiliated to the AAC.

The Western Cape

In the Western Cape, APDUSA had branches in Cape Town, Paarl, and Wellington, drawing support in other Boland towns such as Stellenbosch, Franschhoek and Pniel, where regular meetings were held in the early 1960s. The organisation also drew support from workers in the food and canning industry in the Western Cape.

APDUSA was formed to harness the revolutionary potential unleashed by the events of the early 1960s, and to set South Africa on the road to national liberation. A new structure was necessary because the NEUM, as a federal organisation, could not have direct membership. The political orientation of APDUSA was based on an adaptation of Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution to the South African context. The NEUM envisaged the struggle for democratic rights evolving seamlessly into a socialist struggle after national liberation. In early 1963, APDUSA took the decision to turn to armed struggle after Tabata visited Tanzania, Algeria, China and various communist countries in Eastern Europe. However, it rejected the ANC's strategy of committing isolated acts of sabotage to force the apartheid government to the negotiating table. Instead, the initial focus was to be on the building of a military wing, with APDUSA as the main vehicle for this purpose. Tabata, Honono and Jane Gool consequently left South Africa for Dar es Salaam in June 1963 to solicit support from the Organisation of African Unity to achieve this objective.

⁶⁰ Refer to M. Gunther, 'The National Committee of Liberation (NCL)/African Resistance Movement (ARM)', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970*, Zebra Press, Cape Town, 2004, 209-255. Refer also to Strauss, 'South Africa 1960-66', 138-9.

However, the NEUM was caught up in the country-wide wave of arrests of political activists that took place from mid-1964. Wycliffe Tsotsi was arrested on 28 September and held in solitary confinement for 82 days; during November and December Karrim Essack, Enver Hassim and Posselt Gcabashe were also detained; and in February 1965, Leo Sihlali, who had been elected president of the NEUM in 1962, was arrested while trying to leave South Africa. He was later convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act and of trying to leave the country without valid documents, and sentenced to five years imprisonment on Robben Island. Virtually all the executive members of the NEUM, AAC and APDUSA were served with five-year banning orders during this period, including Dr. Ahmed Limbada, the NEUM treasurer, and joint secretaries Ali Fataar and Livingstone Mqotsi. Several leading NEUM members fled into exile, where they changed the name of the organisation to the New Unity Movement of South Africa.⁶¹

KwaZulu-Natal

APDUSA also took root in this province. Branches were formed in Pietermaritzburg, Durban and Dundee. The Pietermaritzburg branch recruited mainly workers from the leather industry, one of the major economic activities in the city. Shaik Hassan, a leather worker and member of the Pietermaritzburg Progressive Study Circle, a NEUM affiliate, emerged as one of the main leaders of a leather workers' strike in the city in 1960. When he called on Enver Hassim, Durban lawyer and NEUM executive member, to represent the strikers, an opportunity was created to recruit many of them as members. With Hassan as chairman, the Pietermaritzburg branch became one of the largest in the country.⁶²

The Durban and Dundee branches drew support from younger activists who had been politicised through NEUM-affiliated student and youth organisations such as the Society of Young Africa, the Durban Students Union and the Progressive Forum. The chairman of the Durban branch, Karrim Essack, a lawyer and NEUM executive member, built up a network of part-time and full-time organisers, partly funded from his own pocket. Besides recruiting members and conducting meetings in Indian working class areas and African locations in and around Durban, they also worked in rural areas of Natal such as Ixopo, Bergville, Ladysmith, Izigolweni and even as far afield as eastern Mpondoland in the Transkei. The Dundee branch was also active in the rural areas of northern Natal.⁶³

The Yu Chi Chan Club (YCCC) and National Liberation Front (NLF)

⁶¹ Refer to R. Kayser, 'Land and Liberty! The African People's Democratic Union of South Africa during the 1960s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970*, Zebra Press, Cape Town, 2004, 319-339. Refer also to Strauss, 'South Africa 1960-66', 138.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 325.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

In the late 1950s, Western Cape intellectual Neville Alexander was a member of the Cape Peninsula Students' Union, an affiliate of the Non-European Unity Movement of South Africa. He subsequently joined the African Peoples Democratic Union of Southern Africa (APDUSA) when it was established in 1960. After the Sharpeville Massacre, which Neville Alexander witnessed from Germany while studying for his Ph. D., he began seriously considering the possibility of transposing guerrilla warfare and creating revolutionary movements once back in South Africa; however he was suspended from the NEUM when he proposed these ideas. Consequently, he started to have a more leading role in political activism although he never saw himself as a political leader. He always thought that politics are a 'means to the realisation of a vision', where his vision is 'freedom'.

In 1961 the tiny National Committee for Liberation/African Resistance Movement inaugurated the turn to armed struggle with a sabotage campaign. More decisively, members of the ANC and SACP formed *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, an autonomous organisation for armed struggle. Neville Alexander returned to South Africa the same year.

Along with Namibian activists Kenneth and Tilly Abraham from the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), he created the Yu Chi Chan – Chinese term for guerrilla warfare – Club (YCCC) in July 1962 to promote guerrilla warfare, and subsequently founded the National Liberation Front (NLF) to bring together people who were committed to the 'overthrow of the state, irrespective of their political ideology'. The Yu Chi Chan Club included Marcus Solomon, Kenneth Abrahams, Dulcie September, Ottilie Abrahams, Andreas Shipinga, and Fikile Bam. However, people in the NEUM and elsewhere considered these activists 'silly young intellectuals', for they were – and Alexander agrees with this statement – truly inexperienced and, to use his own words, 'an accident waiting to happen'.

In fact, through his work in the NLF, Alexander got involved in underground work and even organised some of his students, but soon he would become a victim of the apartheid judicial system. By the end of 1963, the revolutionary movements Neville Alexander was leading were infiltrated and he and other members of the YCCC were detained, charged and convicted of conspiracy to commit sabotage. He was arrested on 12 July 1963 for his involvement with the YCCC and NLF and was charged, along with ten comrades on 4 November, 1963 with conspiracy to commit sabotage. Alexander and four other members of the Yu Chi Chan Club and National Liberation Front were sentenced to ten years imprisonment for reading about and discussing armed struggle. The Yu Chi Chan Club (YCCC) focused on the theory and practice of armed struggle and revolution particularly in India, China, Cuba and Algeria. The heart of the problem, as they saw it, was how to conquer power in a country which, unlike the rest of Africa, was relatively industrialised, but whose organised working class was predominantly white, racist and labour-protectionist.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ N. Magnien, Adendum: 'Neville Alexander', in R.S. Garcia, 'South X South', unpublished paper, October 2012. Available at www.unsif.com.

Religious movements

The Western Cape

In 1958, Imam Haron and his circle of like-minded in the Muslim elite, like Abu Bakr Fakier, Abu Bakr Hattas, Ismail Saban, Sait Galant, Sedick Galant, Karriem Sadan, and Rashaad Saban, established the Claremont Muslim Youth Association (CMYA). The Association was a radical youth movement committed to raising social and religious consciousness along the lines of the Muslim Brotherhood theology. Unlike the Muslim Judicial Council, which was a body of established theologians and preachers with a conservative constituency, the CMYA was attracted to the modern Islamic thought that sought to respond directly to broader social issues such as inequality, injustice and oppression. Haron and the CMYA took a keen interest in the struggle against apartheid.

1959 saw the emergence of two newspapers that provided space and impetus for a gradual shift in Muslim attitude to resistance against apartheid, viz.: the CMYA's *Islamic Mirror* and the *Muslim News*. These newspapers soon became influential mouthpieces of the radical groups. Imam Haron joined hands with Abdul Kays, Gulzar Khan, M. Mukaddam, Abdul-Rashied Sayyid and Zubayr Sayyid in establishing the *Muslim News*. The advocacy of a radical theology-cum-ideology that Imam Haron and youth formations championed in a period of brutal oppression in the early 1960s culminated in a mass meeting at the Drill Hall, Cape Town, on 7 May 1961. Attended by over 4,000 Muslims, the meeting was convened by Imam Haron and others to do two things: one was to show that apartheid was incompatible with the teachings of Islam and, two, to make it clear to all as to where the Muslim community stood in the struggle against apartheid.

The meeting concluded with a call for Muslims to take a stand against apartheid in a statement entitled, 'The Call of Islam.'⁶⁵ The Call was signed by the Claremont Muslim Youth Association, Muslim Youth Movement (Cape Town), Cape Vigilance Association, Young Men's Muslim Association (Claremont), as well as individuals like Sheik Abda-Razack Najaar (Paarl), Sheik Cassiem Abduroef (Lansdowne), Sheik Nazeem Mohammed (Wynberg), Imam Armien Mustapa (Claremont), Imam Aburagmaan Karriem (Mowbray), Abu Desai (Black River), Mr A. Mallick (Athlone) and Imam Abdullah Haron (Claremont).⁶⁶

Deaths in detention

⁶⁵ Refer to S. Zondi, 'Of Faith and Action: Aspects of the role of faith institutions in the struggle against apartheid', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 2010, pp. 1467ff.

⁶⁶ Refer also to M. Haron, 'Islamic dynamism in South Africa's Western Cape', *Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs Journal*, 9(2), 1988; A. Tayob, *Islamic Resurgence in South Africa: The Muslim Youth Movement*, Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 1995.

The Western Cape

MK commander Looksmart Khulile Ngudle was detained on 19 August 1963 under the Ninety-Day Detention Act and died on the night of 4-5 September in Pretoria. The police claimed that he had hanged himself in his cell with the cord of his pyjama trousers. Counsel for the State said that Ngudle had killed himself because he had given the police information which led to arrests the day before his death. He was banned posthumously on 25 October. Evidence by witnesses of electric shock and other torture in detention was ruled by the magistrate as irrelevant. A Pretoria magistrate who visited Ngudle the day before his death reported to the police that he complained that he was assaulted and that he had coughed blood. The inquest magistrate found that the cause of death was suicide by hanging.⁶⁷

Imam Haron, a respected leader in the Muslim community and former editor of *Muslim News*, was detained under the Terrorism Act on 28 May 1969, held at Caledon Square police station until 11 August and then transferred to the cells at Maitland police station where he was found dead on 27 September after 122 days in detention. He had apparently been suspected of recruiting PAC members. The inquest found multiple bruising, which had been caused at different times by 'a fair amount of trauma', and a broken rib. Police claimed that he had fallen down some stairs after losing his balance.⁶⁸

Born in Newlands on 8 February 1929, Haron took a keen interest in community activities while doing his Islamic Studies in Mecca. He was encouraged to play an active part in ameliorating conditions in the community. He thus became involved in social welfare services that exposed him to the difficulties that many people less fortunate than him lived under. He took an active part in forums that shared ideas about how to improve his community, and in the process found himself interacting with political organisations like the Non-European Unity Movement. Externally, his curiosity exposed him to the ideas of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood movement and other similar religio-political organisations. These organisations helped reconcile faith and politics by developing a theology of resistance to injustice and oppression. He and a group of Muslim elites in his circles were inspired to follow suit.

More than any of the early radicals, Imam Haron made a clear link between the daily struggles of Muslims trying to preserve their sense of community and its sacred symbols from apartheid encroachment, on the one hand, and the wider black political resistance to apartheid. In the 1960s, he was one of the most outspoken critics of apartheid, addressing large public meetings on measures like the Sabotage Bill that came before parliament in

⁶⁷ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5: Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 405. Refer also to W.E.B. Du Bois Institute, 'Torture in South Africa', *Transition*, No. 50 (Oct., 1975 - Mar., 1976), 52-57.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 405-6. Refer also to B. Desai and C. Marney, *The Killing of the Imam*, Quartet Books, 1978.

1962. He argued that the response to apartheid must be in proportion to the acts of the state. He openly identified with the ANC's struggle for freedom and the leadership of Chief Albert Luthuli, whom he adored. He also interacted with PAC underground groups. It was unheard of for a preacher to publicly support a radical political movement like the ANC or PAC.

In March 1969, he applied to the authorities to visit Ahmed Kathrada, a prominent ANC activist, at Robben Island jail for 'humanitarian' reasons, shortly after his return from a visit in London. It appears that while in London, he had had conversations with political activists in exile, but it is not clear what the content of these conversations was. His application thus alarmed the security police, who knew he had had contacts with ANC activists in London. Authorities refused. When he subsequently applied for a new passport, his old one having expired, there was no response. He was already aware that there were a lot of informers and security police officials watching every movement he made.

Imam Haron, together with other radical preachers like Sheik Nazeem Mohammed and Sheik A. Najaar, worked tirelessly to build a critical mass of people within the Muslim community that was committed to active resistance against apartheid in all its forms. It became common for Muslims to come together in their thousands in meetings that had very little to do with spiritual matters, but were gatherings convened to discuss pertinent political questions of the time. There were many such mass meetings that served to mobilise the Muslim community for a radical response to apartheid.

Imam Haron used his Friday sermons to urge Muslims to support the struggle against apartheid. For instance, he called them to support the PAC marches in Cape Town in 1960 and other political activities in mainly African townships. His sermons, which almost always focused on the role of Muslims in the changing South African society, many of which were quoted in the *Muslim News*, conscientised this community that apartheid was an unjust system that needed to be resisted.

Sometime in May 1969, security police pounced on Imam Haron, demanding that he reported to their headquarters in Cape Town for questioning. They presented him with thick files pertaining to his journeys overseas and the talks he gave. They showed him names of the Mujahed (activists) he had met in and outside the country. They later released him. He started thinking deeply about whether he should go into exile and join the struggle fully, as he saw it. Before he could, the security police arrested him on 28 May 1969, putting him in the hands of notorious interrogators led by Spyker Van Wyk.

The Post-Rivonia ANC, MK and SACP⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Refer here to G. Houston, 'The Post-Rivonia ANC/SACP Underground', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1*, 601ff.

After the arrest of the leadership of the ANC, SACP and MK at Lilliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, on 11 July 1963, a new political leadership was established for the ANC and a military leadership for MK. Shortly before the Lobatse conference in late 1962, the ANC formed a National Secretariat to understudy its National Executive Committee (NEC). The Secretariat was made up of the chairman, Gabula Mahlasela, Michael Dingake (publicity secretary), Ruth Mompati, Alfred Nzo, Bartholomew Hlapane, Henry Makgothi and John Mavuso, as well as NEC members Govan Mbeki and Dan Tloome. After July 1963, the National Secretariat took over the functions of the NEC, including the task of reconstituting ANC structures depleted by the Rivonia arrests and the subsequent detention, imprisonment, banning, and forced departure from the country of large numbers of members. However, a number of members of the secretariat had already been imprisoned or forced into exile. The remaining leaders in the National Secretariat were Gabula Mahlasela, Michael Dingake and Dan Tloome. Josiah Jele was co-opted onto the National Secretariat during the second half of 1963 in order to augment the structure.

Women played a critical role in ensuring that the underground structures functioned effectively. Albertina Sisulu, Gertrude Shope, Greta Ncaphai, Hunadi Motsoaledi, Irene Mkwayi, Tiny Nokwe, June Mlangeni, Beauty Makgothi, Rita Ndzanga, Eufenia Hlapane and others worked closely with some of the leaders who had not been arrested. These women performed various special roles, such as organising safe accommodation for those who were on the run, finding safe storage for propaganda and publicity equipment, managing an elaborate communications system and courier network for the underground, and undertaking routine political chores such as gathering information about and attending to the welfare of victims of the struggle.

However, the National Secretariat faced a difficult situation in mid-1963. It dealt with underground structures that were destroyed as soon as they were set up. It was a difficult period because the police would detain leaders as soon as they emerged. In addition, a climate of suspicion enveloped the ANC once it became clear that people in detention were being tortured into revealing information. This gave rise to 'constant paranoia' and a reluctance to respond to overtures to organise underground.

Unlike the ANC, no understudy structure had been created for MK. The Rivonia Trial began on 9 October 1963, and was still in progress when the first steps were taken to reconstitute MK, and a new NHC was appointed. Within a relatively brief period, the new High Command had reactivated MK structures. With members of MK's first NHC either in prison or in exile, and most of the regional commands sorely depleted, the second NHC was established, just before the Rivonia Trial began in October 1963, with Wilton Mkwayi as the leader. Despite innumerable difficulties the new NHC was able to re-establish regional commands. In Natal,

The 1960s

Cleopas Ndlovu, Jethro Ndlovu and James Ngwenya were drawn into the second regional MK command.

However, in 1964 another wave of mass arrests took place. Several members of MK's second NHC were apprehended in July and September. Wilton Mkwazi, David Kitson, Laloo Chiba, John Edward Matthews and Mac Maharaj were later convicted of more than 50 acts of sabotage in what became known as the 'little Rivonia Trial'. The state listed 58 acts of sabotage for which the accused and/or their co-conspirators were allegedly responsible. These included the use of petrol, chemical and incendiary bombs to set alight factories, police residential quarters, petrol depots, railway signal cables, carriages and lines, electricity pylons, private houses and government buildings in Port Elizabeth and various parts of the Transvaal and Natal. The state compiled a list of 35 people in the Transvaal, 29 in Natal and 41 in Port Elizabeth who had participated, together with or in support of the wishes of the accused, in carrying out these acts of sabotage. A second list, containing the names of 139 people who had been recruited for military training, was submitted as Annexure D. There is thus evidence that MK carried out some actions during the period. However, the bulk of the activities were directed at recruiting and sending people out of the country.

The chairman of the National Secretariat, Gabula Mahlasela, was among the hundreds detained during the second half of 1964, and on his release towards the end of the year he left the country. Other notable leaders of the ANC underground who went into exile were Florence Mophosho, who was banned in 1964, Kate Molale, Bernard Molewa, Obed and John Motshabi, and Joe Nhlanhla. After these events, the leadership of the underground shifted to Communist Party leader Bram Fischer. However, Fischer was detained on 23 September 1964 and subsequently charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. He skipped bail in January 1965 and went underground for some ten months.

During the time Fischer was underground, a provisional local committee of the Central Committee was established and communication with the remaining members of the Communist Party in Cape Town, Durban and other parts of the country was maintained through encrypted correspondence. One of the first things Fischer did to revive the underground was to re-establish links with old cadres, such as Rowley Arenstein in Natal and Fred Carneson in Cape Town. Fischer's contact with Durban-based Arenstein was David Rudin, who was sent to Durban in March 1965 to enlist Arenstein's support for revival of the Congress movement in Natal. Arenstein agreed to cooperate with the Johannesburg-based members of the Congress movement.

Contact with MK and ANC members in Natal was maintained through David Rudin, who obtained reports from Durban-based David Ernst on the requirements of the African membership of the Congress movement and MK in the region. Fischer was also able to

communicate with Jethro Ndlovu, a member of the Natal regional MK command, through Rudin, and supported Ndlovu's request for assistance when he went underground and relocated from Natal to Johannesburg. Fischer was to supply Ndlovu with a false passbook. Fischer was arrested on 11 November 1965 and subsequently sentenced to imprisonment.

In Natal, several small ANC underground networks continued to operate, albeit in a state of semi-paralysis, in the second half of the 1960s. They were made up of ANC members who had survived the mass arrests. The arrest of Dorothy Nyembe in 1969 revealed the existence of an ANC underground that operated in the Greater Durban area and in south-western Natal after 1966. Other members of the underground unit to which Nyembe had belonged, most of whom were under banning orders, were Leonard Mdingi, Johannes 'Passfour' Phungula, Gladys Manzi and Florence Mkhize.

The Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns

In 1967, MK cadres were sent into Rhodesia with Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) units in what was known as the 'Wankie Campaign'. The main MK unit (the Luthuli Detachment – as the MK cadres in the Wankie Campaign were named by ANC leader Oliver Tambo in honour of Chief Albert Luthuli) was to forge a way to South Africa whilst another established a transit base in Sipolilo, Rhodesia. The South African security forces were invited into Rhodesia by the Smith government and launched a joint operation against MK-ZAPU units. These were the first cross-border actions undertaken by MK cadres from exile. The Luthuli Detachment included well-known MK cadres such as James April and Basil February from the Western Cape; J.J. Goniwe, Gandhi Hlekani, L.T. Melani and B.S. Ngalo from the Eastern Cape; and Justice Mpanza and Daluxolo Luthuli from KwaZulu-Natal. In December that year, another attempt was made to infiltrate through Rhodesia in the Sipolilo Campaign. MK cadres were able to evade capture for three months in Zimbabwe before being captured, killed or forced to retreat.⁷⁰ A brief discussion of the Wankie Campaign will suffice here.

In May 1967, 30 cadres selected for the Wankie Campaign travelled from Kongwa to Zambia to begin preparations for the infiltration of Rhodesia, and then South Africa. Training of MK and Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) cadres selected for the mission took place at a farm in Makeni, a village near Lusaka. The cadres were joined at their camp by senior leaders of the ANC and MK. On the night of 30-31 July 1967, the joint MK and Zipra cadres crossed the Zambezi River just east of Livingstone. The point chosen for the crossing was deliberately close to the Botswana border – the guerrillas could have retreated into that

⁷⁰ It would be useful to develop a database of the origin of the participants in the two campaigns. There are a number of sources on the Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns. Refer to R.M. Ralinala, J. Sithole, G. Houston and B. Magubane, 'The Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970*, Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2004; C. Hani, 'The Wankie Campaign', *Dawn*, Souvenir Issue, 25th anniversary of MK, December 1986.

country if necessary. More importantly, it was a crossing point the Rhodesian forces would have least expected the guerrillas to use, in the most dangerous stretch of the Zambezi. Guerrillas had to slide down the face of a cliff, using ropes and drop onto a raft or into the water. The first to go down the gorge using the rope was Chris Hani. Cadres were then taken across the river by boat throughout the night.

After two days of hard marching they reached the Wankie Game Reserve on around 2 August, and split into two units. The plan was for the South African guerrillas moving south to enter South Africa. Some cadres were to proceed eastwards, to establish an MK presence in Rhodesia. Hani led the unit moving south. The first battle of the campaign occurred on 13 August: the group moving east was confronted by Rhodesian security forces on the banks of the Nyatuwe River, between Wankie and Dete.⁷¹

The second and third clashes occurred on 20 and 21 August. These were the first and second clashes between Hani's unit and the Rhodesian security forces. Under strict orders to avoid contact with the enemy and focus on their objective of entering South Africa, the unit had stepped up security when they heard reports of the battles in the east. The unit was tired and had been without food for almost eight days by 19 August, when its members shared a small dove Hani had killed. On 20 August, Dube and Hani sent two cadres towards the river to hunt for meat. At around 3 pm, the unit heard an exchange of gunfire in the direction of the river, and felt sure that the cadres hunting must be involved. The commanders prepared to send a search party out, but then the Rhodesian forces attacked, and the first military clash involving Hani's unit ensued. As the Rhodesians closed in, Hani ordered the men to hold their fire until they could see their targets clearly. In this battle, 'two of our fellows were killed and one was wounded,' Hani recalled. 'But we killed about ten of them and captured most of their logistics, weapons, radio communication, food and medical supplies.'⁷²

After collecting what they could, the unit continued southwards through the night and for part of the next morning. At around 5 p.m. on 21 August, enemy forces were spotted advancing on their position; the guerrillas took up defensive positions. Morale was high and they were less nervous as a result of their victory the day before. Hani ordered them to aim for the commander and the radio operator, and to hold their fire until the Rhodesians drew close. As in the first battle, the advancing soldiers opened fire into the bush before they could see the guerrillas. The unit waited, silently; when the Rhodesian troops were about 100 metres from them, the order to open fire rang out. After further exchanges the Rhodesian men withdrew in disarray. The Luthuli Detachment had won its second battle,

⁷¹ For more detail on the battles refer to Ralinala et al., 'The Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns', 496ff; the analysis of the Wankie Campaign is drawn largely from this chapter.

⁷² Interview with Chris Hani conducted by Wolfie Kodesh, Oral History of Exiles Project, 1 April 1993, MCA 6 – 284, Mayibuye Centre, University of the Western Cape.

and could again retrieve abandoned food and ammunition. After marching towards the Rhodesia–Botswana border and skirmishing with the Rhodesian forces on the way, the unit was running low on ammunition. Resupply from Lusaka was out of the question and, fearing that the Rhodesians would return with an even larger force, they decided to cross into northern Botswana after burying their dead. They were arrested for entering Botswana illegally and carrying arms and ammunition.

The Villa Piri Campaign

In April 1968, the PAC conducted a campaign to infiltrate cadres through Mozambique. The Villa Piri Operation was not intended to be a combat operation, but to develop a Ho Chi Minh Trail through that country as a basis for future infiltration. A unit led by Gerald Kondlo, and consisting of Enock Zulu, Zeblon Mokoena, Rankoana More, Marcus Mogoba, Moffat Qhasana, Saki Bhele, Madoda Guma, Kholisile Mezeleli, Sidney Mbuyazwe, Oscar Ntoni and John Twala joined up with members of the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee (COREMO) on a mission to develop the trail in Mozambique. After staying with COREMO for three weeks, the fully armed unit, together with four members of COREMO, managed to evade detection for a few months, travelling deep into Mozambique from early May 1968. After one clash with the Portuguese colonial security forces, the unit retreated. However, as they were passing through Villa Piri on the Beira railway line they came under heavy attack. Only three managed to escape the attack, but one, Guma, was later captured by the Portuguese (his fate is unknown) while the other two, including Zeblon Mokoena, were captured by the Rhodesians. The others perished in the attack.⁷³

The South African Students' Organisation (SASO)⁷⁴

The formation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) has its roots in the repression and outlawing of political activity for black people opposed to apartheid. Some student organisations existed briefly in the early 1960s, such as of the African Students Association (ASA) for ANC-aligned students, the African Students Union of South Africa (ASUSA) for PAC-aligned students, and Sons of Young Africa (SOYA) for students aligned to the Non-European Unity Movement. However, membership of these organisations meant operating clandestinely and vulnerability to security legislation. On the other hand, some white-led organisations also emerged to claim exclusive space as champions of African liberation.

⁷³ T. ka Plaatjie, 'The PAC in exile', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006, 720-7.

⁷⁴ Refer to M.V. Mzamane, B. Maaba and N. Biko, 'The Black Consciousness Movement', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006, 99-159.

The 1960s

In the 1960s, black students based at universities such as Fort Hare were members of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), which was predominantly white in membership. Black students were attracted to NUSAS because of government charges that the liberalism it practised was close to communism. NUSAS also took up many campaigns against government measures to erode the rights of black people, and its radicalism in this regard attracted black student membership. However, as repression intensified in the 1960s, calling for open defiance and even armed insurrection against the state, NUSAS members were found wanting when it came to putting their necks on the block, leading to disillusionment and ultimate disaffiliation by African students. NUSAS's politics was exposed as mere brinkmanship, at best, and, safe politics, at worst. Moreover, the organisation's white membership actually began to water down its militant stance in the 1960s.

In July 1967, discontent with NUSAS flared into the open at the conference held at Rhodes University. The African delegates were incensed with the lack of sensitivity among their white counterparts to the restriction imposed on them by the university authorities from staying in the residences. They were forced to sleep at a local church in the nearby African location and took their meals separately from their white counterparts. A year later, when NUSAS held its conference in the white town of Stutterheim, African students were barred from staying in the town for longer than 72 hours. Steve Biko, a medical student at the University of Natal Black Section, convened a black caucus, which resolved to defy the system and court arrest rather than submit to this humiliation. He called on NUSAS to challenge the legitimacy of the government. When his motion was predictably defeated, he left for a conference of the UCM where he canvassed support for the formation of an organisation that would represent the interests of Africans, Indian and coloured students.

Henry Isaacs, Student Representative Council (SRC) president at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) attended the inaugural conference of SASO, which took place at Turfloop in July 1969. Student leaders at UWC who associated themselves from the beginning with Black Consciousness included Isaacs, Freddy Bunting, J. Issy and Peter Jones. Isaacs was elected into the inaugural leadership of the organisation.

Students from the University of Natal elected into the leadership of SASO include Aubrey Mokoape, Vuyelwa Mashalaba and J. Goolam. Like their counterparts at Fort Hare and the University of the Western Cape, Indian students at what later became known as the University of Durban-Westville gravitated towards the new student movement. Included among these students were Saths Cooper, Asha Rambally, Ben David, Sam Moodley, Strini Moodley, Dennis Pather, Kiruba Pillay, Sam Pillay, Kogs Reddy and Ror Thatiah. Saths Cooper and Strini Moodley were elected into the leadership of SASO at its inaugural conference. At the University of Zululand, better known as Ngoye, prominent student leaders that joined SASO when it was formed included Mthuli Shezi, vice president of the National Catholic Federation of Students, Alex Mhlongo, Mosibudi Mangena and Sipho Buthelezi – and, later,

Welile Nhlapo, Sipiwe Nyanda and Ziba Jiyane. Some of them had already become involved in student politics as members of the University Christian Movement (UCM) before they joined SASO.

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

The Western Cape

- *The Hostel where Philip Kgosana lived* – Block C: Langa Township, Cape Town – former residence of Philip Kgosana.
- *Memorial for the killings at Langa in 1960 that led to the march to parliament.*
- *The Mamre training camp* – MK recruits underwent military training in December 1962 at a farm in Mamre, which had been hired by Denis Goldberg for this purpose. The group included Albie Sachs, Archie Sibeko, Chris Hani, Mountain Qumbela, and Reggie September. A number of tents were set up on the farm ‘some distance from the road, behind some large bushes’. The cadres were divided into six groups of four people each, led by a ‘sergeant’, and guards were deployed around the camp at night ‘to warn against any possible intruders’. The three week training course included, ‘among other things, lectures on politics, economics, the workings of the internal combustion engine, first-aid, the use of field telephones and judo classes’. They were given lectures on guerrilla warfare, the Cuban revolution and the writings of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro. Each morning the cadres engaged in physical exercises. They were provided training in sabotage, ‘how to handle guns, how to communicate, and so on’. There were 38 cadres in the camp, and Denis Goldberg was in charge of the whole group. The training was supposed to take three months, but the group was discovered before the month was over. Farmworkers on the farm noticed smoke coming from the area where the group had set up camp. They investigated and revealed the presence of the group on the farm to the police. The camp was raided by policemen and soldiers who were dropped on the scene by helicopters. The senior cadres were arrested, while the rest were released. Ultimately, it was the arrest of two recruits who were being smuggled out of the country that led to the arrest of Mountain Qumbela, and then the entire regional command, in 1963.
- *Basil February* – Basil February was born in District Six in 1944. His family moved around several times, living in places like Elsies River, Saldanha Bay and Stompes Bay before eventually settling back in District Six. As a result, February did his primary school education at St Andrews primary school in Saldanha Bay. When his family moved back to District Six, he received his high school education at Trafalgar High School. After high school, he initially wanted to study law, however, when the then Minister of Education Balthazaar Johannes Vorster refused his application, he had no option but to enroll at

the University of Cape Town Medical school. At university, February soon got involved in politics and had to drop out of medical school. He joined the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) in 1963 and *uMkhonto we Sizwe* (MK) in 1964. It was around this time that February met fellow comrade James April. He and April became very vocal and radical about their political activities; they sprayed graffiti in protest against the apartheid government. Their activities soon landed February in prison twice under the 90 day detention act. February and April left the country for military training in 1964. He left for Botswana and took on the name Paul Peterson (his father's name and his mother's maiden name respectively). Not wanting to risk his plans being exposed, he left without letting neither family nor his friends know or even bidding them goodbye. Abroad, February soon became an asset to MK. He put his intellectual and writing skills to good use by contributing several articles to the MK Journal *Dawn*. On completion of his training, it was decided that February should come back to South Africa to head a guerrilla unit. He was to re-enter the country through Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). However, as February and his guerrillas were in route to South Africa in 1967, they encountered an unexpected roadblock in Rhodesia. It is reported that February put up a brave fight, and in the process risked his life for his fellow comrade by helping them escape while he stayed behind. It is not clear what exactly transpired in the roadblock but it is reported that a pursuit ensued. February managed to evade the police and ended up in a farm in Figtree near Bulawayo. There are many different versions to the story of how February was killed. One version claims that he was found hiding out in the farm in Figtree and was shot by police when he gave himself up in order to avoid putting the farmer and his family at risk. Another version claims that February was killed by Rhodesian security forces after a day long battle involving the air force. February was the first coloured MK cadre to lose his life in the struggle for liberation. He and April were the first coloured MK guerrillas.⁷⁵

- *Looksmart Ngudle* – Looksmart Khulile Ngudle was born on 22 May 1922 in KwaZali village, near Alice in the Eastern Cape. Ngudle worked on the Crown Mines goldmine for two years before returning to his home village to take part in the traditional circumcision ceremony. Thereafter he went to Cape Town to look for work. During the 1950s Ngudle, through Archie Sibeko, joined the ANC. Ngudle's main responsibility was to raise funds when ANC members were jailed or needed a lawyer. To do this he often staged concerts with the choir that he had started in the township where he lived. When the ANC was banned in 1960, Ngudle was part of organising, underground, the Regional Executive Committee in the Western Cape. In 1961, Ngudle joined the ANC's military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK), and became an MK commander. After the two bombs made by Dennis Goldberg failed to go off, Goldberg and Ngudle started a training camp in Mamre where they taught MK recruits how to march, read a compass, perform first aid and how to make electrical circuits for bombs. In May 1963, an order banning Ngudle

⁷⁵ www.sahistory.org.za.

from participating in political activities was issued and he was confined to the Wynberg Magisterial district in Cape Town. When the security police raided Liliesleaf Farm on 11 July 1963, Ngudle went into hiding. In August 1963, Ngudle assisted in arranging the logistics, transports and safe-houses for 20 ANC comrades who were being sent out of the country for military training. Not far from the Botswana border, the group was arrested. While under interrogation, one of them broke and gave them the last address at which Ngudle had been staying. On Monday 19 August 1963, Ngudle was arrested under the 90-day detention law. While he was at Caledon Square police station he was badly tortured. Around 23-24 August 1963 he arrived at Pretoria Central Prison. On 5 September 1963, Ngudle died; he was the first person to die in detention. The Special Branch reported that Ngudle committed suicide and that he had hung himself using his pajama pants. An inquest was called for when a cellmate insisted on reporting details of his treatment in jail. To prevent this, four days after his death, the state banned him, as a banned person cannot be quoted. As a result, Ngudle became the first person to be banned after his death.⁷⁶

- *Imam Haron* – Imam Haron, a respected leader in the Muslim community and former editor of *Muslim News*, was detained under the Terrorism Act on 28 May 1969, held at Caledon Square police station until 11 August and then transferred to the cells at Maitland police station where he was found dead on 27 September after 122 days in detention. He had apparently been suspected of recruiting PAC members. The inquest found multiple bruising, which had been caused at different times by ‘a fair amount of trauma’, and a broken rib. Police claimed that he had fallen down some stairs after losing his balance. Between 17 and 19 September, the Imam had been taken away from the police cells to an undisclosed place for interrogation. The then Major Dirk Kotze Genis and Sergeant van Wyk were responsible for the interrogation. The Haron family’s legal representative argued that Imam Haron had been beaten in efforts to extract a statement from him, and that the trauma he suffered caused a pulmonary embolism which triggered a heart attack. The presiding magistrate found that the likely cause of death was myocardial ischaemia, due in part to ‘trauma superimposed on a severe narrowing of a coronary artery’. It was found that the bruises were not caused by the fall. He declined to rule on whether the death was brought about by any act or omission involving or amounting to an offence on the part of any person, finding merely that ‘a substantial part of the said trauma was caused by an accidental fall down a flight of stone stairs. On the available evidence I am unable to determine how the balance thereof was caused’. Born in Newlands on 8 February 1929, Haron took a keen interest in community activities while doing his Islamic Studies in Mecca. He was encouraged to play an active part in ameliorating conditions in the community. He thus became involved in social welfare services that exposed him to the difficulties that many people less fortunate than him lived under. He took an active part in forums that shared ideas

⁷⁶ www.sahistory.org.za.

about how to improve his community, and in the process found himself interacting with political organisations like the Non-European Unity Movement. Externally, his curiosity exposed him to the ideas of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood movement and other similar religio-political organisations. These organisations helped reconcile faith and politics by developing a theology of resistance to injustice and oppression. He and a group of Muslim elites in his circles were inspired to follow suit. More than any of the early radicals, Imam Haron made a clear link between the daily struggles of Muslims trying to preserve their sense of community and its sacred symbols from apartheid encroachment, on the one hand, and the wider black political resistance to apartheid. In the 1960s, he was one of the most outspoken critics of apartheid, addressing large public meetings on measures like the Sabotage Bill that came before parliament in 1962. He argued that the response to apartheid must be in proportion to the acts of the state. He openly identified with the ANC's struggle for freedom and the leadership of Chief Albert Luthuli, whom he adored. He also interacted with PAC underground groups. It was unheard of for a preacher to publicly support a radical political movement like the ANC or PAC. In March 1969, he applied to the authorities to visit Ahmed Kathrada, a prominent ANC activist, at Robben Island jail for 'humanitarian' reasons, shortly after his return from a visit in London. It appears that while in London, he had had conversations with political activists in exile, but it is not clear what the content of these conversations was. His application thus raised alarm the security police who knew he had had contacts with ANC activists in London. Authorities refused. When he subsequently applied for a new passport, his old one having expired, there was no response. He was already aware that there were a lot of informers and security police officials watching every movement he made. Imam Haron, together with other radical preachers like Sheik Nazeem Mohammed and Sheik A. Najaar, worked tirelessly to build a critical mass of people within the Muslim community that was committed to active resistance against apartheid in all its forms. It became common for Muslims to come together in their thousands in meetings that had very little to do with spiritual matters, but were gatherings convened to discuss pertinent political questions of the time. There were many such mass meetings that served to mobilise the Muslim community for a radical response to apartheid. Imam Haron used his Friday sermons to urge Muslims to support the struggle against apartheid. For instance, he called them to support the PAC marches in Cape Town in 1960 and other political activities in mainly African townships. His sermons, which almost always focused on the role of Muslims in the changing South African society, many of which were quoted in the *Muslim News*, conscientised this community that apartheid was an unjust system that needed to be resisted. Sometime in May 1969, security police pounced on Imam Haron, demanding that he report to their headquarters in Cape Town for questioning. They presented him with thick files pertaining to his journeys overseas and the talks he gave. They showed him names of the Mujahed (activists) he had met in and outside the country. They later released him. He started thinking deeply about whether you should go into exile and join the struggle

fully, as he saw it. Before he could, the security police arrested him on 28 May 1969, putting him in the hands of notorious interrogators led by Spyker Van Wyk.⁷⁷

Eastern Cape

- *1960 Ngquza Hill Massacre Memorial* – The memorial on Ngquza hill commemorates one of the most important incidents of rural resistance: the Mpondo or Peasants Revolt. The culmination was an attack on the Mpondo on Ngquza hill by the South African Police and paratroopers, which led to the deaths of 11 people. Many more were arrested in the clamp-down, some of whom were later executed in Pretoria. The initial memorial was constructed at the request of veterans of the revolt by the Department of Arts, Culture, Sport and Recreation, and became the focal point of annual commemorations. In 2012 the National government announced the construction of a R50 million memorial centre on the site.
- *Exhumation and Reburial of 23 Mpondo Revolt Heroes* – Following the suppression of the Mpondo Revolt, a large number of those who had been arrested were taken to Pretoria where those who had been sentenced to death were hanged and buried without involvement of the families. At the request of the families, the remains of 23 of those who were executed were exhumed from the Mamelodi Cemetery in Pretoria and reburied in the Eastern Cape. The mortal remains, once exhumed, were reburied in June and July 2003 at Ngquza Hill near Flagstaff and Kananda Hill near Mbizana.
- *Queenstown Station* – In 1962 Poqo members were deployed from Cape Town to the African rural areas. Their analysis was that black people were oppressed by the white government, and that Tribal Authorities had been established as a barrier to protect the whites. It was therefore necessary to take action, more especially as Poqo suspects were being detained and beaten at Qamata. The first group got through and camped at Ntlonze mountain. The train carrying the second group was deliberately delayed at Stormberg junction, so that when it arrived at Queenstown, the police were waiting for them. They demanded passes from the passengers, but the Poqo members carried no passes and resisted the police. This was the very first time that the power of the white state was openly and publicly challenged in Queenstown. Three Poqo members were killed on the spot. Others were arrested and sentenced to lengthy terms of imprisonment on Robben Island. Mtutu Aplini and Bhozwana was sentenced to death and executed.⁷⁸
- *Ntlonze* – In December 1962, three groups of Poqo fighters from Cape Town converged to mount an attack on Cofimvaba prison. Their meeting point was Ntlonze mountain which had caves where they could hide. The first group of nine Poqo members camped on the mountain, awaiting the others, however their presence had been noted while passing through Queenstown and the security forces followed up. The white police were

⁷⁷ www.sahistory.org.za.

⁷⁸ Chris Hani District Municipality, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 27.

armed with rifles, the African police with sticks only. The Poqo forces split up to evade the pursuit but six were killed. Their leader, Albert Shweni, was sentenced to 20 years on Robben Island but was charged with other offences while serving that sentence and hanged.⁷⁹

- *Emlotheni Memorial Park* – Located in New Brighton, the Emlotheni Memorial Park is dedicated to the memory of six anti-apartheid activists who paid the supreme price for their activism. The Emlotheni site was used for meetings during the Defiance Campaign. In 2008 the mortal remains of MK cadres who had been hanged in 1963 were exhumed and buried here. The six, who were amongst the first MK soldiers to be executed by the apartheid regime, are: Vuyisile Mini, Zinakile Mkhamba, Jonas, Mpetse and Wilson Khayinga.⁸⁰
- *Washington Mpumelelo Bongco Memorial* – Washington Bongco was a senior member of MK in the Eastern Cape who was sentenced to death for a petrol bomb attack on an informer. He was executed in Pretoria on 10 December 1964. The memorial tombstone at his birthplace, Fort Beaufort, was constructed and unveiled in August 1998 after the exhumation and reburial of his mortal remains.
- *Tele Bridge* – Over and above the use of Tele Bridge as a route into and out of South Africa, it was also an area in which returning cadres clashed with the security forces. This is one of the aspects needing further research.
- *Matatiele* – A big effort needs to be made to identify MK crossing points in this area, especially through the collection of an oral history.

KwaZulu-Natal

- *Cato Manor* – Cato Manor was granted to George Christopher Cato, the first mayor of Durban, in 1865 and was sub-divided in the early 1900s and leased to Indian market gardeners. Africans started moving into the area in the late 1920s and rented land from the market gardeners so that, by 1932 when Cato Manor was incorporated into the Borough of Durban, over 500 shacks had been built on the land. Cato Manor grew in leaps and bounds during World War II when there was a boom in Durban's economy and a vastly increased demand for labour. By the end of the war, there were about 30000 shack dwellers in the area and, during the 1949 riots, Indian landlords and traders were replaced by African traders and shack lords. The municipal beer hall in Cato Manor was the focus of much ill feeling, particularly among the women, who felt that it was stealing their livelihoods. Resentment concerning impending forced removals to KwaMashu and the beer halls came to a head on 17 June 1959, when women, who had gathered outside the Cato Manor beer hall, forced their way inside, beating the men drinking there and wrecking the place. Four people died and 79 were injured during the riots, which spread throughout Durban, but things did calm down for a time after that. The resistance to the

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁸⁰ Nelson Mandela Bay, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 18-19.

forced removals continued and reached a climax on 23 January 1960, when nine policemen were killed by a mob in Cato Manor. The incident was so horrifying that it took the heart out of the resistance and the last shack in Cato Manor was demolished on 31 August 1964.

- *The KwaMuhle Museum* – The KwaMuhle Museum is housed in the former premises of Durban’s Native Affairs Department which was charged with, among other functions, the control of the influx of African migrants into the city. Migrants arriving in Durban had to report to the building where they waited in queues to see if they would be issued with passes to allow them to remain in town. The unsuccessful applicants would be forced to return to homes in the country or else risk staying in town illegally and living with the constant threat of arrest during a police raid. The Durban System, as it was known, became the blueprint for apartheid in later years. The KwaMuhle Museum has many displays documenting the Durban System, including a very illuminating one on just how the municipality managed to get the system to pay for itself through a municipal monopoly of brewing and selling sorghum beer. Another display concerns the Cato Manor riots which were largely the result of that monopoly.
- *The Mandela Arrest Monument* – After 17 months on the run, Nelson Mandela was arrested, despite being disguised as a chauffeur, on August 5, 1962, outside Howick, on his way from Durban to Johannesburg. He was convicted of incitement and illegally leaving the country and sentenced to five years in jail before being prosecuted in the Rivonia Trials that led to his incarceration on Robben Island.

North West Province

- *Railway Station, Zeerust* – Many recruits seeking to leave the country went by train to Zeerust. Here they were met by mainly ANC supporters from the nearby Lehurutshe who assisted them to cross the border. All of the country’s post-freedom Presidents used this route to escape in 1961 and 1962. And it was at the Zeerust railway station that current President Jacob Zuma was arrested in June 1963, along with a group of 45 other young militants while trying to escape through Botswana to go for military training. Zuma was subsequently sentenced to two years imprisonment on Robben Island.
- *Zeerust/Mafikeng and Rustenburg route into exile*

Limpopo

- *Routes into exile* – More research is needed in this area.
- *John Nkadimeng* – He was born in Sekhukhuneland in the rural eastern Transvaal in 1925 and after completing primary school he worked as a domestic worker in Germiston where he remained for about a year. He returned home in 1945 and in 1946 was employed in a hat factory in Johannesburg. He again returned to Sekhukhuneland and early in 1947 went back to Johannesburg to work in a tobacco factory. Whilst employed

in the tobacco factory, Nkadimeng joined the African Tobacco Workers' Union, becoming a shop steward in 1949. Following a strike in 1950, he lost his job. During the 1952 Defiance Campaign he was arrested and detained for a month. He was charged with conspiracy and attempting to overthrow the state by violence, but the charges were dropped and he was released. Nkadimeng subsequently became a full-time organiser for the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions. Whilst he was working for the Council, it joined the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), which was formed in March 1955. Nkadimeng served on SACTU's 19-person Executive Committee and in October was requested to work full-time for the Transvaal Iron, Steel and Metal Workers' Union, which SACTU regarded as covering a strategic industry. Nkadimeng joined the ANC in 1950 through the influence of his close friend, Flag Boshielo. He was appointed to the ANC National Executive Committee in December 1955 at its congress in Bloemfontein, and in 1956 he was one of 156 Congress activists accused of treason. He remained a defendant throughout the lengthy trial until his acquittal in 1961. On 24 June 1963, Nkadimeng was detained as a suspected saboteur and held at Fordsburg police station under 90-day legislation. He was charged with others who had attempted to leave the country. Sabotage charges against Nkadimeng were dropped but he was charged with furthering the aims of an unlawful organisation. He was convicted in May 1964, served his sentence at a prison in the Orange Free State and was released in 1966. Whilst in detention in Fordsburg in 1963, Nkadimeng was issued with a banning order, which remained in effect when he came out of prison. He was restricted to the area of Orlando West, Johannesburg. He remained under banning orders until he fled the country on 24 July 1976; a month after the Soweto uprising began. Nkadimeng went to Swaziland where he worked for the ANC for two years. He moved to Mozambique where he was chairman of the senior structure of the ANC in the country. He rejoined the ANC National Executive Committee and served as chairman of its political committee until he became general secretary of SACTU on 17 August 1983. He continued to serve on the ANC's political and military council. As SACTU's general secretary, Nkadimeng propagated the formation of one central federation of trade unions in South Africa, and called on unions to unite in the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). When the South African Communist Party was relaunched as a legal body on 29 July 1990, it was announced that Nkadimeng was a member of its Central Committee, and he was also named as part of the party's 22-person Interim Leadership Group. He was appointed South African Ambassador to the People's Republic of Cuba in August 1995.⁸¹

⁸¹ www.sahistory.org.za.

Chapter 17

The liberation struggle and heritage sites in the 1970s

Introduction

The 1970s saw the growth of SASO and associated Black Consciousness activity amongst African, Indian and coloured students throughout the country. The 1973 Durban strikes provoked the revival of the trade union movement throughout the country, with both white and black activists inside the country playing a central role in the formation of union structures. The 1976 revolt and the 1980s' school protests showed unprecedented militancy with a high number of deaths and injuries. During the first half of the 1970s, student leaders were a particular target of banning orders, while many activists and other individuals had their passports withdrawn or applications refused. In 1971 a security swoop across the country resulted in numerous long-term detentions. 1974 saw a spate of detentions and trials in the wake of the Pro-FRELIMO commemoration rallies held at various campuses. The 1976 student uprising also revived the activities of the exiled liberation movements, and a corresponding increase in military activity inside the country occurred during this period.

The Black Consciousness Movement

In 1970, SASO held its conference in Wentworth, Durban, where it laid the foundations of the philosophy which became known as Black Consciousness. This philosophy was to be further developed by Steve Biko in the following years. Also, by 1970 students began to realise that they needed to reach a wider and adult audience. SASO leaders thus began to ponder the possibility of launching an 'adult' wing. The inaugural conference of the Black People's Convention (BPC) took place at Hammanskraal in December 1972, with 1,400 delegates in attendance representing 145 groups. The principal aim of the BPC was defined as being to 'unite all South African blacks into a political movement, which would seek liberation and emancipation of black people from both psychological and physical oppression'.¹

One of the significant actions taken by SASO during the early 1970s was the 1972 boycott after one of its members Onkgopotse Abraham Tiro was expelled from the University of the North (Turfloop). In his speech Tiro openly attacked the system of Bantu Education and the

¹ M. Mzamane, B. Maaba and N. Biko, 'The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, 1970-1980', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006, 132-5.

university authorities in particular, and concluded by exhorting his fellow black graduates 'to bear greater responsibilities in the liberation of our people'.² Tiro's expulsion from Turfloop triggered a series of strikes in solidarity across black campuses in the country. Students from all the black campuses in the country staged a walk-out from campus and engaged in a two-month boycott of classes. Another significant event in the first half of the decade was the Pro-Frelimo rallies (see below).

The BCM gave rise to a number of other organisations, including some for high school students and youths after 1972. The most notable were the South African Students' Movement (SASM),³ operating initially in Soweto high schools, and the National Youth Organisation (NAYO), a federation of youth groups in Natal, and the Eastern and Western Cape. Another key organisation was the Black Women's Federation, founded in December 1975 with Fatima Meer as President.

Western Cape

For about two years after the formation of SASO, UWC remained in the political doldrums, and despite the fact that in 1970 students and community leaders discussed black consciousness, this was on a negligible scale. Early in 1971, Barney Pitso Moseneke of the SASO national leadership visited UWC, which at this time still did not have an SRC. Following this, a number of UWC students attended the 2nd SASO General Council in Wentworth in July. The GSC ratified UWC's affiliation to SASO and the meeting elected Henry Isaacs to its 'internal relations' committee. SASO further encouraged UWC students to push for an autonomous SRC. In April 1972, 35 UWC students, who had attended the Ngoye (University of Zululand) intervarsity and forged closer links with other black campuses, 'returned to Bellville ambassadors of SASO'. That same month the 'Bush' students elected a black consciousness SRC under Peter Lamoela. The UWC SRC forthwith reached out nationally, with Lamoela inviting SASO president Themba Sono to speak on campus. At the same time, the SRC endorsed a black consciousness speech that Onkgopotse Tiro had made at the Turfloop (University of the North) graduation ceremony and expressed solidarity with him and his fellow students who had been subsequently expelled.⁴

In May 1973, SASO president Henry Isaacs, spoke at the University of Cape Town and denounced the conditions at the black universities and called for more black lecturers. He

² Graduation speech by Onkgopotse Tiro at the University of the North, 29 April 1972. Available at <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/graduation-speech-onkgopotse-tiro-university-north-29-april-1972>.

³ For more on the South African Students Movement refer to N. Diseko, 'The origins and development of the South African Students Movement (SASM): 1968-1976', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1991.

⁴ C.C. Thomas, 'Disaffection, Identity, Black Consciousness and a New Rector: An Exploratory Take on Student Activism at the University of the Western Cape 1966-1976', *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 54, No.1, 2005, 76-7.

said: 'only Blacks themselves could preserve their culture, and culture was a necessary function of the university'. At that time students at UWC were not allowed to hold meetings without the consent of university officials, could not join 'unapproved groups', and could not invite their own speakers to campus. Henry Isaacs was expelled from the university for making these remarks, and security police raided the homes of UWC students and arrested 11 students who were SASO members. Students marched on the Caledon Square police station, and after several hours the SASO members were released. UWC students launched a boycott of classes, which led to the closing of the university; and they formulated a long list of grievances. They decried the absence of black professors, racist attitudes and behavior toward the students by white professors and staff, discrepancies in the salaries between white and black staff members, poor housing conditions, and oppressive rules and regulations, such as the refusal to allow the SRC to choose its own speakers. The student unrest continued into July 1973 when Henry Isaacs was officially 'banned' by Afrikaner government officials and prevented from meeting with large groups of people and speaking in public.⁵

Eastern Cape

The BCM gained momentum in the mid-1970s and developed a strong following in the Eastern Cape. A large number of those detained from the mid-1970s were from its ranks (see below). Besides a strong SASO presence at Fort Hare University during the decade, students and youths in the region also played a central role in the formation of SASM and NAYO. The BPC also took up a number of community projects in the region. The BPC established the Zanempilo Community Health Centre near King Williams Town to service the villages of Zinyoka, Tyusha, Ntsikizini and Tsholomqa.⁶

KwaZulu-Natal

From the outset SASO focused on community projects, beginning with projects in and around Durban. Students undertook tasks ranging from assisting impoverished squatters, building more durable shelters and providing clean water, to health services at clinics over weekends. These self-help projects, as they came to be known, included assisting in the running of local clinics such as that of Inanda, near Durban. Such assistance was often rendered on weekends especially since university students were expected to attend lectures during the week. In order for the Inanda community to benefit further from SASO's

⁵ V.P. Franklin, 'Patterns of Student Activism at Historically Black Universities in the United States and South Africa, 1960-1977', *The Journal of African American History*, Vol. 88, No. 2, The History of Black Student Activism, Spring, 2003, 213.

⁶ Mzamane, Maaba and Biko, 'The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, 1970-1980', 136. Refer also to M. Ramphela, 'Empowerment and symbols of Hope: Black Consciousness and community development', in B. Pityana, M. Ramphela, M. Mpumlwana and L. Wilson (eds.), *The Bounds of Possibility: The legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1992.

initiatives, students raised funds and installed a water pump in the area, bringing clean water to the community to improve the health of residents.⁷ By the mid-1970s, Wentworth and Durban-Westville students managed to extend community building activities to villages on the Natal South Coast.⁸ Similar initiatives were also undertaken by the BPC after it was formed in 1972. Among these was the Solempilo Community Health Centre, established to provide primary health care to communities on the south coast of Natal.⁹ A number of the leaders of SASO, as well as the BPC were drawn from Natal, including Saths Cooper and Ben Langa.

One of the first Black Consciousness (BC) organisations formed for the youth was the Natal Youth Organisation, established in 1973. In Durban's African townships, SASO-aligned activists such as Mphakama Mbete, Themba Bophela, Bheki Langa, Dumisani Makhaye, and others set up youth and community organisations after they had established that the youths from such places as KwaMashu were critical of SASO, seeing it as this elite organisation distinct from the township. They consequently helped found the KwaMashu Youth Organisation (KWAYO) in 1973, which in turn made contacts with youths in other Durban and coastal townships such as Clermont and Groutville. Using resources provided by the Black Community Project of SASO, they networked and mobilised other youths politically. Subsequently, a provincial youth formation known as the Natal Youth Organisation was formed through the initiative of Mphakama Mbete. Some youths in KwaMashu consulted regularly with the recently released political leaders such as William Khanyile, who encouraged members of the Natal underground to join existing community organisations in their respective townships. Among these were the Umlazi and the KwaMashu Residents' Associations.¹⁰

Perhaps one of the most significant events in the history of the Black Consciousness Movement in the first half of the decade was the 'Pro-Frelimo' rallies.¹¹ Events in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique had a radicalising effect on the BCM and signalled that the potential existed to bring about the end of apartheid. The SASO president at the time, Muntu Myeza, planned a rally in September 1974 to celebrate the victory in Mozambique and bring additional spark into the BCM. But the rallies were banned and the crowds that turned up at the various centres were dispersed by the police. In Durban, the presence of Myeza, who had actually come to disperse the gathering at the Curries Fountain stadium, inspired the chanting masses. Myeza began chanting with them and the police

⁷ UNISA Archival and Special Collections: Department of Library Services, Accession 127, Report of the Perm Organisation.

⁸ Mzamane, Maaba and Biko, 'The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, 1970-1980', 129.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁰ G. Houston, and B. Magubane, 'The ANC political underground in the 1970s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006, 393-4.

¹¹ For more details on the Pro-Frelimo rallies refer to J. Brown, 'An Experiment in Confrontation: The Pro-Frelimo Rallies of 1974', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 38, Issue 1, 2012.

dispersed the crowd. Arrests followed, however, and taken into custody with Myeza were other organisers of the Durban rally such as Zithulele Cindi, Saths Cooper, Patrick Mosioua Lekota, Aubrey Mokoape, Strini Moodley and Nkwenkwe Nkomo – all were later charged with treason.¹²

Limpopo Province

In March 1972, the University of the North (Turfloop) administration ordered that the SASO Manifesto and Declaration of Student Rights be removed from the diary distributed by the Turfloop SRC.¹³ In response, students proceeded to burn their diaries in a public show of protest. Soon afterwards, the students also elected Onkgopotse Tiro – the previous year's SRC president, then a graduate student at the university – to address the annual graduation ceremony on their behalf. Tiro's speech was designed to be controversial. He began by quoting the prime minister, B.J. Vorster, suggesting – somewhat disingenuously – that in South Africa, 'no Black man had landed in trouble for fighting for what is legally his'. Tiro proceeded to condemn the Bantu Education system, to highlight the disrespect shown by the administration of his university to the parents of black students, and to point to the relative absence of the university's black academics from its decision-making bodies. He told his audience – made up of administrators, faculty and students, as well as parents – that 'the system is failing'. He sought to suggest solutions to this failure and quoted Helen Suzman, then the Progressive Party's lone member of parliament and thorn in the side of the government, saying that whatever other power the state might have, 'the Minister ... cannot ban ideas from men's minds'. Tiro concluded his speech, saying: Let the Lord be praised, for the day shall come when all shall be free to breathe the air of freedom which is theirs to breathe and when that day shall have come, no man, no matter how many tanks he has, will reverse the course of events.

Three days after this speech – on 2 May 1972 – the university's disciplinary committee expelled Tiro. A petition calling for his reinstatement was quickly circulated among the student body and then presented to the administration; it was rejected and the students began a sit-in at the university's main hall. The administration suspended the authority of the SRC and banned all public meetings; when this did not convince the students to move, the university announced that all 1,146 protesting students were to be immediately expelled. To enforce this order, the administration then invited the local police onto the university. Despite this threat, the students refused to abandon their sit-in. The police cordoned off the hall, preventing food from being brought in, and the administration cut off the building's water pipes. The police then prevented the occupying students from accessing the adjacent toilets, and confined them within the central (water-less) building. This

¹² Mzamane, Maaba and Biko, 'The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, 1970-1980' 142-4.

¹³ This analysis is taken from J. Brown, 'SASO's Reluctant Embrace of Public Forms of Protest, 1968–1972, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 62, No. 4, 2010, 724-5.

campaign of attrition continued overnight and into the next day, until the students finally found themselves forced to abandon the hall – and, consequently, expelled from the campus. The police allowed them to leave, then sealed the campus to discourage anyone from returning. By 6 May, only two days after Tiro's expulsion, the university was deserted.

The University of the North (Turfloop) produced a number of militant BCM activists, including Onkgopotse Tiro, Harry Nengwekhulu and Pandelani Nefolovhodwe. Student activism at Turfloop in the 1970s spread through villages of the Northern Transvaal and self help projects were introduced in nearby villages. SASO members engaged in the activities of the Monkwe Clinic in a nearby settlement, providing patients at the clinic with food they saved from their own hostel meals. Students also donated clothes to the community, and conducted research in Monkwe on living standards, household incomes and community needs.¹⁴ The students' political activities at Turfloop also spilled over to the local communities. Hwiti High School which was nearer Turfloop was influenced by rumblings at the university. Students from the school easily interacted with those at Turfloop through social and other activities. Political influence was easily permeated in this way. Briefly, there was some political activity in schools of the Northern Province. Even Setotolwane College, which fell under the jurisdiction of Lebowa Education Department and doubled up as a teacher training college and a senior secondary school, had a long history of student protest.¹⁵

Apart from SASO, which was influential in the Northern Province, there were other organisations which drew the attention of the youth. One of these was the Bold Evangelical Youth Organisation (BEYO) in Venda. Formed in 1972 and led by Dr. Tshenuwani Farisani, one of its founding leaders was Cyril Ramaphosa, a student from Turfloop. BEYO was later renamed the Bold Evangelical Christian Organisation (BECO). Some of the organisation's members later became senior members of the ANC. Governed by a Christian ethos, the organisation turned to the bible to make its point on apartheid brutality. The regime was aware of its potential dangers as members of the organisation were put under surveillance and some arrested. Members of BECO found it difficult to secure employment as they were perceived to be rotten apples.¹⁶

In Venda, Colbert Mukwehvo recorded reggae music, opening himself to reprisals from the homeland government. Reggae music, as demonstrated through the music of its icons such as Bob Marley and Peter Tosh, was deeply politicizing. In South Africa, the regime regulated music to be consumed by the public through the Broadcasting Amendment Act of 1960.¹⁷

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁵ Sello Mathabatha, 'The 1976 Student Revolts and the Schools in Lebowa, 1970-1976', *South African Historical Journal*, 51 (2004), 108-129.

¹⁶ Mudzunga, 'Autobiography of an Underground Political Activist', 139-140.

¹⁷ Fraser McNeill, 'Rural Reggae: The Politics of Performance in the Former 'Homeland' of Venda, *South African Historical Journal*, 64, 1, 81-95.

Artists were thus also threatened with imprisonment. The role of choral dance music also became dominant in Venda during the apartheid period. Poverty, oppression and political misrule became the way of life in the Venda homeland, as was the case in the other homelands. Choral dance music in Venda played a significant role in raising issues around political misrule and the socio-economic issues of the homeland.¹⁸

The BCM also gave rise to a cultural renaissance in the 1970s. Soon BCM activities were writing plays and engaging in cultural activities which were a microcosm of black life and oppression in South Africa. Such plays include *Black Images*, *Return to My Native Land*, *An Evening of Black Thoughts*, *Into the Heart of Negritude*, *Antigone*, *Shanti*, *The Township Housewife*, *Shivering Shock* and *We Shall Sing for the Fatherland*. Different publications also emerged around this time as an outlet for black self-expression. They include *SASO Newsletter*, *Black Viewpoints*, *Black Voices Shout* and *To Whom It May Concern*. Cultural groups that emerged in the 1970s include the Theatre Council of Natal which was formed in 1969 with a strong black orientation. Other cultural organisations include the South African Black Theatre Union (SABTU), Music, Drama, Arts, Literature Institute (MDALI) together with its drama group Mhloti Black Theatre Group, both formed in 1972, as well as the People's Experimental Theatre.¹⁹ Visual artists like Fikile Magadlela, Thami Mnyele Ezrom Legae and Ben Martins also contributed through their artistic skills. Their politically oriented works, many emphasising black beauty and pride, appeared in different publications such as *Staffrider*.²⁰

However, the BCM was for the most part an elitist organisation made up of black intellectuals and its organisational reach was not vast. Tom Lodge estimated that SASO only had about 3,500 members, while the BPC had at most 4,000 members made up almost exclusively of professionals.²¹ Nevertheless, the impact of the BCM went far beyond its membership, and it had a major influence on many more people inside the country. However, very little effort was made to organise at the grassroots level, mainly because of police harassment, among other things.²²

On 12 September 1977, Steve Biko died in police custody as a result of brain injury after being beaten and tortured and then driven naked in a state of unconsciousness from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria. He had been in detention since his arrest in August. His widely publicised death sparked the most unprecedented outcry, nationally and internationally,

¹⁸ Jaco Kruger, 'Songs of struggle: dominance and resistance in Venda ngano song narratives', *Journal of the musical arts in Africa*, 4, (2007), 27.

¹⁹ B., Peterson, 'Culture, Resistance and Repression', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970*, Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2004, 174-177.

²⁰ Judy Seidman, *Red on Black the story of the South African poster movement*, Johannesburg: STE Publishers, 2007, 51-52.

²¹ Lodge, T., *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*, London, Longman, 1983, 107.

²² Gerhart, G.M., *Black Power in South Africa: The evolution of an ideology*, London, University of California Press, 1972, 291.

ever raised against apartheid as a result of the death of a single leader.²³

Between April and November 1977, a further 18 people died while being held in police detention for political offences. Among them were BCM figures Mapetla Mohapi, and Wellington Tshazibane. As was usual to cover up such deaths, the magistrate exonerated the authorities from any wrongdoing. Behind the scenes, however, police acknowledged their complicity. When another of Biko's associates, Thenjiwe Mtintso, was arrested after Mohapi's death, she was tortured with a wet towel twisted round her neck, and told: 'Now you know how Mapetla died.'²⁴

On 19 October, the government outlawed all BCM organisations, sending it into a virtual coma from which it never fully recovered. Among organisations banned were SASO, BPC, SASM, SSRC, BCP, and the Zimele Trust. Others were ASSECA, the Black Parents' Association, the Black Women's Federation, the Border Youth Organisation, the Eastern Province Youth Organisation, the Natal Youth Organisation, the Transvaal Youth Organisation, the Western Cape Youth Organisation, the Union of Black Journalists, and the Medupe Writers' Association.

After the banning of SASO and BPC, the flagship organisations of the BCM, a meeting was held in May 1978 where it was resolved to form the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). Amidst detention and intimidation, its inaugural conference was held in September 1979. The executive committee comprised Curtis Nkondo (president), Nombulelo Melane (vice-president), George Wauchope (publicity secretary), Letsatsi Mosala (national organiser) and Sammy Tloubatla (general secretary). However, the glue that had held activists of the BC era together was about to lose its sticky quality. The introduction in AZAPO of class analysis, first introduced in BCM discourse by Njabulo Ndebele in 1972, marked a departure from the race-based analysis of BCM. AZAPO went further by proposing a socialist future, and placed emphasis on anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism.²⁵

The Durban strikes

The Durban strikes of 1973 marked a turning point in the history of political resistance in the province and in the country as a whole: in particular, it precipitated a revival of the black trade union movement in all the provinces. With wages practically frozen for over a decade, the growing poverty in the cities – and therefore also in the rural areas where families

²³ Mzamane, Maaba and Biko, 'The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, 1970-1980', 149.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 150.

²⁵ Hirschmann, D., 'The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 1990, 11. Refer also to S. Moodley, 'AZAPO', *Agenda*, Special Issue: Emancipation and Liberation, Vol. 7, Issue 10, 1991; N. Gibson, 'Black Consciousness 1977-1987: The dialectics of liberation in South Africa', *Africa Today*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1985, 5-26.

depended on the wages of migrant breadwinners – led to strikes which affected 150 establishments and involved 60,000 workers during the first few months of 1973.

The Durban strikes began in January 1973, when 1,200 night watchmen downed tools, demanding a wage increase of R10 a month. Shortly thereafter 2,000 Coronation Brick & Tile workers also went on strike on 9 January, demanding a minimum wage of R30 a week. The next day a short strike broke out at A.J. Keeler Transport Co. Another took place at T.W. Beckett & Co., where workers demanded a wage increase of R3 a week. The police were called in. On 15 January 1973, workers at J.H. Akitt & Company downed tools; on 22 January 1973, drivers at Motor-Via in Pinetown picketed for wage increases and long-distance truck drivers also joined the strike, demanding R40 a week.²⁶

All this was followed closely by a strike involving more than 7,000 workers (the largest number thus far) that broke out at the British owned Frame Group at the New Germany industrial complex outside Pinetown and spread to other plants in the same group. Workers demanded an increase in their basic wages, which stood at a paltry R6 a week at the time. At the end of January 1973, more than 10,000 Durban City Corporation workers joined in and within a few weeks, factories as far away as Hammarsdale, Pietermaritzburg, Tongaat and Charlestown were also hit by industrial action. By April, industrial strikes had also erupted at the Mandini and Richard's Bay industrial areas. The wave of strikes then spread to Johannesburg and other industrial centres in the country and it has been estimated that there were as many as 246 strikes involving African workers in various sectors of the economy during 1973. On 11 September 1973, the SAP fired at striking mineworkers at Western Deep Levels Mine, killing 12 and wounding 38 others. They were protesting against poverty wages.²⁷

The strikers were ultimately forced to back down, but they laid the foundations for a new labour union movement and for organised social resistance in other spheres of the anti-apartheid struggle. The General Factory Workers' Benefit Fund also opened the way for the organisation of workers in a number of industrial fields. This was an initiative of the Wages Commission, set up at the University of Natal in 1972 to research labour conditions and to provide workers with a vehicle to voice their grievances.

The revival of trade unions

Western Cape

²⁶ J. Sithole and S.M. Ndlovu, 'The revival of the labour movement', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006, 189-90.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 190.

The 1973 Durban strikes provided the impetus for the establishment of trade unions in the Western Cape. Another catalyst was the release of trade unionists from prison in the late 1960s. In the Greater Cape Town area, Elijah Loza, Christmas Mthinto and Mountain Qumbela, who were all active in SACTU during the 1950s, were released from Robben Island.

In Cape Town, NUSAS activists at UCT supported African workers through the Wages Commission they set up in December 1972. They included Paula Ensor, John Frankish, Gordon Young and Jeanette Curtis. They also drew in Robert Petersen, a former UCT student. Working with SACTU trade unionists such as Elijah Loza, Zora Mehlomakhulu and Lukas Kukulela, they formed the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau (WPWAB) in March 1973 and the Workers Advisory Project (WAP) in September of the same year. WPWAB was primarily concerned with organising unions while WAP directed the legal, educational and literacy wings of the labour movement. Initially the WPWAB was run by a small informal group consisting of the organiser Zora Mehlomakulu, as well as Young, Petersen, Ensor, Frankish and Johan Maree.²⁸

Recruitment of workers took place at first through the newspaper *Abasebenzi*, produced in isiXhosa eight times a year by the UCT Wages Commission, edited at first by Gordon Young and then by Jeremy Baskin. By the end of 1974, the WPWAB had 34 works committees. In 1973, the WPWAB launched training courses for workers and literacy training. The WPWAB also focused on the education of workers, including producing a 100-page training manual in English and isiXhosa.²⁹

In the second half of the decade, the state began a clampdown on trade unionists. Deborah J. Budlender of the Wages and Economics Commission at UCT was banned, while several union activists fled the country, among them Paula Ensor and Robert Petersen of WPWAB, and trade unionist and SACP member, Eli Weinberg. The regime also detained many activists. Some, like Luke Mazwembe, a WPWAB member, died in detention. He was found dead in his cell at the Caledon Square police headquarters in Cape Town. Elijah Loza was held at the Victor Verster Prison. He died at the Tygerberg Hospital in August 1977, after allegedly suffering a stroke.

KwaZulu-Natal

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 206 and D. Hemson, M. Legassick and N. Ulrich, 'White activists and the revival of the workers' movement', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006, 261.

²⁹ Hemson, Legassick and Ulrich, 'White activists and the revival of the workers' movement', 261-3.

A number of Natal trade unionists were freed in the late 1960s, including David Mkhize and Stephen Dlamini, while others were released in the early 1970s, including Harry Gwala, Matthews Meyiwa, William Khanyile, Shadrack Maphumulo and David Ndawonde. Between 1972 and 1974 Zakhele Mdlalose, John Mabulala Nene, Riot Mkhwanazi, Jethro Ndlovu, Bernard Nkosi and Alfred Duma were released. These former prisoners linked up with seasoned trade unionists who were either operating undercover or serving banning orders. In the Natal midlands experienced campaigners included Azaria Ndebele, Moses Bhengu, and John Khumalo. In the Greater Durban area, SACTU operated through the underground machinery led by Joseph Mdluli.³⁰ These operatives established offices and appointed organisers paid with funds received from the Swaziland-based SACTU machinery.

The Durban strike wave also gave rise to other initiatives to form trade unions. At its annual conference in 1971, NUSAS decided to initiate Wages Commissions on each of its affiliated campuses and, under the leadership of Jeanette Curtis, these were established almost simultaneously in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg. In Durban, Halton Cheadle, David Hemson, David Davies, Foszia Fisher and Karel Tip set up the General Factory Workers Benefit Fund (GFWBF) in April/May 1972. They worked closely with Harriet Bolton of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) and, to a lesser extent, with Norman Daniels of the registered trade unions. The aims of the Benefit Fund were to provide the basis for worker organisation by making workers aware of their rights through an in-house newspaper, *Isisebenzi*, and by making representations to Wage Boards for new skilled worker determinations. The Benefit Fund was a stepping stone to proper trade unionism once sufficient numbers per sector had been achieved.³¹

Cheadle and Hemson began to actively organise workers and expanded existing trade unions, such as the African Textile Workers Industrial Union (A-TWIU) and helped form new ones. Cheadle became acting secretary of A-TWIU and Hemson served as the research officer for the Textile Workers Industrial Union (TWIU). Late in 1972 Hemson succeeded Ambrose Reddy, the Durban TWIU organiser and secretary, and Harriet Bolton took over as the Natal secretary of TWIU. Following the outbreak of the Durban strikes in January 1973, crowds of workers gathered each Saturday morning at the premises of the Benefit Fund to apply for membership. These developments expedited the formation of trade unions and by April 1973, the first union formed with the assistance of the Benefit Fund, the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). It was launched in Pietermaritzburg, with Alpheus Mthethwa elected as branch secretary. Just over a month after the formation of MAWU, the TWIU Congress resolved to establish a parallel unregistered union for African workers, the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW). It was formally established in September 1973.

³⁰ Sithole and Ndlovu, 'The revival of the labour movement', 216-7.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 202.

Cheadle was elected Natal organising secretary, with June-Rose Nala as secretary and Manyathi branch chairperson.³²

The NUTW was followed by the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU), founded in 1973 and 1974, respectively. Omar Badsha was elected CWIU's secretary in 1975. The growing number of new unions in Natal created a need for a coordinating body and the Trade Union Advisory and Coordinating Council (TUACC) was formed in October 1973, with MAWU and NUTW as founding members and TGWU and CWIU affiliating in 1974. TUACC had a close working relationship with the KwaZulu leadership, especially Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Barney Dladla.³³

The Natal based NUSAS students were assisted by a group of white activists who were supportive of the labour movement but remained outside it. Most were academics, experts in labour, and professionals working for supporting organisations such as the Institute of Industrial Education (IIE). In Durban, Richard Turner, Eddie and David Webster, Alec Erwin and Charles Simkins were part of this 'freelance intellectuals' group. The IIE was founded in Durban in May 1973 to serve as a correspondence school for trade unionists, providing basic information and skills for effective trade union activity. It also produced the *South African Labour Bulletin*, which first appeared in 1974. The IIE's chancellor was Mangosuthu Buthelezi and its chairperson Lawrence Schlemmer. Others involved were Foszia Fisher, Eddie Webster, David Hemson and Omar Badsha.³⁴

In the second half of the decade, the state began a clampdown on trade unionists. Alpheus Mthethwa and Mfundise Ndlovu of MAWU in Natal were banned. The regime also detained many activists. In Natal more than a dozen trade unionists were detained in the last two months of 1975. Five of them, Harry Gwala, Anton Xaba, John Nene, Matthews Meyiwa and Zakhele Mdlalose, who had been previously convicted for political offences, received life sentences. Joseph Nduli was sentenced to 18 years, Cleopas Ndlovu and Magubane to 15 years each, and Azaria Ndebele to seven. Conviction and the growing trend of deaths in detention forced SACTU to operate even more clandestinely than previously. At the same time, it deepened the coordination between the internal and external structures of SACTU.³⁵

New kinds of trade unions, known as community-based unions, also emerged during the second half of the 1970s. They were mainly regional and were structured as general unions. Some had a foothold in manufacturing industries, while others had a presence in service sectors where working conditions were bad and organisation generally weak, such as

³² *Ibid.*, 202-4.

³³ *Ibid.*, 204.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 205.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 229.

cleaning, catering, and local government. These trade unions were more focused on direct involvement in broader political struggles and stressed that shop-floor struggles could not be separated from political campaigns against apartheid. Prominent among these unions were the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) in Durban which broke away from BAWU in 1978. In 1980 BAWU split. The first division was in mid 1980 and involved the Empangeni and Ladysmith branches led by Matthew Oliphant and Magwaza Maphalala. They formed the National Iron, Steel, Metal and Allied Workers Union (NISMAWU), which joined forces with Sam Kikine's SAAWU. Kikine then recruited Maphalala and Oliphant into the Natal underground of SACTU.

The Natal Indian Congress (NIC)³⁶

The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) was revived in 1971 and became an effective organisation to raise political consciousness in the Indian community. The NIC was revived at a meeting held at Bolton Hall in Prince Edward Street, Durban, on 25 June 1971. It was a body originally founded in 1894 by Mahatma Gandhi and a key part of the Congress Alliance through the national body, the South African Indian Congress in the 1950s under the leadership of Dr. Monty Naicker. The NIC had become dormant in the mid 1960s when its leadership was banned and some members went into exile. The Indian Congress was not banned.

Mewa Ramgobin and his wife Ela Gandhi were behind the revival of the NIC. The ad hoc committee that had prepared for the meeting at the Bolton Hall included M.R. Moodley, Dasrath Bundhoo, Numsi Naicker, Dr. Dilly Naidoo, Bill Reddy, S.P. Pachy and George Sewpersadh. Several had been politically active since the 1950s, and they drew in more support. There was a flurry to establish branches, with meetings held in garages, parks, sports grounds and even under trees. Ramgobin was banned in September 1971, placed under house arrest, and was replaced by George Sewpersadh as NIC leader. Initially, membership was confined to Indians. Sewpersadh explained that this was not because of any racialistic or sectional beliefs; it was merely being realistic, in the early stages, to limit numbers. The issue was hotly debated at the first conference of the re-launched NIC in April 1972. While the NIC did in fact open its membership to all in 1973, the reality was that membership and leadership were overwhelmingly Indian.

³⁶ This section is taken from U. Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 'Aboveground organisations and activities: The revival of the Indian Congress', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006, 883-99. Refer also to V. Padayachee, 'Struggle, Collaboration and Democracy: The 'Indian Community' in South Africa, 1860-1999', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, No. 7, February 13-19, 1999, 393-395; G. Vahed, 'A case of "pragmatic ethnicity"?: The Natal Indian Congress in the 1970s', unpublished paper. Available at www.sahistory.org.za.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

There were many discussions with SASO/BPC members at such places as Phoenix, where leadership workshops were held in the early 1970s. These provided a forum for young intellectuals and activists of all races to engage in frank discussions about how best to challenge apartheid. Participants included Rick Turner, Steve Biko, Barney Pityana, Strini Moodley, Saths Cooper and others. NIC policy towards SASO and BPC was 'to work in harmony' with them; it supported BPC initiatives such as the commemoration meeting for Sharpeville. However, tensions were inevitable. Pityana, Biko, Cooper and Moodley threatened to 'destroy the NIC'. Cooper was scathing of the NIC, and raised questions about the NIC membership, its orientation and its support in the early years of its revival. However his attack on NIC is not borne out by the facts.

In 1972, the NIC had 28 branches and a membership of just below 7,000. While among its leaders there were many professionals – doctors (Jerry Coovadia, Dilly Naidoo, Farouk Meer); lawyers (Sewpersadh, M. J. Naidoo); social workers (Ramesar and Ela Gandhi) – its membership was drawn from all walks of life – doctors, lawyers, workers, trade unionists, small shop-keepers and students – and from all age groups.' Among the youth recruited were Pravin Gordhan, Yunus Mahomed and Zac Yacoob, and their impact on the organisation was felt in the closing years of the decade.

However, the arrests of SASO members after the Pro-FRELIMO rally in 1974 emphasised the need to cooperate rather than compete. Furthermore, the message that came from the Congress Alliance leaders on Robben Island was for the NIC to continue its work of mobilisation, and not to alienate the BCM. By the end of the decade, the NIC had replaced SASO in securing the support of Indian students at the University of Natal, Durban.

The central issue confronting the NIC during the decade was the South African Indian Council, an advisory body established by the apartheid regime. One view was that the SAIC should be used as a 'protected platform' to make demands for full democracy. An opposite position was also evident, arguing that it would be unwise to plunge headlong into something that is wrong merely because the NIC's progress was proving slow and difficult. However, NIC's policy of non-participation remained unchanged. In 1979 the differences on the issue were so severe that some individuals flew to London to seek the advice of Yusuf Dadoo and the ANC. Despite different interpretations on the conclusion reached, the NIC again affirmed its policy of non-participation. The NIC launched a mass campaign of mobilisation and in 1981, when the elections to the SAIC took place. Indian voters resoundingly snubbed the entire process.

The NIC played an important role in maintaining the memory of the members of the Congress Alliance imprisoned on Robben Island. Many mass meetings were held to heighten awareness of those who were banned or had suffered through repression. Among the commemorations was the death of Ahmed Timol in 1971; a prayer meeting for Bram Fischer

in 1975 and in 1977 for Dr H. Haffejee and B. Mzizi. Members of the NIC had mobilised workers on the sugar estates in 1971; participated in the Wages Commission set up by academics from the University of Natal; and supported the strikes at Corrobrick in 1973. NIC officials organised food supplies from Indian merchants and issued pamphlets to Indian workers to support the cause of African workers. Towards the close of the decade, young activists such as Pravin Gordhan, Yunus Mahomed and Roy Padayachee began to engage in community issues in the working-class districts of Phoenix and Chatsworth – including areas of housing, rents and transport. When the Durban City Council proposed autonomy for Phoenix, this provided a point for mobilisation to oppose the move. NIC individuals played a key role in setting up the Phoenix Working Committee (PWC) and the Chatsworth Housing Committee (CHAC).

Inkatha

In 1975, the Inkatha Cultural Liberation Movement (Inkatha) was revived with the approval of the ANC. Initially, Inkatha placed itself squarely within the political tradition of the ANC's founding fathers. However, Inkatha was later to operate uncontested on any scale within the space provided by the homeland policy and the state's repression of all other opposition.³⁷

The political life of the province during this period was marked by attempts by Inkatha to consolidate its regional power-base. By the late 1970s, Inkatha's membership had swelled substantially. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi described Inkatha as the 'largest and best organised Black constituency' ever seen in South Africa.³⁸ Describing itself as a 'national cultural liberation movement', the organisation aimed to promote African democracy that was suited to the Zulu way of life. There would only be one political party in KwaZulu; it would take decisions on the basis of consensus. Only Inkatha members would be eligible to stand for election to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) and the Inkatha president would be the chief minister of KwaZulu. The KLA predictably adopted the Inkatha Constitution as its own, thus merging the political party and the Bantustan administration. The KwaZulu Constitution firmly entrenched the position of chiefs and stipulated that the chief minister should be a hereditary chief.³⁹

In addition to tightening control within Natal and KwaZulu, Inkatha purged people considered disloyal to the party. In October 1978, the Central Committee expelled its first

³⁷ Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter TRC), *The Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 166.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 172.

³⁹ J. Sithole, 'Neither Communists nor Saboteurs: KwaZulu Bantustan politics', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006, 829.

secretary-general, Sibusiso Bengu, and certain other members, including Reginald Hadebe, for allegedly persuading the Inkatha Youth Brigade to embark on a programme of mass action to express support for the BPC. By the end of the 1970s Inkatha had a firm hold on the Bantustan structures, and its leaders had laid down the foundation of a one-party system. This entrenched a culture of political intolerance in KwaZulu, and from the late 1970s many organisations were banned. Even the Zulu monarch was not spared the wrath of Inkatha when he stepped out of line.⁴⁰

In the first few years after the revival of Inkatha in 1975, the ANC regarded Chief Buthelezi as an important ally inside the country. Buthelezi himself stated repeatedly that Inkatha was based on the ideals proposed by the ANC's founding fathers in 1912. The external mission of the ANC maintained contact with him and encouraged its members to join Inkatha. However, emerging differences of opinion and strategy between Chief Buthelezi and the ANC leadership in exile began to cause tensions between the two organisations. While the ANC called for sanctions and disinvestment and advocated an armed struggle and protest politics, Chief Buthelezi opposed these methods, arguing that the demise of apartheid was best brought about through participation in the structures of the state. The ANC failed to mobilise its supporters to give effect to Chief Buthelezi's strategy. According to Oliver Tambo, this was due to 'the understandable antipathy of many of our comrades towards what they considered as working within the bantustan system'.⁴¹

For a while in the early 1970s relations between the KwaZulu Bantustan leadership and BC organisations were cordial. But the calm was short-lived. Buthelezi grew irritable whenever SASO and SASM raised doubts about his political credentials within the anti-apartheid camp. When Biko queried his acceptance of a position within the Bantustan system, and said this had created confusion over who the 'real leaders' of the people were, Buthelezi was highly offended. Opposition to the KwaZulu Bantustan also came from the University of Zululand. Students demonstrated at a graduation ceremony where an honorary doctorate was to be conferred on Buthelezi. Clashes broke out between Buthelezi's supporters and the protesting students and in the ensuing fracas, Buthelezi's car was stoned. Tensions deepened during the 1976 student uprisings when university students went on the rampage on campus, destroying university property.⁴²

The relationship between BC-aligned youths and Buthelezi turned violent at the funeral of Robert Sobukwe in Graaff-Reinet in March 1978. Buthelezi was asked to leave the funeral. While he was leaving in a rush to his official car, one of Buthelezi's bodyguards opened fire, wounding three youths. The incident rattled Buthelezi politically by casting serious doubt on

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 833.

⁴¹ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 173.

⁴² Sithole, 'Neither Communists nor Saboteurs', 834-5.

his claim that he was a leader of the liberation movement.⁴³

By the end of the 1970s the political intolerance of the KwaZulu leadership stemmed from their firm belief that Inkatha was the only political formation with a visible following in the country. Their arrogance was also bolstered by the cordial relationship they enjoyed with the ANC in exile.⁴⁴ Matters came to a head at a London meeting between Chief Buthelezi and the ANC leadership in exile in October 1979. Chief Buthelezi expressed his disagreement with the ANC's strategy of the armed struggle and claimed that the ANC in exile no longer had a mandate from the masses. Chief Buthelezi accused the ANC's external mission of having deserted black South Africans. Chief Buthelezi interpreted the ANC's motives for the meeting as a desire to make Inkatha an internal wing or surrogate (and therefore an inferior subsidiary) of the ANC. He, for his part, went to the meeting to make a claim for political independence:

Inkatha is a political phenomenon of considerable magnitude and the ANC will be faced with having clearly to endorse the Inkatha position.⁴⁵

Following the meeting, relations between the ANC and Inkatha deteriorated rapidly. The IFP felt that 'from then onwards Inkatha was singled out as an enemy'.⁴⁶

The 1976 Soweto Uprising

In 1974, the Department of Bantu Education sent a circular to African schools outlining a new policy – Afrikaans had to be used to teach mathematics, arithmetic, geography and history. In Soweto schools, the mother tongue had been the medium of instruction at junior primary level prior to 1975. And by 1975, in terms of the 1974 directive, Grade 8 students in junior secondary schools were learning in English. When, in 1976, the Department enforced Afrikaans as the medium of instruction at selected higher primary and junior secondary schools, this meant that in these schools African pupils were required to adapt to learning in two 'foreign' languages within two years, first English in 1975 and then Afrikaans in 1976.⁴⁷

School came to a sudden halt in Soweto on 16 June, 1976, when students at Naledi and Thomas Mofolo High Schools started a march in protest against Afrikaans. They moved through Soweto, with the aim of holding a mass meeting at Orlando Stadium. About 10,000 marchers converged outside Orlando West High School, where police confronted them and

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 835-6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 840.

⁴⁵ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 173-4.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁴⁷ S.M. Ndlovu, 'The Soweto Uprising', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006, 327.

fired tear-gas canisters to disperse them. The students retaliated with stones and the police opened fire, immediately killing two – seventeen-year old Hastings Ndlovu and thirteen-year old Hector Pietersen – thus sparking fierce rioting that soon spread throughout Soweto. On 17 and 18 June, students in Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg, demonstrated in sympathy with their Soweto peers, as did students at Ngoye, Turfloop and Wentworth. On 21 June demonstrations flared up in African townships around Pretoria, on the East Rand and in the northern Transvaal. During the first three months, the protests, now involving adults, had spread to every province, with the official death toll estimated at 294.⁴⁸

The Western Cape

The 1976 revolt began in the Transvaal and spread to the Western Cape in August 1976, with an accompanying shift to more violent and intensified repression by the state. After the Transvaal, the Western Cape had the second highest number of deaths and injuries associated with the 1976 revolt. Numerous detentions followed, many with accompanying allegations of torture and at least three deaths in detention in 1976 and 1977. A number of local activists were sentenced to prison in a series of terrorism trials in the late 1970s. Others, mainly student leaders, were placed under banning orders.⁴⁹

A student boycott at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in early August 1976 developed into mass protest in Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu. On 11 August, according to the Cillie Commission Report, twenty-one people were killed during street protest activities. Amongst the first was Ezekiel Xolile Mosi, an eighteen-year-old school pupil from Langa, who was shot and killed by police. Student protest often had the active support of workers. Buildings, vehicles and even persons associated with the Bantu Affairs Administration Board were also attacked.⁵⁰

The protest action spread to the coloured areas of Manenberg, Bonteheuwel, Hanover Park, Elsies River, Ravensmead, Retreat, Athlone and Grassy Park in late August and September. One of the first coloured pupils to be killed by the police was 15-year old Christopher of Bonteheuwel, who was shot on 25 August. The protests reached fever pitch on 2, 8 and 9 September 1976 when an estimated 39 protestors were killed in both coloured and black townships. A general strike called on 15 and 16 September was widely supported. The first signs of tension between residents and migrant workers residing in the townships became evident at this stage.⁵¹

⁴⁸ For a detailed background to the uprising refer to C. Glaser, “‘We must infiltrate the tsotsis’: school politics and youth gangs in Soweto, 1968–1976”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1998, 301-323.

⁴⁹ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 29 October 1998, 407.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 413.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Resistance to the demolition of informal settlements also emerged during the year. After the demolition of an informal settlement in Bellville, expelled families moved to Crossroads where another informal settlement sprang up. Attempt to demolish the camp led to frequent police raids. During one such raid in September 1978, Sindile Ndlela was shot dead by police and several others were injured. Local and international campaigns to save Crossroads led to a reprieve in 1979.⁵²

The 1976 uprising extended to the Boland towns in September. The rural towns which featured prominently were Oudtshoorn, George, Mossel Bay, Stellenbosch, and Paarl. Student marches in Paarl were baton-charged by police on 9 September 1976. Later that day, arson attacks took place, and the police responded leading to the deaths of Carolina Spasina Hoogaardt, Sarah Jane Viljoen and Yvonne Dube. Several were injured. Clashes between police and residents, mainly the youth, continued to early October, and a number of government buildings were destroyed. In Stellenbosch, two people were killed by police, including Ronald Charles Carolissen. In Montague, Pieter Afrika was shot dead.⁵³

In Mossel Bay thousands took to the streets in marches and built barricades on 10 September. Cornelius Lucas and Isaac Bezuidenhout were killed by police and 21 people were injured. In George, 12-year old Abida Harris was shot dead. Oudtshoorn saw widespread marches, arson, shooting injuries and one death.⁵⁴

According to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), the final death toll in the Western Cape for 11 August to 28 February 1977 was 153. The Cillie Commission puts the figure at 149. 117 were killed by the police and thirty-one by members of the public. 53 of the people killed by the security forces were coloured and 55 African. The majority of protesters were unarmed and those weapons used by a minority of protesters were limited to stones and, in certain cases, petrol bombs.⁵⁵

Township youth in Cape Town also launched a campaign against shebeens in October, perceiving these to be symbols of oppression. The youth clashed violently with shebeen owners and the police. In December, youth activists called on communities to minimise celebrations over the festive season and instead to mourn the deaths of those killed during the uprising. Migrant workers residing in the townships failed to heed the call, and Nyanga hostel-dwellers violently resisted attempts by township youth to enforce participation in stay aways, liquor boycotts and memorials. The key targets of youth resistance – liquor and labour – touched migrants directly. They interpreted these actions, as well as the boycott of schools, as criminal activity by gangsters and mobilised around perceived threats to their

⁵² *Ibid.*, 407.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 414-5.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 415.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

security and livelihood. Over a three-day period, migrant hostel-dwellers wearing white 'doeks' (head cloths) moved into Nyanga, burning homes and attacking residents. Approximately 24 people were killed (13 by police), 106 were wounded and at least 186 Nyanga homes were burnt.⁵⁶

Eastern Cape

The uprising reached the Eastern Cape in August, initially in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage and then spreading throughout the province. Youths targeted schools, police vehicles and municipal bottle stores for stoning and arson attacks. In Port Elizabeth, during August and September, 89 buses were stoned, and there were arson attacks on 20 black schools, five bottle stores and 12 shops. There was extensive damage to 34 police vehicles and various government buildings. In response, a special police 'anti-riot unit' – the Unrest Investigation Unit – was put in place in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area. The Unrest Investigation Unit was responsible for 2,000 arrests in two years. Riot police were allegedly instructed to identify and shoot at ringleaders of mob actions and to arrest those unable to move when the crowd dispersed. On the following day, police would go to the hospitals and arrest all those with bullet or shotgun wounds. By 18 August 1976, ten people had been killed and over 20 injured by police in clashes in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.⁵⁷

On the first anniversary of the education crisis, violence escalated again in the Port Elizabeth–Uitenhage area as the events of 1976 were commemorated. Following a mass protest march in Uitenhage on 16 June 1977, six shops and schools were burnt down. A number of people were shot the following day, allegedly as they were about to set fire to a municipal beer hall.⁵⁸ The death in detention of BCM leader Steve Biko in September 1977 also provoked a violent response in the region. In Queenstown, police stopped a march, using batons and teargas. In the ensuing four days of unrest, two people were killed, a police officer's home and other public buildings burnt and over 80 people arrested. Protests spread to Cradock, and in response the police arrested Rocky James on 8 November 1977. He was shot dead the following day. A month later police fired on a crowd in Port Elizabeth protesting against the death in detention of Mzukisi Nobadula, killing one person. A number of other people were killed by police in the course of the year in different parts of the Eastern Cape.⁵⁹

KwaZulu-Natal

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 414.

⁵⁷ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 59.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 60-2.

At a national level, the 1970s were shaped by the events and consequences of Soweto 1976. While it took some time for the full impact to be felt in Natal, the focus of opposition shifted decisively to a new generation and brought about an age divide that was to have far-reaching consequences for traditional relationships between old and young. The 1976 Soweto uprising produced a wave of popular protest in the province and generated the beginnings of youth and student polarisation. Student organisations such as the South African Students' Movement (SASM) and the junior wing of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) confirmed their policy of rejecting all government-created institutions and foreign investment, bringing them into conflict with Inkatha policy. The opposition of Inkatha and the KwaZulu government to the school-based protests deepened existing tensions between political groups and organisations in the province.⁶⁰

Limpopo Province

In Lebowa, school unrest was reported to have occurred during June and August 1976, and the following areas were affected: Bohlabela, Bakenburg, Bochum, Kone-Kwena, Mahwelereng, Mankweng, Nebo, Polokwane, Ramokgopa and Sekhukhune. In most of these incidents, property was reported to have been damaged. Students from the urban areas who were sent by their parents to finish schooling in what they thought was a reasonably quiet area of Lebowa are thought to have radicalised their counterparts in Lebowa. Lebowa schools which were involved in different forms of protest from marches to class boycott and damage to property included the Pax College students, Motse-Maria High School for Girls and Setotolwane College. Such institutions pledged solidarity with the Soweto students.⁶¹ One of the members of the Soweto generation of school students who played an active role in organising school boycotts in Mankweng at the time of the Soweto insurgency was Peter Mokaba. He subsequently played a pivotal role in the establishment of local branches of SASO and AZASO in the area.⁶² To counteract the student activities under the Lebowa homeland governments, the government banned all urban students from being admitted to its schools. This policy was not really successful because parents from the urban areas often found ways to circumvent the ban.⁶³

The PAC underground

Western Cape

⁶⁰ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 29 October 1998, 172-3.

⁶¹ Sello Mathabatha, 'The 1976 Student Revolts and the Schools in Lebowa, 1970-1976', *South African Historical Journal*, 51 (2004), 108-129.

⁶² Peter Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi, 'The United Democratic Front in Lebowa and KwaNdebele during the 1980s', in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, vol 4, (Pretoria, 2010), 618-619.

⁶³ Mathabatha, 'The 1976 Student Revolts and the Schools in Lebowa, 1970-1976'.

The PAC internal underground was revived in the mid-1970s and initially centred on Johannesburg and Pretoria.⁶⁴ This was probably because Zephania Mothopeng, the most senior member (after Robert Sobukwe) of the PAC's NEC, who was still inside the country, was based in Johannesburg after his release from prison. Most PAC members in and around Johannesburg were released at much the same time and thus provided the nucleus of the revival. Then too, the student uprising of 1976 began in nearby Soweto, providing both the ANC and PAC with a large pool of angry youth, eager to go into exile and acquire military training. Furthermore, and importantly, Johannesburg was a strategic location for two crucial routes to exile: Swaziland and Botswana.

Although many key PAC members were released from Robben Island in the late 1960s, concerted efforts towards the revival of the PAC underground only began in about 1974. The climate in the mid-1970s was more favourable for the revival of the underground because there had been a proliferation of student, youth and community organisations formed from 1968 that adopted the BC ideology which bore some resemblance to the Africanism of the PAC. SASO, formed in 1968, and the BPC were both used as a base from which to recruit members for the PAC.

In the Western Cape, Clarence Makwethu emerges as the leading force behind the revival of the underground. PAC leaders based in other parts of the country had begun to establish contact with Mothopeng. Makwethu travelled to Johannesburg in 1975 to meet with Mothopeng. This visit was closely followed by that of a delegation from Cape Town led by Mckay Maboza. The Cape group reported to Mothopeng that they had already revived the PAC in Cape Town; they were ready to start sending recruits out for military training. Mothopeng advised them to contact John Ganya, who was also based in Johannesburg, and to send their recruits out through Botswana because Mozambique was proving a hostile terrain for the PAC. Other leading figures in the PAC underground at the time were Julius Landingwe and Goodwill Moni.

The PAC underground was smashed when the police arrested scores of people from early 1976. Part of the problem was that the underground leaders were known to the security police. In January 1978, 18 people were tried at Bethal, while 86 others were named as co-conspirators. The arrests drew in many others, including Joe Seremane, who was detained in March 1976 and was only released in August 1978. Four others detained during this period as co-conspirators in the trial died in detention. They were Naoboth Ntshuntsha, Bonaventure Malaza, Aaron Khosa and Samuel Malinga.

⁶⁴ This section is taken from T. ka Plaatjie, 'The PAC's internal underground activities, 1960-1980', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006, 669ff. For another study of the internal underground refer to A.K. Hlongwane, 'Reflections on the Pan Africanist Congress 'Underground' in the Era of the 1976 Youth Uprisings', *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol.3, no.4, December 2009, 55ff.

In 1977, the PAC in exile sent a group of cadres into the country. Included in this group were Kenny Mhkwazi, Justice Nkonyeni, Eddie Phiri, Mfundo Njikelane, Bobo Moerane, Sabelo Phama (Sabelo Victor Gqwetha), a certain Nki, and a certain Prince. Their mission, Operation Curtain Raiser, was to establish units inside the country, establish contacts and safe places for trained members of the PAC, and establish arms caches. They managed to stay inside the country for 20 months before most were arrested. Between October 1978 and March 1979, five, including Phama, were arrested in the Transkei. Justice Nkonyeni was arrested later, but managed to escape with the help of a sympathetic policeman, who went into exile with him together with another recruit.⁶⁵

The ANC underground

In the early 1970s there were strong indications that the ANC underground was rebuilding its forces and continuing to prepare for armed struggle. A year after leaflets were exploded from canisters in August 1970, the underground of the ANC again released leaflets on 10 August 1971 in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth by means of explosive devices. The leaflets were printed in different languages. One in Sesotho was headed: 'The Call Has Gone Out'; one in Sepedi: 'People Unite and Fight', and the IsiZulu one: 'The Survival of the Nation is at Stake'. At about the same time two underground newspapers were launched in South Africa: one by the SACP, *Inkululeko* (Freedom) and another by the ANC, *Sechaba Isizwe*.

Western Cape

Jeremy Cronin joined the underground in Cape Town in 1973. While studying at the University of Cape Town, Cronin had joined a radical society influenced by the writings of Sartre and Marcuse. In 1973 he went to study under Louis Althusser in Paris, where he also established contact with the Congress Alliance. After joining the SACP and receiving training in underground propaganda work, he returned to South Africa, where Ronnie Kasrils linked him up with Sue and David Rabkin in Cape Town. Their task was to produce underground pamphlets and distribute 'them partly through bucket bombs, partly through the mail'. With the Rabkins, he distributed copies of some 14 different leaflets until 1976.⁶⁶

The Rabkins arrived in Cape Town in 1972, and after operating independently for about two years they linked up with Jeremy Cronin. David Rabkin and Cronin would often use disguises to place bucket bombs at public places to avoid being recognised. Eventually they produced the newspaper *Vukani* and all three contributed sections on current affairs and a political

⁶⁵ T. ka Plaattjie, 'The PAC in exile', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006, 738-9.

⁶⁶ G. Houston and B. Magubane, B. 'The ANC political underground in the 1970s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006, 441.

analysis of the South African situation, Marxist theory and military combat work (MCW). They were arrested a month after the outbreak of the Soweto uprising, during the course of which they had produced and distributed a number of leaflets.⁶⁷

Timothy Jenkins and Stephen Lee constituted another unit that operated in Cape Town. In mid-1975, Jenkins got a job at the University of the Western Cape. The first task Jenkins and Lee carried out was to produce a leaflet from material provided by the SACP in London and to prepare a mailing list of people to whom these leaflets were to be sent. From March 1976, they were also responsible for placing leaflet bombs at public places in Cape Town and Johannesburg. They distributed copies of some 18 leaflets in the three years after August 1975 and 'let off about fifty leaflet bombs between Cape Town and Johannesburg'. They wrote their own articles and virtually every month produced a pamphlet that they mailed to different parts of the country. Their mailing list had '7,000 members' by the beginning of 1978, when they were arrested and police seized pamphlets they believed to have been printed overseas and apparatus that could be used in the construction of 'pamphlet bombs'. Jenkins and Lee were sentenced to twelve and eight years, respectively, for these activities.⁶⁸

The presence of the ANC underground in the Cape Town area was demonstrated on 14 December 1976 when pamphlet bombs exploded in the centre of Cape Town, scattering hundreds of ANC leaflets. The bombs exploded in Greenmarket Square and on the Parade. A day later another pamphlet bomb exploded during the evening rush hour at the Mowbray bus terminal in Cape Town. On 7 August 1977, two pamphlet bombs exploded in the centre of Cape Town during lunch hour. The bombs went off in Greenmarket square and at the corner of Burg and Strand streets. There was commotion as shoppers and traffic stopped as leaflets fell on the ground. At the same time a banner reading 'The ANC Lives' was seen hanging from the top storey of the Parkade in Strand Street. It was left hanging in full view of hundreds of passers-by for about twenty five minutes before the metal clasp holding it fast to an iron railing was sawn by police.

Meanwhile, in 1977 the Revolutionary Council created a sub-committee, the Internal Political Reconstruction Committee, chaired by John Motshabi, to coordinate underground political work. Political work in South Africa was, in turn, coordinated by the regional IPRCs in the Frontline States. Each of the IPRCs was also responsible for a particular region inside the country. The Lesotho machinery, led by Chris Hani, was responsible for underground activities in the Western Cape. They began, Hani recalls, 'to turn Lesotho into a temporary base from which to carry out our activities. We would cross into the country and meet with comrades to build units. By this time we had structures in the Free State, Transkei, western Cape, eastern Cape and Border.' ANC members in South Africa would also cross illegally into

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 442-3.

Lesotho, near Quthing and Qacha's Nek, to discuss 'strategies for building the underground'. A 'network of structures' was built inside the country, Hani adds, and people were trained 'in guerrilla affairs, in politics, in intelligence and everything else'. In 1976 there were between 100 and 150 internal underground political cadres operating from South Africa, constituted into about fifty units.⁶⁹

KwaZulu-Natal⁷⁰

The initiatives for internal underground political work during the first half of the decade came mainly from people who remained inside South Africa. Their efforts were supplemented by a number of political prisoners released during the first half of the decade.

In the early 1970s, one underground network was led by Johannes Phungula, assisted by Henry Chiliza, which operated in Hlokozi in the Greater Highflats area, the MacDonald area across the Umzimkhulu River to the southwest, Springvale, Harding, Donnybrook, Bulwer and Hluthankukhu in the Mtwalume area. Mbhedeni Ngubane was another activist responsible for the underground units in the Harding area. Bayempini Mzizi was the main contact in the Springvale area. Another member of the network was Cyprian Mkhize, an *inyanga* from the Hlokozi area in Highflats whose main task was to house cadres who were on their way out of the country for military training. He also served as a courier after Phungula had left the country in 1976. The main focus of this network was to revive political consciousness among the rural communities.

Another network revolved around Joseph Mdluli, who was joined by Albert Dhlomo and Griffiths Mxenge upon their release from prison in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The release of other leading cadres like Stephen Dlamini, George Mbele, Albert Dhlomo, Frederick Dube, Msizi Dube and Griffiths Mxenge from Robben Island in the late 1960s and a larger contingent of political prisoners between 1972 and 1976 that included Jacob Zuma set the stage for the development of many units. The underground had commands in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Jacob Zuma was the roving coordinator, while Azaria Ndebele, Moses Bhengu, and John Khumalo (alias John Makhathini) were responsible for the trade union component of the new underground network in the midlands area.

ANC structures were organised into cells of two to three people which were charged with exploring ways of reviving the ANC within the country, conducting political education in order to raise levels of political consciousness, identifying young men and women who could be recruited and sent abroad for military training, and reviving the SACTU aligned unions.

⁶⁹ G. Houston and B. Magubane, 'The ANC's armed struggle in the 1970s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2006.

⁷⁰ This section is taken from Sithole, 'The ANC underground in Natal'.

Matthews Meyiwa was responsible for linking up the Pietermaritzburg based units with those in the Mpumalanga, Hammarsdale and Geogedale areas, and the Natal midlands underground with the Zululand underground.

By the mid-1970s, the Natal underground operated from the following three areas: Pietermaritzburg, involving Gwala's outfit; Durban, with Joseph Mdluli as a central figure; and southwestern Natal with Phungula and Chiliza among its prominent members. The units were also involved in recruiting for MK in exile, and many young people were sent out of the country from Natal.

Raymond Ruttner led the propaganda unit in Durban. Suttner arrived in Durban in June 1971 and took up employment at the University of Natal in Durban. At first he worked on his own, producing and duplicating pamphlets, which he sent to hundreds of addresses in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. He recruited two fellow staff members at the University of Natal, Lawrence Kuny and Jennifer Roxburgh, towards the end of 1974, but was arrested on 17 June 1975.

Limpopo Province

In the mid 1970s, John Nkadimeng and others from the then defunct Sebatakomo were key underground MK operatives in the northern Transvaal. In 1976 a range of MK cells were established in Bopedi and an underground military training programme was kick-started on the banks of the Olifants River. Through sheer luck, the police stumbled upon the Transvaal MK network resulting in mass arrests. The arrests crippled the ANC activities in Sekhukhuneland. However, despite this setback, there were torch bearers who continued from where the others had left off. Amongst these was Nchabeleng from Sekhukhuneland, an active member of the ANC in the 1950s and of SACTU. As mentioned earlier, in the early 1960s he was imprisoned on Roben Island for MK activities. Upon his release from prison in the 1970s, he was banished to Apel where he helped create several discussion groups amongst students at the local schools. This initiative also attracted a few of the older struggle veterans and some interested teachers. Copies of the Freedom Charter were circulated and formed the crux of underground discussions along with historical matters and the nature of national democratic struggle. However, the police often harassed Nchabeleng. In 1975 he was arrested for contravening his banning order, tried and given a three year sentence. In 1977 he was charged for involvement in MK activities in Sekhukhuneland but acquitted the following year. However, his banning order was extended for five more years, and his son Elleck was given an effective six year prison sentence.⁷¹

Armed actions by the liberation movements

⁷¹ Delius 'Migrants, Comrades and Rural Revolt', 19-20.

In 1969, the ANC in exile established a Revolutionary Council to oversee all political and military work. Various attempts to send MK into South Africa, particularly into the rural areas, were thwarted when operatives were captured or killed, so there was very little MK activity in the late sixties and early seventies. The political landscape changed with the release of MK cadres such as Harry Gwala, Joe Gqabi and Jacob Zuma from Robben Island starting in 1972, and with Mozambique's independence in 1974, giving MK a corridor into South Africa. MK units in Natal began to redevelop routes to their units in Swaziland.

In the first half of the 1970s, MK conducted very few military operations, and its focus was on infiltrating individual and small groups of cadres with the objective of building the underground inside the country. In March 1975, the ANC Revolutionary Council (RC) 'gave a general directive to all its units to go into action'.⁷² The first military operations were carried out towards the end of the year and early in 1976. At the beginning of 1976 MK began giving young recruits crash courses in Swaziland and sending them back to 'strengthen the underground structures'. However, it was only after the June 1976 uprising that MK was able to begin with regular infiltration of the country.

The post-Soweto period saw an increase in sabotage attacks, with 112 reported attacks and explosions between October 1976 and May 1981, and an average of one small bomb exploding each week for the five months after November 1977. From 1978, the ANC embarked on guerrilla warfare in both the urban and rural areas. There was also a marked increase in clashes with the security forces. Not only was there 'an increase in the number of incidents, but actions' also became 'increasingly sophisticated; using more sophisticated armaments, employing more sophisticated tactics, by highly-trained guerrilla fighters'. The majority of these actions were carried out by MK members infiltrating through and backed up by support from Swaziland, Mozambique and Botswana. By 1978 Central Operations Headquarters had also been set up in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique.

Western Cape

In 1974, Chris Hani entered South Africa before being deployed to Lesotho. From here, Hani led the ANC machinery that was responsible for actions in the Western Cape, among other areas. However, it was the student uprising that stimulated armed actions on the part of the ANC's military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*. During and in the aftermath of the uprising scores of young people from the Western Cape went into exile where they joined MK. Included here are Lincoln Ngculu (known as James Makhaya in exile), Tony Yengeni, Norman Yengeni, Ntsikelelo Magwa, Hapi Magqwashe, Mxolisi Petane, Noluthando Lande, Sithembiso Nyangiwe, Thami Ngwevela, George Johnson (Tom Gaza), and Hector Sizwe. An escape route was established from Cape Town, through Mdantsane near East London or

⁷² V. Shubin, *ANC: A view from Moscow*, Bellville, Mayibuye Books, University of the Western Cape, 1999, 159.

Queenstown, the Transkei, right up to Matatiele on the Lesotho border and then into Lesotho, from where the youths were taken across to Swaziland by Limpho Sekamane (Hani).

Several intermittent incidents of sabotage by the ANC took place in the region during this period, targeting buildings containing the offices of state institutions and resulting in one death and several slight injuries. The only conviction during this period was that of MK operative Oliver Bekizitha Nqubelani, arrested the day after a briefcase bomb explosion at the Cape Town Supreme Court on 15 May 1979.⁷³

Eastern Cape

On 10 March 1978 a bomb exploded outside the offices of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. One civilian was killed, and three were injured. Two days before, a first bomb exploded (possibly prematurely) in Cawood Street in the commercial area of Port Elizabeth, killing the cadre carrying it, Makwezi McDonald Mtuli. Janet Cherry suggested it could be assumed both incidents were the work of one unit. The significance of the New Brighton bomb is that it signified the beginning of a resumption of the armed struggle in the Port Elizabeth area.⁷⁴

KwaZulu-Natal

In KwaZulu-Natal during this period, security trials relating to organisational activities outnumbered those relating to violent action by resistance movements. People were tried for community and labour mobilisation, membership of the banned resistance movements, recruitment to banned organisations or military training, and the possession of banned literature. However, an increased number of sabotage attacks were reported across the whole province. In February 1977, Thembinkosi Sithole and Samuel Mohlomi, both from KwaMashu, were charged with taking part in 'terrorist activities' and for attempting to leave the country for military training. They were also charged and convicted of arson in respect of fire-bomb attacks at KwaMashu schools in October 1976.⁷⁵

There were also a number of skirmishes between guerrilla fighters and members of the security forces during this period, including one near Pongola in November 1977 in which a guerrilla fighter was killed and a policeman injured. In December 1977, an ANC guerrilla, Oupa Ronald Madondo, was captured and an MK commander thought to be Toto Skhosana was killed by the police in the Pongola area. Police recovered two scorpion pistols,

⁷³ TRC, *The Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 417.

⁷⁴ Cherry, J., *Umkhonto resize*, Auckland Park, Jacana, 2012, 53-54; Cherry, J., 'No Easy Road to Truth: The TRC in the Eastern Cape', Paper presented at the Wits History Workshop Conference, June 1999, 1, 3.

⁷⁵ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 185.

ammunition and three grenade detonators. Madondo was killed by members of the Security Branch in April 1980.⁷⁶

A number of acts of sabotage were reported. The ANC claimed responsibility for some of these. As indicated in the section on the Western Cape, machineries for the conduct of the armed struggle had been established in most countries neighbouring South Africa by 1978. In 1977 Mozambique became the key launching pad for military operations. The initial task of MK structures in Mozambique was to provide military training to recruits. In 1977 the MK Central Operational Headquarters established the Natal Urban and Rural Machineries in Maputo. The urban machinery of MK was commanded by Mduduzi Guma, Lionel Hadebe, Krishna Rabilal, Cyril Raymonds (alias Fear), Zweli Nyanda (alias Oscar) and Sonny Singh (alias Bobby Pillay). The rural machinery was commanded by Johannes 'Pass Four' Phungula, Henry Chiliza, Mandla Msibi, and Cyril 'Edwin' Dlamini (alias Chris). Natal also had two Internal Political Reconstruction Committees (IPRCs) based in Mozambique and Swaziland. Between 1976 and 1980 the Mozambique IPRC was headed by Indres Naidoo, Jacob Zuma, John Nkadimeng, Sue Rabkin, Sonny Singh; and the Swaziland one by Judson Khuzwayo, Ivan Pillay and T. Tyron. Between 1976 and 1980 the National Internal Political Reconstruction Committee was headed by Moses Mabhida, who was succeeded by Simon Makana. Other members were Godfrey Pule, David Motsweni (alias Willy Williams), 'Peter' Tshikari and 'Ulysses' Modise.

Contacts with cadres who were left behind were revived – with people such as Shadrack Maphumulo, a former Robben Island prisoner who survived the swoop of 1975 to 1976, and Mduduzi Guma. Maphumulo recruited Patrick Nyawose and Jabu Nzima, who doubled as operatives of the ANC underground, as well as leaders of the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU). Others were members of the urban networks that Sonny Singh and others had set up before Singh was forced to leave the country. This underground network remained active and continued to recruit young men and women for military training. There were supporters and low key activists of the ANC who were stung by former members of the ANC who undermined the liberation struggle and felt that something had to be done to stem the tide of continued betrayal of the struggle in Natal. One such person was the Reverend Mandla Msibi. In 1976 Msibi showed up in Swaziland and offered to neutralise some of the turncoats. After a security check, he was given a crash course in the handling of weapons such as the Makarov pistol and AK 47s and smuggled back into the country.

Several armed incursions were carried out in the Ngwavuma area between 1977 and 1980. Some of the MK units that were infiltrated into the Ngwavuma area were involved in shoot-outs with security forces. Some of the operatives moved further south to Nongoma and Vryheid, where arms caches were buried. Among those who carried out these tasks were Themba Mthethwa and Sihle Mbongwe.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 185.

North West Province

Witkleigat, a village in the far north of the Hurutshe Reserve, close to the Botswana border, was the scene of a confrontation with the security forces. Here, in April 1976, a well-armed MK unit comprising of six cadres, namely, Dennis Ramphomane, Patrick Dipoko, Barney Molokwane, John Sekete, a cadre simply called 'Ace', and their commander with the *nom de guerre* Muzorewa infiltrated the country. The group was met and led into South Africa by its seventh member, Kaone Lobelo, who had earlier done a thorough reconnaissance of the area. The unit camped on a hilltop, not far from the village of Witkleigat. The entire unit was seTswana-speaking, except for its commander, Muzorewa, who was isiZulu-speaking. The unit had run out of food and needed to buy some from the village. Four of the unit went out in search of food to buy, but in two separate pairs. The one pair consisted of Barney Molokwane and John Sekete who went in a different direction from that of Muzorewa and another cadre (unnamed) who headed into the village of Moshana. Muzorewa could not speak seTswana well at all, but his colleague, in fact, originated from Moshana. It was this pair that went into the village to buy some food from the local store. Unknown to Muzorewa and his comrade, the shop had been broken into by thieves the previous night. The two men, with Makarovs and hand grenades concealed on their persons, greeted the saleswoman behind the counter in seTswana. The woman became suspicious when she realised from his poor seTswana that Muzorewa must be a 'foreigner'.

Clearly, Muzorewa had given himself and his comrade away. One of the people listening in went out and called the police, who arrived promptly. As it transpired, five policemen (two whites and three blacks) drove up in a police vehicle with the intention of arresting theft suspects, not MK guerrillas. The police demanded that they surrender. Muzorewa did, but then ran into a small hut with no windows but one door. Now cornered by five policemen, he took out a hand grenade and threw it at the advancing policemen. As they ran away, he bolted out of the hut and escaped from the village. He met up with the rest of his comrades at their hilltop camp. Early that afternoon, a military helicopter spotted them and soon afterwards, security forces arrived and fighting broke out. However, most of the unit managed to escape and made their way back to Botswana.

Interestingly, the skirmish received a short mention in the South African press. The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that the Bophuthatswana police operating along the Botswana border had wounded one man and arrested another in a shoot-out with 'terrorists', during which 'Russian AK 47's and a quantity of ammunition had been recovered at Witkleigat'.⁷⁷

Limpopo Province

⁷⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 August 1978.

In the late 1970s, an MK unit led by Mosima 'Tokyo' Sexwale and Naledi Tsiki operated in the Sekhukhuneland region of the province. Sexwale worked closely with Nchabeleng and offered some military training to some recruits at a farm near Apel. He also gave some crash courses on the history of the struggle in South Africa, and emphasised the land question.⁷⁸

Deaths in detention

Western Cape

23 of the 29 recorded deaths in detention during the 1970s occurred in the Western Cape. All three were described by police as suicides. In July 1977, Phakamile Mabija died in detention in Kimberley's Transvaal Road police station. A high-profile activist, Elijah Loza, died in Tygerberg hospital some three weeks later after 65 days in detention.⁷⁹

Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau employee Luke Mazwembe (32) died in the Caledon Square police headquarters in Cape Town. His death was officially described as 'suicide by hanging'. He was arrested on 2 September 1976 at 06h00 and was found dead at 07h40 in the corner of a police cell, hanging from the ceiling by a noose made of strips of blanket tied together with pieces of twine. A razor blade had been used to cut the blanket into strips and to cut the twine. The police were unable to explain how the razor blade and twine had got into the cell.⁸⁰

Anglican Church warden and youth worker Phakamile Mabija (27) died on 7 July 1977 after ten days in detention in the Transvaal Road Police Station in Kimberley. According to the police, the detainee committed suicide. At the inquest, Sergeant Oscar Ntsiko said that he was escorting Mabija from the toilet when he suddenly broke loose and ran into an office. He rushed after him, only to see him crash through the window. An independent pathologist said Mabija had cuts on his face and hands which could have been caused by clutching glass, and lacerations of the liver that could have been caused by assault. The inquest verdict was that Mabija died of multiple injuries following a jump from a sixth floor window. Nobody was found responsible for the death.⁸¹

Elijah Loza (59) died on 1 August 1977 in Tygerberg hospital while still in custody after 65 days in detention. His death was officially found to be due to natural causes after a stroke. His family alleges he died as a result of torture. Numerous statements confirm that Loza was

⁷⁸ Houston and Magubane, 'The ANC Political Underground in the 1970s', 465-468.

⁷⁹ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 411.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 412. Refer also to J. Maree, 'The General Workers' Union, 1973-1986', in W.G. James and M. Simons (eds.), *The Angry divide*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1989, 134.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

tortured during his 1963 detention. He was again tortured during his 1977 detention, and this may have directly or indirectly led to his death.⁸²

Eastern Cape

Mapetla Mohapi, a BCM activist from King William's Town, was detained on 15 July 1976 under the Terrorism Act. He died in custody at the Kei Road police station on 5 August 1976. George Botha, a 30-year-old teacher at Paterson High School, was detained in Port Elizabeth on 10 December 1976. He died in the Sanlam Building five days later. Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko was detained on 18 August 1977 in Port Elizabeth and died in custody on 12 September 1977 in Pretoria. Mzukisi Nobadula was detained in December 1977 and appeared in the Grahamstown Supreme Court on a case against PEBCO leader Thozamile Botha and two others. He refuted a statement he had been forced to sign implicating Botha. The accused were released, but Nobadula was redetained and held as an awaiting-trial prisoner, pending perjury charges arising out of the Botha case. His family was later informed that he had died in custody in a prison cell in Port Elizabeth. Lungile Tabalaza was detained on 10 July 1978 in connection with arson attacks and the robbery and burning of a delivery van. He died the same day, and the police claimed he had committed suicide by jumping from the fifth floor of the Sanlam Building.⁸³

KwaZulu-Natal

Several ANC and PAC members, including Aaron Khoza of the PAC and Hoosen Haffajee, Bayempini Mzizi and Joseph Mdluli of the ANC, died in police custody during this period.

PAC member Aaron Khoza was detained in Krugersdorp on 9 December 1976, along with Johnson Vusumuzi and Ivan Nyathi. He was subsequently moved to Pietermaritzburg prison, where he died on 26 March 1977. On 12 July 1977, an inquest magistrate found that Khoza had committed suicide by hanging. Advocate Harry Pitman, appearing for the family, said the evidence of the prison authority was conflicting and the investigation unsatisfactory. According to Aaron Khoza's widow, Alletta Maki Khoza, her husband was detained in November 1976 for underground activities and was held for 106 days. She said that she did not believe that he committed suicide as his face was scarred, showing that he had been severely assaulted. Nyathi remained in Krugersdorp and was admitted to hospital on 2 February 1977 after allegedly falling out a window at Krugersdorp police station.⁸⁴

⁸² *Ibid.*, 412-3. Refer also to D. Hemson, 'Liberation and working class struggles in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 4, Issue 9, 1977.

⁸³ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 60-2.

⁸⁴ TRC, *The Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 29 October 1998, 178-9.

ANC member Joseph Mdluli died in detention on 19 March 1976, just a day after his arrest in connection with the 1976 Gwala treason trial. Four security policemen were charged with culpable homicide, namely Frederick Van Zyl, Colonel ARC Taylor, Mandlakayise Patrick Makhanya and Zabulon Ngobese. In their trial they claimed that Mdluli had tried to escape and had fallen over a chair. A pathologist presented evidence disputing the police version. All four accused were acquitted on 25 October 1976, the fifth day of the trial. The presiding judge said there was insufficient evidence to connect them directly to the death. He called for further investigation.⁸⁵

Dr. Hoosen Mia Haffajee, a 26-year-old dentist at Durban's St George V hospital, died in detention at the Brighton Beach police station on 3 August 1977. The inquest magistrate found that he had committed suicide by hanging. Haffajee may have died as a result of torture. He was allegedly found hanging by his trousers from the grille of his cell door at the Brighton Beach police station less than twenty hours after his arrest. At the inquest in March 1977, two of the Security Branch policemen who arrested and interrogated Haffajee, Captain James Brough Taylor and Captain P.L. du Toit, denied that they had tortured him during interrogation. The pathologist's report stated that the death was consistent with hanging. However, it also stated that Haffajee had sustained multiple injuries and that some 60 wounds were found on his body, including his back, knees, arms and head. The inquest magistrate found that Haffajee had died of suicide by hanging and that the injuries were unconnected and collateral to his death.⁸⁶

North West Province

Elias Zwelakhe Shandu's son, Walter, died in detention in 1978. Police told Mr. Shandu that his son had been detained while on his way to Angola. He was interrogated and reportedly tortured in a South African police station. His corpse was returned to his parents from the mortuary in Zeerust after he allegedly committed suicide while in police custody.⁸⁷

Covert Security Branch activity

KwaZulu-Natal

The security police carried out a number of attacks on prominent community leaders and activists in the region during this period. Fatima Meer's home was petrol-bombed in 1977, while an unknown gunman fired on Harold Strachan at his home in Durban. Dr Richard Turner, a University of Natal Political Science lecturer, was killed on 8 January 1978 at his

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 179-180.

⁸⁷ TRC, *The Report*, Volume 3, Chapter 6 – Regional Profile: Transvaal, 576.

home in Bellair, Durban. Turner was centrally involved in the development of the trade union movement and had been involved in establishing the university-based Wages Commission in 1972. In March 1972, Turner's home had been firebombed. In 1973, Turner was banned along with seven NUSAS members and placed under surveillance by the BOSS. In December 1973, his car tyres were slashed and the engine damaged while the vehicle was parked in front of his house. In 1976, the Durban Security Branch bugged his telephone. A week before the assassination, the Security Branch's surveillance was suddenly terminated on orders from police superiors.⁸⁸

Among the MK operatives targeted for assassination during the period 1976–82 was 'MK Scorpion', killed in Northern Natal in 1980. He was killed in April 1980. A Soweto-based MK operative, believed to be Madondo, was detained for several months. A number of Security Branch operatives from various police stations were drawn together and instructed to kill him. He was allegedly sedated heavily and taken to Jozini, in Northern Natal, where he was shot three times. His body was then blown up with explosives.⁸⁹

One of the major assassinations during this period was that of prominent Durban attorney and long-time anti-apartheid activist Griffiths Mxenge on 20 November 1981 at a cycling stadium at Umlazi. Three Vlakplaas operatives, Dirk Coetzee and askaris (turned ANC members who worked for the security forces) Almond Nofemela and David Tshikilange were charged and convicted of the killing. Brian Ngqulunga, an askari who was involved in the killing, was himself killed shortly after testifying to the Harms Commission. Vlakplaas policeman Joe Mamasela publicly admitted having helped to plan the killing. Mxenge was intercepted on his way home from work, dragged out his car and taken to the stadium where he was beaten and repeatedly stabbed. His car, wallet and other belongings were taken to make it look like a robbery. Mxenge's vehicle was later found, burnt and abandoned near the Golela border post between South Africa and Swaziland.⁹⁰

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

Western Cape

- *June 16 Uprising* – The Western Cape experienced a large number of deaths during the course of the uprising. No memorial exists for this event.

⁸⁸ TRC, *The Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 29 October 1998, 180-2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 182-3.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 183-4.

- *Clash with Witdoek* – A number of people died during this clash. No memorial exists for this event.
- *Graves of Luke Mazwembe, Phakamile Mabija, and Elijah Loza.*
- *The University of the Western Cape and the Mayibuye Centre* – The Extension of University Education Act of 1959 (Republic of South Africa, 1959), enabled the establishment of a number of racial and ethnic post-secondary institutions. The following year, the University of the Western Cape (UWC) was created for the education of ‘Cape Coloured, Malay, Griqua or other coloured group persons’.⁹¹ The establishment of UWC was intended to fragment ‘black’ opposition to apartheid along racial–ethnic lines. These racial and ethnic universities were meant to produce the administrators for the bantustans and Departments of Indian Affairs and Coloured Affairs. To this end, historically black universities such as UWC were restricted to fields of study heavily concentrated in the social sciences, humanities, and in particular, education. For the first decade of UWC’s existence, the college functioned according to the dictates of the apartheid government. Conservative whites monopolised senior academic appointments as well as the university’s administration and senate, and student protests were relatively absent. However, in 1973 coloured students began to organise and challenge the racist practices endemic on campus, resulting in a number of suspensions and expulsions and the closure of UWC for a short period. These events coincided with the mass mobilisation of workers and students elsewhere in the country and the emergence of the Black Consciousness (BC) Movement. Following the Soweto uprising, political struggles by UWC students intensified on campus. In 1980, clashes between security forces and UWC students further radicalised the university and coincided with public school boycotts in the Western Cape region and the loss of political power by white conservatives over the institution’s administration and senate. These clashes symbolised a new era at UWC, as student protest on campus became more clearly linked to the national-liberation struggle. In 1982, progressive faculty and staff – some of whom rose out of the ranks of the university’s student body in the 1970s – persuaded UWC’s senate to reject the institution’s mandate under Apartheid. With the rewriting of its mission statement in 1982, the university laid down the foundation for South Africa’s first non-racial, open admissions policy in higher education. Spearheaded by Professors Durand and Gerwel (a future Rector of UWC), the one-page document entitled *UWC Objectives* listed a number of conditions which compelled the university to shape its policies to further the principles of the ongoing national liberation struggle against apartheid. UWC dramatically altered the landscape of tertiary education in South Africa by adopting an open admissions policy whereby any student, regardless of his/her racial classifications under apartheid, was eligible to attend UWC. From an ideological perspective, shedding its image as an exclusively coloured institution based on the apartheid policy of separate development meant that UWC could more effectively function as an institution in

⁹¹ University of the Western Cape, *UWC: A University in Action*, Bellville, University of the Western Cape, 1989, p. 4.

support of mass struggle and national liberation in South Africa. During the 1970s, UWC had become a battleground for coloured students who increasingly identified with their indigenous African counterparts in resistance elsewhere in the country. The BC movement influenced student radicals attending UWC, including its future rector Gerwel, who would help rewrite the university's mission statement that ushered in open admissions on campus. By the early 1980s, an important strata of former students at UWC, influenced by BC politics, was now active members of the university's faculty and political supporters of a UDF/ANC nexus. The Robben Island World Heritage Site has rich archival resources mostly based at the Mayibuye Archive, situated in the Main Library at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) campus. The Mayibuye Archive is one of the largest archives of liberation struggle materials in the country – the collections include many unique materials relating to the struggle for freedom, or to Robben Island and imprisonment under apartheid. However, the University, like many of the others established for black students during the apartheid era, was also a site of struggle. When the South African Students Organisation was established by Steve Biko and other students, Henry Isaacs, SRC president at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) attended the inaugural conference, which took place at Turfloop in July 1969. Student leaders at UWC who associated themselves from the beginning with Black Consciousness included Isaacs, Freddy Bunting, J. Issy and Peter Jones. Support for striking students in Soweto in 1976 was inaugurated by action taken by students at UWC, and soon developed into protest activities with mass disturbances in Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu. This was followed later by heated protest activities in the coloured residential areas, particularly Manenberg, Bonteheuwel, Hanover Park, Elsie River, Ravensmead, Retreat, Athlone and Grassy Park. The uprising also spread to rural towns in the Western Cape such as Oudtshoorn, George, Mossel Bay, Stellenbosch, and Paarl. In the 1980s, many activists in the United Democratic Front and the liberation movement were politicised as students at UWC. By this time, the university had become known as the 'University of the Left', led by its rector, Jakes Gerwel.⁹²

Eastern Cape

- *Steve Biko Garden of Remembrance & Grave* – Steve Biko was born in 1946 in Ginsberg, King William's Town, and died on 12 September 1977. As an activist, intellectual and visionary leader he left a profound impact on the political landscape of South Africa. As a leader of the BCM he was instrumental in raising awareness of injustices and promoting a sense of pride among blacks. His message to the youth and students was simple and clear: Black is Beautiful! Be proud of your Blackness. He was arrested, tortured and killed by apartheid security police men in 1977. He was buried on 17 September 1977 in the old cemetery in Ginsberg. His funeral service was attended by 20 000 people. In 1997

⁹² Refer to H. Wolpe, 'The Debate on University Transformation in South Africa: the case of the University of the Western Cape', *Comparative Education*, Vol. 31, No. 2, 1995.

the cemetery was upgraded as the Steve Biko Garden of Remembrance. It was officially opened on 12 September 1997 by the then President, Nelson Mandela.⁹³

- *Steve Biko's house* – The house in which Steve Biko lived in Tyamzashe Street in Ginsberg was declared a national monument (now Provincial heritage site) in 1997.
- *Mapetla Mohapi Memorial* – This memorial was officially opened in 2002 in memory of Mapetla Mohapi, who was born at Jozanashoek, Sterkspruit on 2 September 1947. He studied at the University of the North (Turfloop), where he graduated with a degree in Social Work in the early 1970s. While studying at Turfloop, he was drawn to the philosophy of Black Consciousness, becoming active in SASO. After students at several black universities held Pro-Frelimo rallies in October 1974 to celebrate the independence of Mozambique, Mohapi and several other leaders of SASO and the Black People's Convention, were detained. He was released in April 1975 without charge. Three months after he was elected the permanent Secretary of SASO and while serving as an administrator of a trust that took care of ex-political prisoners and their families, he was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act and confined to the areas of King William's Town and Zwelitsha. A month after the start of the 1976 Soweto uprising, in a swoop of Black Consciousness activists, Mapetla was again detained without charge on 16 July. Twenty days later, on 5 August 1976, Mohapi died in police custody.
- *Cell in Kei Road Police Station where Mapetla Mohapi died* – When Mapetla Mohapi was detained in 1976 he was held in the police cells at Kei Road. It was here that his lifeless body was found on 5 August 1976, ostensibly as a result of suicide. The police produced a 'suicide note' which, when his widow sued the Minister of Police, was found by a leading British handwriting expert to be a forgery. An inquest into his death was held, but found that no one could be held responsible.⁹⁴ In the 1960s and 1970s at least 41 detainees are known to have died in the hands of the security police. The official causes of death ranged from 'falls down stairs', 'falls from windows', 'injured in scuffles', 'slipped in shower' and hangings.⁹⁵ The death cell of Mapetla Mohapi symbolises these many deaths in detention. In 2000 the Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture erected a plaque in the police station in memory of the death of Mapetla Mohapi.
- *SANLAM building Port Elizabeth and Walmer Road Police Cells* – Before his death, Stephen Bantu Biko was detained and tortured in these buildings in Port Elizabeth. The SANLAM building in Port Elizabeth housed the offices of the security police and served as an interrogation centre. From there he was taken to a police cell at the Walmer Police Station and then to the Rooihell prison in North End before being transported naked in the back of a police van.⁹⁶ A plaque at the back of the Walmer police station records the brief facts of his detention there. Other political detainees known to have died in

⁹³ Buffalo City, 'Buffalo City Heritage Sites', 7.

⁹⁴ SA History on Line, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/mapetla-mohapi> (site accessed 14 June 2013).

⁹⁵ D. Harrison, *The White Tribe of Africa* (London, BBC, 1981), 220-223.

⁹⁶ Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality, *Liberation Heritage Route* (Port Elizabeth, NMBM, 2013), 28-30.

detention at the SANLAM building include George Botha who was alleged to have jumped down a stairwell on 15 December 1976; and Lungile Tabalaza who allegedly jumped out of a fifth floor window on 10 July 1978.⁹⁷ A large number of other detainees died in Port Elizabeth from the 1960s to the 1980s. More detailed research is needed to identify all those whom the security police claimed to have committed suicide, died of natural causes or died of accidents in the SANLAM building.⁹⁸

- *Grave of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe* – The ‘Prof’, as his friends called him, was a charismatic leader. In 1958 he was instrumental in initiating a breakaway from the ANC, resulting in the birth of the PAC. He was unanimously elected as the president of the movement at its inaugural congress. He was harshly sentenced to three years in prison, at the end of which Parliament enacted a General Law Amendment Act, which empowered the Minister of Justice to prolong the detention of any political prisoner indefinitely. Subsequently, he was moved to Robben Island, where he remained for an additional six years. After his release in 1969 Sobukwe was allowed to join his family in Kimberley but remained under house arrest. He was also restricted from any political activity as a result of a banning order that had been imposed on the PAC. Robert Sobukwe passed away on 27 February 1978 from lung cancer and was buried at his home town of Graaff-Reinet.

KwaZulu-Natal

- *Umgababa* – Where many events of the Black Consciousness Movement were held.
- *Rick Turner’s house in Queensburgh* – Where Turner was killed.
- *Currie’s Fountain Stadium* – Currie’s Fountain sports ground is one of the major sites of protest in Durban, and its history is intertwined with the neighborhood. It is located in the Warwick Junction/Grey Street area (see below). It has always been a largely open space that served as a gathering place for large numbers of people. What appears to have started as a neighborhood gathering space, primarily for sport, became much more in the history of South Africa’s recent past. The numerous sporting, cultural and political events over a 80 year period have shaped the iconic status Currie’s enjoys in the minds of many. Because of this rich history, ‘Currie’s’ can become the pivot and catalyst around which the story of the interrelated spatial history of the precinct, known as Warwick Junction, is told and integrated. The sports ground became part of the sporting and resistance life of the City.⁹⁹ In the 1970s the sports ground was the venue of the Black Consciousness Movement’s ‘Viva Frelimo’ rallies.
- *Bolton Hall in Prince Edward Street, Durban* – Site of meetings of the trade unions.

North West Province

⁹⁷ TRC, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report*, Volume 2 (Pretoria, TRC, 1998), 205-206.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 208-211.

⁹⁹ www.sahistory.or.za.

- *Onkgopotse Abram Tiro's Grave, Dinokana* – Tiro, who was killed by South African security agents in 1973, started his schooling at Ikalafeng Primary in Dinokana. The school was closed during the anti-pass revolt that engulfed Lehurutshe in the late 1950s. Tiro's early life story is indicative of the continued impact of the Hurutshe resistance (discussed in an earlier section of this report) on the formation of political consciousness for younger generations of political activists. After a short spell at Naledi High School in Soweto, Tiro matriculated from Barolong High in Mafikeng. He then enrolled at the University of the North (Turfloop) in what was then the Northern Transvaal and was elected President of the Student Representative Council in 1970-71. In 1972, he made a famous speech at the university graduation ceremony for which he was expelled. In his speech, Tiro openly attacked the system of Bantu Education and the university authorities in particular, and concluded by exhorting his fellow black graduates 'to bear greater responsibilities in the liberation of our people'.¹⁰⁰ Tiro's expulsion from Turfloop triggered a series of strikes in solidarity across black campuses in the country. After he left Turfloop Tiro was recruited as a history teacher at Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto, which was to play a prominent role in the Soweto uprising of 1976. He was also involved in the formation of the South African Student Movement (SASM) in 1972 and of the Black People's Convention (BPC) in 1973. He also travelled throughout South Africa, as well as Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho, to speak to students about Black Consciousness. The apartheid authorities, however, were keeping a close watch on all of these activities. First they had Tiro fired from Morris Isaacson, and then decided to arrest him. Tiro, however, managed to escape arrest by going to Botswana in late 1973, where he found employment as a teacher at a school in Kgale, near Gaborone. From Botswana he continued to play a prominent role in the activities of SASO, SASM and the BCP. He was, however, in discussion with the ANC in exile and some sources suggest he had switched his alliance to the ANC. On 1 February 1974, Tiro was killed by a parcel bomb allegedly coming from the International University Exchange Fund. His death was executed by the apartheid spy Craig Williamson and others who had infiltrated the IUEF. In 1998, Tiro's remains were exhumed from Botswana and reburied in his home village of Dinokana. His influence on the youth of Soweto and the rising of 1976 was considerable.
- *Witkleigat (Setswana name, Moshana)* – Site of security force clash with MK insurgents. An LHR site should be identified and a commemorative plaque erected in Witkleigat. In addition, it should indicate that it was through this region that many people escaped the country to go into exile.

¹⁰⁰ Graduation speech by OnkgopotseTiro at the University of the North, 29 April 1972. Available at <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/graduation-speech-onkgopotse-tiro-university-north-29-april-1972>.

Chapter 18

The liberation struggle and heritage sites in the 1980s

Introduction

The South African liberation struggle literally exploded during the 1980s, reaching levels of activity never seen before. This was accompanied by an equally unprecedented level of state repression and counter-revolutionary mobilisation. Among the dominant features of the liberation struggle relevant for this study are: the emergence and growth of popular organisations, culminating in the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), National Forum (NF) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in the first half of the decade; the various campaigns and activities of popular organisations, often accompanied by excessive state repression that resulted in numerous deaths; the internal activities of the liberation movements; the counter-revolutionary activities of the state; and internecine political violence. It must be noted, however, that there is considerable overlap between these different processes. In addition, the various provinces under study experienced each of these processes differently.

As is the case with the two preceding chapters, this chapter is divided into two sections: one on the history of the liberation struggle, and the second on potential liberation heritage sites and relevant individuals around which heritage sites have or could be developed.

The liberation struggle

The emergence and growth of popular organisations

Several processes interacted during the late 1970s and early 1980s that led to the emergence and proliferation of student, youth, civic, trade union, women, political and other organisations, and which culminated in the formation of the UDF, NF and COSATU. The starting point here, however, is the activity of the exiled liberation movements in this regard.

The ANC underground

During the early 1980s, the ANC embarked on an organisational and propaganda campaign to reassert its primacy in the liberation struggle. Activists based inside the country, and others sent in from abroad at the time, were charged with forming new mass organisations,

reviving others that had become moribund, or infiltrating existing organisations with a view to influencing their direction.

Western Cape

One individual infiltrated to carry out such tasks was Alan Roberts, a young coloured labourer from Mmabatho in Bophuthatswana, who joined the ANC in Botswana in the mid-1970s.¹ Roberts was deployed by the external mission to Cape Town in 1980 to link up with students with the objective of recruiting for the ANC underground. Roberts also got involved with the incipient civic organisations in the Western Cape, participating with Johnny Issel and Trevor Wentzel in an electricity petition campaign, as well as in support committees for striking workers.

Roberts, together with other individuals such as Johnny Issel, Sabelo Japhta, Rashid Sirrea and Essa Moosa, was behind the founding of *Grassroots*, a progressive newspaper that was utilised to mobilise activists. Later in the decade, Roberts claims, he was instrumental in the establishment of UDF-aligned trade unions, such as the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU), the South African Railways and Harbours Workers' Union (SAHRU) and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU) in the Western Cape.

Kevin Patel, who came into contact with the ANC abroad after spending almost three years outside the country from 1976, became active in organising structures on the Cape Flats during the early 1980s.² He was a member of a committee established in the community during the 1980 school boycott, and he, together with Marjorie Lewis and others, was instrumental in the formation of the Lansdowne Youth Movement. He also worked with Hadley King who was instrumental in setting up structures in Hanover Park. At this stage he came into contact with Johnny Issel during discussions on the formation of *Grassroots*, a progressive community newspaper. Patel and Issel were behind the first meeting to discuss proposed bus fare increases on the Cape Flats at the home of Paul Joemat, which was also attended by Oscar Mpetha.

Internally-based activists such as Zolile Malindi and his wife Lettie played central roles in the formation of civics in the region, as well as women's organisations such as the United Women's Organisation (UWO).³ Dorothy Zihlangu, an ANC activist and member of the ANC Women's League who participated in the Defiance Campaign in 1952, the Freedom Charter Campaign in the 1950s, and the historic women's march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria in 1956, was actively involved, while working underground for the ANC, in the founding of

¹ Interview with Alan Roberts conducted by Martin Legassick, Cape Town, SADET Oral History Project.

² Interview with Kevin Patel conducted by Thozama April, 15 May, 2004, Cape Town, SADET Oral History Project.

³ Interview with Zolile Malindi conducted by Thozama April, 21 March 2002, Cape Town, SADET Oral History Project.

UWO, of which she became Vice-Chairperson in 1985, and later the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO).⁴

Wilson Sidina, an ANC, SACTU and SACP veteran of the 1960s, operated as a trade union organiser in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1970s he became active in the Western Province Advice Bureau after he had been instructed to work in the emerging trade union movement. He also played a leading role in the formation of the Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA).⁵ Tony Ruiters was active in the Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) in the Athlone area. In Mitchell's Plain, a number of school committees and Student Representative Councils (SRCs) were created that eventually formed the Mitchells' Plain Students' Congress (MIPSCO). Ruiters worked closely with Trevor Oostewyk, Tasneem Essop, Hanifa Dhansay; some of the key activists that were also teaching in the area at that time. They mobilised the Mitchell's Plain students, linked them to the youth structures in the area and with the ANC organisations in the underground.⁶

In 1984 Jeremy Cronin was re-integrated into SACP/ANC underground structures, led by the Western Cape command structure, meeting fortnightly in underground meetings with Jenny Schreiner, Tony Yengeni and Desi Angelis, among others. He was appointed political education officer of the UDF in the Western Cape and editor of the UDF national journal, *Isizwe* (The Nation). People like Abel Dikilili, who was from Worcester, saw themselves as underground operatives of the ANC.⁷ Dikilili states: 'We worked underground and we were helped by people like Ndamoyi and others from Tusha. In 1983 the WCCA members like myself, Johnson Ngxobongwana and Dyakala worked under the ANC banner which was not really called the ANC but the Congress.' As a member of the WCCA, they were involved in organising and mobilising people and launching branches, and played a part in rent campaigns.

Eastern Cape

Lawrence Maduma, who was recruited into the ANC and South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) underground after joining the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) in the early 1980s, spent a month in January 1982 undergoing a crash course in union organisation and underground work in Lesotho. After returning from Lesotho, he states that he 'continued to do ... underground work as well as above-board work, in respect of union activism'. Maduma spent the next few years working in SAAWU offices in Queenstown and

⁴ Refer to www.thepreidency.gov.za/orders/042605/part3.pdf.

⁵ Interview with Wilson Sidina conducted by Thozama April, 22 June 2004, Cape Town, SADET Oral History Project.

⁶ Interview with Wilson Ruiters conducted by Thozama April, 30 November 2004, Cape Town, SADET Oral History Project.

⁷ Interview with Abel Dikilili conducted by N. Yeko, Worcester, SADET Oral History Project.

other parts of the country, as well as serving as a union organiser in several districts. Whilst he was working in the SAAWU offices in Johannesburg, he

used to receive cadres of MK being sent to me in Jo'burg. I used to assist cadres who are crossing the border, one way or another. One of those comrades whom I assisted is Mzoxolo Mfeketo when he was harassed by the security forces inside the country. He was sent to meet me. Then I assisted him to cross the border through Mafikeng to Botswana; and many other comrades.⁸

Shepi Mati, already deeply immersed in reading about Marxism and the history of the ANC and SACP, was recruited into the ANC underground by Siphso Hina in 1981. 'Our duty as students who were at school [was] basically ... to mobilise and inspire and grow the ... ANC via recruiting young activists into reading and inspiring them by following and understanding the political positions of the ANC.' Among the key figures of the underground in the Port Elizabeth area at the time were Hina, Benson Fihla and Nceba Faku. Mati felt, however, 'before that I had in a great way considered what I did as contributing to the ANC. Basically I saw myself as an ANC activist even though I was not formally connected to the ANC.' In 1980 he played a role in establishing a History Society at the school he was attending, as well as in using the Young Christian Workers to establish links between the black and coloured communities in the area. He was also active in organising branches of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) in Port Elizabeth. By mid-1980, he adds, COSAS had taken root in Port Elizabeth, ascribed largely to the effectiveness of the 1980 school boycott as an organisational tool.

Mati was elected president of COSAS in 1982. He felt that the 'most important responsibility as far as I understood it was to continue to build the organisation inside the country, avoid going to prison'. He adds that, despite this, from 1982 he would deliver 'reports' to Zinzi Mandela in Johannesburg, who would in return report to her mother, Winnie, who was at the time banished to Brandfort. Mati adds: 'In my capacity as president of COSAS, sometimes I used to sit down and say, 'I am responsible for quite a lot'. Because I may have inspired – by certain words I uttered – many people who didn't have anything to do with politics to join politics and leave the country and go and fight.' Mati, adds, however, that while he was active in COSAS '[q]uite a lot of input was coming through various ways ... from the underground structures. It would come and impact on our thinking or sometimes coincide with our thinking because we were doing the thinking on the ground ...'.⁹

⁸ Interview with Lawrence Maduma conducted by Thozama April, Cape Town, 31 May 2004, SADET Oral History Project. In 1985 Maduma underwent another training course in Lusaka, and thereafter was recruited into the underground unit led by Tony Yengeni in the Western Cape.

⁹ Interview with Shea Mati conducted by Thozama April, Cape Town, 30 June 2001, SADET Oral History Project.

A host of other activists operated in the Eastern Cape underground at the time. For instance, Major Bobelo from Queenstown was recruited into the ANC underground and went to Lesotho in 1980 for a crash training course conducted over three weeks. Bobelo became active in the student movement, including building up COSAS and identifying promising youths who were sent out for training.¹⁰ Kholi Mhlana from Port Elizabeth underwent training in the use of weapons in Mozambique in 1978 and thereafter began providing training to youths inside the country.¹¹ Nceba Faku, who had been arrested in 1976 while trying to go into exile and sentenced to five years imprisonment, was released in 1982 and drafted into the Port Elizabeth underground.¹²

KwaZulu-Natal

Vish Suparsad from Durban established contact with the ANC in Swaziland in 1979, and regularly crossed the borders to ferret arms, literature, equipment and operatives. Shortly after the outbreak of the June 1976 student uprising, he met Pravin Gordhan, who at the time had been approached by Mac Maharaj to join the ANC underground. According to Yunus Carrim:

Among others, they (Suparsad and Gordhan) were influential in shaping a new approach to mass organisation which creatively linked people's 'bread-and-butter' concerns, such as water, electricity, rents and housing to the broader goal of overthrowing apartheid. As part of an overall strategy, they also stressed the need for considerable flexibility of tactics and organisational forms that took into account the differing conditions between and within the different racial communities. Suparsad ... established the Tongaat Youth Group and worked closely with the Tongaat Civic Association, especially in its links with the struggles in neighbouring Hambanathi. He was active in the NIC [Natal Indian Congress] and also kept in touch with organisations in Pietermaritzburg. In 1980 he moved to Durban to establish a Community Research Unit (CRU), which gave research, organisational and other support to community organisations, including the Durban Housing Action Committee and the Joint Rent Action Committee. He also assisted trade union, cultural, religious and other organisations. Together with others, he played a role in the launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF).¹³

¹⁰ J. Cherry, 'Hidden histories of the Eastern Cape underground', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010, 366-7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 369.

¹² *Ibid.*, 374.

¹³ In 1985 Suparsad underwent a short training course in intelligence in East Germany. With the police hot on his heels, he largely disappeared into the underground from 1986, and played a key role in Operation Vula. See Yunus Carrim, 'A Silent Revolutionary', *Natal Witness*, 7 February 2006.

During the early 1980s, according to Jabulani Sithole, there were more than a dozen ANC underground networks in Southern Natal alone. The members of one such unit, Pravin Gordhan, Yunus Mohamed, Yusuf Vawda, and Jerry Coovadia, simultaneously held prominent positions in the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), UDF and various civic organisations. Yunis Shaik, Moe Shaik and Jayendra Naidoo, who belonged to another ANC underground unit which operated in the greater Durban area, started off as activists in the civic movement. Abba Omar and Moe Shaik led a propaganda unit which operated in and around Durban during the first half of the 1980s. It had about 13 operatives who occasionally blitzed Durban with ANC propaganda material in support of popular community struggles, or in support of the activities of MK units.¹⁴

Ben Langa and Simphiwe Mgoduso, based at the Alan Taylor student residence in Wentworth, operated in the Durban city centre, KwaMashu to the north of the city, Umlazi, Lamontville, Verulam and beyond. This unit liaised with the Pietermaritzburg-based ANC underground network, which fell under the leadership of Benedict Duke (Dikobe) Martins, and which was made up of medical doctors who were former students of the University of Natal's Medical School. They included the Edendale Hospital-based doctors, Mvuyo Ernest Tom, Modise Faith Matlaopane and Norman Bantwini (alias Norman Ngciphe). Zakhele Charles Ndaba, who was a student at the University of Natal's Medical School, was part of the ANC underground network which operated in Durban until he left for exile in 1983.¹⁵

A number of members of the underground worked in the labour movement. These included former Robben Island prisoners Thami Mohlomi, Themba Nxumalo, Yunis Shaik and Jayendra Naidoo. An ANC underground and MK unit constituted by Sipiwe Wilfred Makhathini, Gayo Jabulani Walter Nxumalo, Morgina Shezi, Bonginkosi Rodgers Malinga, Sithembiso Nzuzza, Moses Thabo Ramahlothlo and Mthokozisi Noblemen Shezi operated from Clermont in 1982. Thembinkosi Merrand, Lucky Maphumulo, Siphso Msomi, Aleck Cheriwe, Phelelani Mshengu and Ephraim Mthethwa belonged to an underground unit which recruited and/or 'incited' others to join the ANC and to leave the country to receive military training at more or less the same time.¹⁶ Griffiths Mxenge and Victoria Mxenge served in underground structures in Durban. Other prominent underground activists in the Durban area included the Reverend Mcebisi Xundu, George Sithole, Dr. Diliza Mji, and Ms. Thoko Msane-Didiza.¹⁷

Ben Martins helped establish the D.C.O. Matiwane Youth League that served as nucleus from which the ANC underground structures re-emerged in Pietermaritzburg's black

¹⁴ J. Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010, 319.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 319-20.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 320.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 321.

townships in the early 1980s. Among the other members of his network were Edendale Hospital-based doctors Mvuyo Ernest Tom, Modise Faith Matlaopane, Norman Bantwini (alias Norman Ngciphe), as well as the Durban-based ANC underground operatives, Ben Langa and Simphiwe Mgoduso. In Howick and New Hanover in the Natal Midlands, ANC veterans Emmanuel 'Mdayisi' Nene and David Mkhize were instrumental in the formation of popular organisations.¹⁸

Underground political units of the ANC played a crucial role in various campaigns in the early 1980s, including the Anti-South African Indian Council campaign. The most important of these was a Natal unit led by Pravin Gordhan, which included Yunus Mahomed, Zac Yacoob and Professor Gerry Coovadia. Initially the unit recommended taking part in the elections for the SAIC in order to take over the Council and destroy it from within, in conformity with an ANC National Executive Committee decision in relation to the SAIC taken in August 1979. However, another ANC-aligned faction in the Indian community wanted a boycott of the election. Following a meeting of the two factions with Mac Maharaj in London in late 1979, it was agreed that, in order to mirror the tactics in African areas which favoured boycott of all elections for state-created institutions, ANC-aligned groups inside the country would recommend a total boycott of SAIC elections. However, it was agreed that the final decision had to be taken by activists inside the country. The eventual decision was to boycott the elections.¹⁹

North West

A region that has received relatively little focus of attention is the Vryburg region and surrounding towns. It was here that the Kgalagadi underground was established and became quite active. The front man for the Kgalagadi underground was Bushy Maape, whose code name was also Kgalagadi. Maape was a school principal based in Kuruman. The Kgalagadi 'machinery', as it came to be known, encompassed Vryburg, Kuruman and Kimberley. Maape was in direct contact with the ANC in Gaborone. In Vryburg there had been very strong resistance to the incorporation of the Huhudi Township into Bophuthatswana and this galvanised opposition to Bophuthatswana. Another key figure in this unit was Darkey Africa who operated out of Vryburg. Much of the efforts of the unit were directed towards building the UDF in the region. HUCA, the Huhudi Civic Association, was one of the most formidable of these. Africa, mentioned above, was its publicity secretary, Hoffman Galeng was the president, Jomo Khasu the secretary, and Khotso Cruitse and Maape were additional executive members. The unit was particularly successful in organising the youth in the far northern Cape, parts of which are now in the NWP. Youth

¹⁸ J. Sithole, 'The ANC Underground, armed actions and popular resistance in Pietermaritzburg and the surrounding Natal Midlands townships', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010, 229-230.

¹⁹ H. Barrell, 'Conscripts to the Age: African National Congress Operational Strategy, 1976-1986', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1993. Available at www.sahistory.org.za.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

structures were formed in Huhudi, Kuruman, Taung, Ganyesa, and Dinokana (in Lehurutshe). Many of these operatives, in particular, Maape, Africa and Crutse suffered at the hands of the particularly brutal Security Police in Vryburg. Each of these men spent time in police custody in which they were tortured. Documents now made available in ANC archives as well as oral evidence show just how frequent the contact was between the Kgalagadi underground and the ANC in Gaborone.

Thabo Sejanamane was an individual based in the former Bophuthatswana homeland who was recruited into the ANC and requested to perform a number of tasks for the underground. In the early 1980s, Sejanamane was a field-worker for the South African Council of Churches (SACC) when he became part of a group of five young people who received ANC propaganda material from abroad. He recalls: 'We would also get involved with some operatives as couriers.'²⁰

Limpopo

Rich Pharephare Mathube, who had been active in taking people out of the country from the late 1970s, eventually left for exile in 1982. His intention was to go for military training. Instead, he states: 'an old man came, Mr. Mofokeng. He says to me: "Pharephare, we know you very well from outside the country but you don't know us. We know about your activities inside the country. But we want you to ... go back home. We want you to establish civics."'

After returning to the country, Mathube maintained contact with the Botswana machinery of the ANC through a courier. He was instrumental in the formation of the Atteridgeville and Saulsville Residents' Association (ASRO) in Pretoria in 1984. Mathube, together with Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, was also a leading figure behind the formation of civic organisations in Mamelodi and Soshanguve. He was subsequently deployed to the Northern Transvaal to establish the UDF in the region. After the regional structure had been established, Mathube became involved in the formation of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESAs) in 1987. He recalls:

Peter Mokaba and others were there. So I say to them: 'Comrades, we still need to organise the people'. I asked them to involve the chiefs. They said the chiefs are puppets. ... [I said]: 'Once we mobilise them, they will call meetings for us so we can address the people.' The first chief I got, I found a person called Makhosini Matlalo. He was a runaway from KwaNdebele because Imbokodo was after him ... [He] was one king who didn't want any organisations in KwaNdebele. They (Imbokodo) were killing anyone who opposed them. Makhosini opposed them. That is why he had to run away. I get him to Jo'burg ... After that I realised that I must establish a chiefs'

²⁰ Interview with Thabo Sejanamane, Mafikeng, 25 June 2004, SADET Oral History Project.

organisation. So therefore I go back and collect those who ran away from KwaNdebele. All of them I brought to Jo'burg. So, ... I get Samson Ndou ... I say to him: 'I've got these people and do not know what to do with them because I must have an organisation for those people.' Samson Ndou managed to go with me to Beyers Naude for financial assistance. He helped us to accommodate the chiefs at Victoria Hotel in Johannesburg. So I start to organise all over the country; go to Bophuthatswana, go to Venda. I get an old man in Venda who was a commissioner/magistrate, Mr Ramabola. I took him to Johannesburg ... [From] Giyane I got Ndengeza. I took him to Johannesburg. ... I go to Sekhukhune. I get Malekane. And then I went to Bophuthatswana to see Kgosi Pilane's son that is ill. He is sick. He can't go there. He says I must go to Tlhabane and get T.J. Sefora. I went to Kuruman and all other places until I got people together. We went as far as KwaZulu and found Maphumulo who was killed by Inkatha. He was recruited by us. We also had Chief Malaba. He was recruited by us. We also got Phathekile Holomisa. We recruited him. So we had to come with a name for the organisation. It was named CONTRALESA (Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa) ... That is how CONTRALESA was formed. It was formed by myself. Everybody knows.

After a brief visit with the ANC machinery in Botswana, Mathube was deployed to Venda to organise resistance against the homeland authority there. 'And then in Venda I found George Mathaki and others; Gabriel Malaka and Lufuno and others. So we sit and establish our organisation at Venda. So we come out with an organisation, and name the organisation [the] Northern Transvaal Action Committee (NTAC).'

In all these organisational activities, Mathube was operating aboveground as a UDF organiser involved in popular organisation and mobilisation. This political task was combined with the support role he played for MK by taking cadres in and out of the country.²¹

Links between the internal underground and the external structures of the ANC were maintained in a number of ways. The principal means at the beginning of the decade was through couriers who travelled in and out of the country, bringing instructions to cadres based inside the country, making reports to the external command structures, smuggling in banned literature, etc. For instance, Mzwandile Koyana, a veteran who served a sentence on Robben Island, moved in and out of the country to bring in propaganda material. Couriers used a wide variety of transport, from bicycles to cars, taxis and buses in particular. Communication was also maintained through young cadres recruited to undergo short training courses in the neighbouring states. As we have seen, instructions to underground units were also communicated through pamphlets and other literature smuggled into the

²¹ Interview with Richard Pharephare Mathubi conducted by Siphamandla Zondi, Duiwelskloof, 3 May 2001, SADET Oral History Project.

country and through broadcasts of Radio Freedom. By the end of the decade, during the implementation of Operation Vula, more sophisticated means of communication were utilised. The internal underground operated in the following ways, according to Davis:

Outbound communication from the internal cells to Lusaka is handled through the use of couriers – some under Umkhonto's control, others under direction of the secret division of the department of information ... Agents also use the mail, but typically with protection such as anonymous post boxes and elaborate codes ... Inbound communication was somewhat easier owing to ANC radio facilities. Broadcasting over frequencies in nearby countries, Radio Freedom could alert its underground and the public at large to current tactics and orders ... Radio Freedom proved effective in communicating broad ANC positions, which could then be implemented in specific ways at the discretion of field organisers. The Congress's department of information also publishes numerous periodicals and documents for domestic distribution.²²

According to the ANC's Internal Political Reconstruction Department (IPRD), in early 1979 the total number of ANC operatives in South Africa amounted to about 70.²³ By 1980, the ANC put the numerical strength of the political underground inside the country at approximately 200.²⁴ In 1982 it had reached 650, of which 300 were active in the Transvaal, 200 in the Cape, 100 in the Orange Free State and 50 in Natal.²⁵ This increase is probably due to the recruitment efforts of underground operatives rather than increases in deployment of cadres from outside the country. However, in April 1982 the ANC stated that: 'In the sphere of illegal work, of especial importance are the needs further to expand and strengthen the underground political structures of the ANC, to raise their political and organisational capacity to mobilise the people, provide leadership and carry out other clandestine tasks.'²⁶ By May 1989 the ANC had 1,225 full-time organisers. Of these, 420 were based in the Transvaal, 230 in the Orange Free State, 225 in the Western Cape, 200 in the Eastern Cape and 150 in Natal.²⁷

Student and Youth organisations

²² R. Davis, *Apartheid's Rebels: Inside South Africa's hidden war*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1978, 82–3.

²³ Cited in V. Shubin, *ANC: A View from Moscow*, Bellville, Mayibuye Books, 1999, 201. Maharaj later estimated that the organised underground structures towards the end of the 1970s comprised between 300 and 500 ANC cadres, mainly based in the larger urban centres (H. Barrell, 'Conscripts to the Age: African National Congress operational strategy', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1993, chapter 5, 4).

²⁴ Wits, Karis-Gerhart Collection (hereafter KG), 'Organisational report from PHQ', 21 June 1985.

²⁵ Tor Sellström, *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa, Volume II, Solidarity and Assistance 1970–1994* (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 2002), 616.

²⁶ Wits, KG, ANC, Draft memorandum of the African National Congress to the CC, CPSA, Lusaka, 26 April 1982.

²⁷ Davis, *Apartheid's Rebels*, 79.

In May 1982 COSAS held its second annual congress in Cape Town. The congress elected a steering committee to look at the problems of school-leavers who allied themselves with the aims of COSAS.²⁸ The need to organise non-student youths was recognised at the founding conference of the organisation in 1979.²⁹

COSAS leaders noted that many activists who had operated from the schools had dropped out either because of financial pressure, or hostility from the school authorities and the state. At the same time, over the years, many COSAS activists had completed school and were left with no organisational base in the community. Then there were the unemployed youths, as well as young workers, young married couples ... people who shared the interests and aspirations of COSAS but could not belong to it.³⁰

A resolution was passed at the 1982 congress to establish youth organisations to cater for young workers and the unemployed. During the year many new youth organisations were formed, including the Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO), which brought together 20 youth organisations;³¹ the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PEYCO); the Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO); and the Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO).³²

The first youth congress was formed in the Western Cape. The 1980-81 school boycotts (see below) politicised students in the coloured schools and led to the formation of a number of youth groups in the coloured suburbs. During this wave of school boycotts, which included African schools in the area, student demands were integrated more explicitly with political demands. In addition, students became active in trade union struggles, in organising strikes and in support of the Free Mandela Campaign (see below).³³ CAYCO was formed in 1983 bringing together 35 youth groups. The Western Cape youth increasingly identified with the country-wide growth in popular support for the ANC. Although historically the ANC was weak in the region, by 1985 a pro-ANC stance was widely evident in overt allegiance to the emblems, leaders and programmes of the ANC. This was largely due to the existence of CAYCO and other UDF affiliates in the region.³⁴

²⁸ Cf *SAIRR Survey 1982*, 40.

²⁹ Interview with Daniel Montsisi (UDF youth officer and executive member, Soweto Youth Congress), Johannesburg, May 1986, June 1986. Cited in Johnson, 'The Soldiers of Luthuli', 108.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ For more on CAYCO refer to C. Bundy, "'Action, comrades, action': The politics of youth-student resistance in the Western Cape, 1985", in W.G. James and M. Simons (eds.), *Class, Caste and Color: A social and economic history of the South African Western Cape*, New Brunswick, Transaction books, 1992. Probably one of the most detailed studies of a Youth Congress during the 1980s is C. Carter's "'We are the progressives': Alexandra Youth Congress activists and the freedom charter, 1983-85", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 17, Issue 2, 1991, 197-220. Kumi Naidoo also looks at youth resistance in Durban in 'The politics of youth resistance in the 1980s: the Dilemmas of a differentiated Durban', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 18, Issue 1, 1992, Special Issue: Social History of Resistance in South Africa, 143-165.

³² Cf *SAIRR Survey 1983*, 62.

³³ C. Bundy, 'Schools and Revolution', *New Society*, 10 January, 1986, 52.

³⁴ C. Bundy, 'Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Aspects of youth and student resistance in Cape Town', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3, April 1987, 323-4.

In the Eastern Cape, opposition to the new Black Local Authorities (BLAs) and proposed rent increases resulted in the revival of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) and the formation of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PEYCO) in June 1983 and the Uitenhage Youth Congress (UYCO) at the end of 1984. PEYCO was formed after 'a small group of highly politicised educated unemployed youths, aged between 20 and 26, and drawn from working class families, began to meet regularly to discuss their political role in the community'.³⁵ UYCO, on the other hand, emerged to fill the vacuum created by the collapse of the local civic organisation, The Uitenhage Black People's Organisation (UBCO) in 1983.

PEYCO and UBCO rapidly developed elaborate networks of organisation by the end of 1984. Leaders were drawn from the ranks of leaders of the 1876 revolt and the 1980 school boycotts as well as from COSAS, and were usually better educated than their followers. The primary constituents of these youth congresses were unemployed school leavers with a tendency to concentrate on political campaigns. Both PEYCO and UBCO each claimed a membership of 1,000 card-carrying members in 1985.³⁶

PEYCO dominated community organisations in Port Elizabeth: it was 'militant and increasingly engaged in physical confrontation with security forces, but lacking the tradition of democratic organisation of the unions'.³⁷ It organised the youth primarily around political as opposed to civic- or factory-based issues. PEYCO's major objective was to provide the unemployed youth with a political home. Thus, in addition to mass meetings, PEYCO organised workshops to teach young people about the Freedom Charter, the meaning of the national liberation struggle, the causes of oppression and class exploitation, and methods of organisation.³⁸ The youth organisation played a key role in co-ordinating township struggles and was a prominent member of structures in the area. For instance, after the formation of the UDF in 1983 (see below), the congress often played the role of the local UDF area committee and acted as a reinforcing mechanism in local UDF structures. In addition, PEYCO assisted other organisations in the townships, particularly women, the local UDF and defence committees.

According to Swilling, UYCO, despite its name, became a civic, with support in the employed and the unemployed working class.³⁹ The congress was strongest in Langa, where most of its

³⁵ Labour Monitoring Group, 'Report: The March stayaways in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage', *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1985, 99.

³⁶ T. Lodge, 'Rebellion: The turning of the tide', in T. Lodge and B. Nasson (eds.), *All, Here, and Now: Black politics in South Africa in the 1980s*, South Africa Update Series, Cape Town, David Philip, 1991, 71-2; Labour Monitoring Group, 'Report: The March stayaways in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage', 100.

³⁷ J. Hyslop, 'School student movements and state education policy: 1972-87', in W. Cobbett and R. Cohen (eds.), *Popular Struggles in South Africa*, New Jersey, Africa World Press, 1988, 194.

³⁸ Labour Monitoring Group, 'Report: The March stayaways in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage', 100.

³⁹ M. Swilling, 'Stayaways, urban protest and the state', in South African Research Services (eds.), *South African Review* 3, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1986, 35.

members were squatters and others who resisted relocation to KwaNobuhle. It developed a sophisticated democratic grassroots structure based on street and area committees. At the apex of this structure was a township committee empowered to call meetings, formulate strategy and enter into negotiations.

In the Limpopo Province (previously Northern Transvaal), UDF regional committees included 16 youth congress affiliates. These congresses, according to Lodge, had the most extensive and elaborate networks of all the region's affiliates. The Steelpoort Youth Congress (STEYCO), for instance, claimed to have five branches located in the mining and cotton-farming communities on the eastern border of Sekhukhuneland. The congress played a central role in organising mine and farm workers in the area and in the Lebowa revolt of 1986. The congress also involved itself in more communal issues. STEYCO members joined trade unionists to lead a campaign against a chrome mining firm that administered a company township.⁴⁰

Civic movement

Mark Swilling identifies five 'strands of organisational activity' during the late 1970s and early 1980s that shaped the civic movement. The first was the formation of the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) and the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) in 1979 and 1980 respectively. The second was the establishment of parent-teacher-student 'regional committees' in the Western Cape in the wake of the 1980 school boycott. These committees transformed themselves into neighbourhood associations in Cape Town's coloured areas. The third was the increasing involvement of trade union officials with knowledge of organisational and committee practice in the civic organisations. The fourth was the emergence of youth congresses in the early 1980s and the subsequent role their members would play as leaders of civic organisations and as foot soldiers in civic actions. Finally, the release of a number of political prisoners from Robben Island and other prisons in the early 1980s – such as Curnick Ndlovu and Henry Fazzie – provided the civics with experience of the struggles of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.⁴¹

Western Cape

In the Western Cape, a number of popular struggles in 1980 provoked the emergence and growth of community organisations. Community activity in support of a school boycott, a bus boycott against fare increases and a meat boycott in support of a strike by meat workers involved widespread community mobilisation. The most important of these organisations were the residents' associations in Cape Town's coloured townships and the parent-teacher committees which were formed to support the school boycott. Twelve of

⁴⁰ T. Lodge, 'Rebellion: The turning of the tide', 119-120.

⁴¹ Swilling, M., 'Civic associations in South Africa', *Urban Forum*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1993, 17-18.

these organisations came together in June 1980 to form the Umbrella Rentals Committee (URC) to oppose a rent increase announced by the City and Divisional Councils a month earlier.⁴²

A government ban on all meetings from mid-June prevented the URC from meeting until September, when it decided to broaden its perspective and change its name to the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) to reflect this. When the civic organisation had its second meeting in December 1981 it had 33 affiliate organisations based in both the coloured and African areas.⁴³ CAHAC was included among the 50 organisations which met in May 1983 to plan a joint campaign against the constitutional proposals. A coordinating committee was established and broad principles drawn up as the basis for the campaign. This meeting laid the basis for the formation of the Western Cape region of the UDF which was formally launched on 24 June.

Among the key personalities involved in CAHAC were Wilfred Rhodes, who served as chairperson between 1980 and 1987 and organiser from 1987 to 1992, Trevor Manuel, and Cheryl Carolus. Wilfred Rhodes worked for many years as an unskilled labourer at a weaving company in Maitland near Cape Town. He experienced repeated detentions during the clampdown on organisations between 1986 and 1987.⁴⁴ According to Trevor Manuel:

In Cape Town historically, there have been no direct political organisations but rather civic, youth, and women's groups. Because of [segregated living] areas, they tended to be racially separate, with the Coloured Cape Area Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) working side by side with the African Western Cape Civic Association. Both, though, were avowedly non-racial. CAHAC has flourished since the 1980 coloured school boycotts. Its affiliates are primarily in working-class tenant areas. It campaigns against high rents, lack of housing, and transport costs.⁴⁵

Eastern Cape

The first of the modern *mass-based* civic organisations was formed in Port Elizabeth. PEBCO was formed on 10 October 1979 following a 100 per cent increase in the cost of living for Africans in the area. A public meeting on that day to protest against increases in transport, fuel and lighting, township service charges, and food costs resolved to create a larger body embracing the residents of all Port Elizabeth's townships. The meeting elected a 'Committee of Ten' to draft a constitution by 26 October. A mass meeting attended by between 8,000

⁴² Maseko, S.S., 'Civic Movement and Non-Violent Action: The Case of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee', *African Affairs*, Vol. 96, No. 384, July 1997, 357-8.

⁴³ Lodge, 'Rebellion: The turning of the tide', 40.

⁴⁴ Maseko, 'Civic Movement and Non-Violent Action', 359, 364.

⁴⁵ Cited in S. Weissman, 'Dateline South Africa: The Opposition Speaks', *Foreign Policy*, No. 58, Spring, 1985, 159-160.

and 9,000 people was held in New Brighton on 30 October where the constitution was adopted and a new executive elected.⁴⁶

The Constitution defined the aims and objectives of the organisation as follows: to fight for equal rights for all the people of Port Elizabeth; to fight for all discriminatory legislation enacted by the government led local authorities; to seek participation in decision making on all matters affecting the people of South Africa; to fight for the granting of the right to black people to buy land under freehold title at any place of their choice; and to resist any attempt, direct or indirect, to deprive blacks of their South African citizenship.⁴⁷ Membership of the organisation was open to blacks only, which included Indians and coloureds.⁴⁸ At the time of formation PEBCO consisted of three branches made up of the existing residents' associations in Zwide, KwaFord and Tembalethu. Residents' associations were soon established in Kwazakhele, Walmer and New Brighton.⁴⁹

In early 1980 five PEBCO leaders, including its President Thozamile Botha, were detained, Botha and the others were released on 27 February 1980 and immediately served with three-year banning orders. Botha subsequently left for exile where he joined the ANC.⁵⁰ The loss of Botha's charismatic leadership was one of the main reasons for the subsequent decline of PEBCO. During the following four years the civic organisation experienced repeated leadership crises and eventually declined in significance.⁵¹ It was only revived at the end of 1984 when a number of newly-released ANC political prisoners – Henry Fazzie, Edgar Ngoyi and Samuel Hashe – were elected into the leadership.⁵² The new Executive Committee immediately committed the organisation to struggles around rent and service charges.

The Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation (UBCO) was also formed in October 1979, but soon declined in political significance. The Eastern Cape as a whole experienced widespread mass action in 1980 as school students in the region joined a countrywide school boycott and workers in the automobile industry embarked on a strike for higher wages. The repression that came after the school boycott and strike made the organisation of a civic level difficult and contributed to the decline of UBCO.⁵³ However, it was the differences with Federation

⁴⁶ C. Cooper and L. Ensor, *PEBCO: A black mass movement*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1981, 28; M. Evans, 'The rise and decline of community organisations: An assessment of PEBCO', *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol. 6, Nos. 2 and 3, 1980, 46.

⁴⁷ Cooper and Ensor, *PEBCO: A black mass movement*, 20; Evans, 'The rise and decline of community organisations', 47.

⁴⁸ Cooper and Ensor, *PEBCO: A black mass movement*, 21.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 51-2; R. Davies et. al., *The Struggle for South Africa: A Reference Guide to Movements, Organisations and Institutions*, London and New Jersey, Zed Books, 1988, 361.

⁵² Lodge, 'Rebellion: The turning of the tide', 70.

⁵³ S. Lund, 'The battle for Kabah: Orderly urbanisation and control', *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol. 11, No. 8, September/October 1986, 55.

of South African Trade Union (FOSATU) affiliates that resulted in the destruction of the civic organisation. Conflicts between the UDF and FOSATU in Uitenhage led to the collapse of at the end of 1983. Community leadership passed to UYCO when the latter was formed in 1984.⁵⁴

UBCO's revival occurred in the wake of a massacre of residents in early 1985 (see below). The reaction of the community to the massacre led to the destruction of the local council, following the murder of the only remaining town councillor, Tamsanqa Kinikini, and three of his sons, and community members began to set up their own co-ordinating body. The co-ordinating body bypassed government structures to begin administering garbage collection, schools, and health care.⁵⁵ In December 1985 UBCO took over the function of the co-ordinating the activities of the many organisations that sprang up after the massacre.

In Cradock, a small rural town located at the northern part of the Eastern Cape in the heart of the conservative sheep-farming plains of the Great Karoo, the Cradock Residents' Association (CRADORA) was formed on 4 October 1983 to oppose a proposed rent increase in some areas of Lingelihle Township. The rent hike was prompted by the development of a new section of the township, which was introduced under a new and perplexing system of 'sliding rents'. The residents of the new houses were required to pay R54 more than before. The founders of the civic organisation were Matthew Goniwe, a school teacher and former political prisoner, and Fort Calata, who was also a school teacher and nephew of a treason trialist. Goniwe, popular among the militant youth, emerged as a charismatic leader of the organisation. He introduced the street committee system to Lingelihle, which became the first township to establish a network of street committees in the country.⁵⁶

Cradock's single township was divided into seven zones. Within each of these zones, 40 young activists were assigned the task of mobilising people to attend public meetings to elect zonal representatives. The zones were sub-divided into streets with representatives from each street sitting in street committees. The committees fell under the residents' association.

In Duncan Village in East London, widespread dissatisfaction with the Ciskei Transport Corporation following a bus-fare increase in July 1983 prompted the formation of a civic organisation. A mass meeting held on 10 July in Duncan Village elected a 'Committee of Ten' to represent the community's interests to the Corporation. After an unreasonable response,

⁵⁴ S. Friedman, *Building towards tomorrow: African workers in trade unions*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987, 452-3.

⁵⁵ M. Badela and S. Mufson, 'The Eastern Cape', in T. Lodge and B. Nasson (eds.), *All, Here, and Now: Black politics in South Africa in the 1980s*, South Africa Update Series, Cape Town, David Philip, 1991, 239.

⁵⁶ Lodge, 'Rebellion: The turning of the tide', 74-5; S. Mufson, 'Introduction: The roots of insurrection', in T. Lodge and B. Nasson (eds.), *All, Here, and Now: Black politics in South Africa in the 1980s*, South Africa Update Series, Cape Town, David Philip, 1991, 111.

residents decided to boycott the bus company. The involvement of trade union officials and the wider community in the boycott raised the issue of creating a civic organisation.⁵⁷ However, it took almost two years to form the Duncan Village Residents' Association (DVRA). It was only formed in 1985 after the introduction of a new town council.

The town council immediately set about enforcing government policy of reducing the number of residents of Duncan Village by ordering the demolition of 400 shacks, leaving 2,000 people homeless. It also raised rents, intensifying opposition. The bus boycott and the rent hike set the stage for the formation of a civic organisation. An interim committee was established and the idea propagated throughout the township through discussions with residents. The interim committee divided the township into eight geographical areas and organised an anti-removal committee made up of adults and youths. On 15 March 1985, the DVRA was officially launched at a mass meeting attended by 10,000 people. In the following weeks, area organisers set about the establishment of nine branches, each with its own committee. Area and street committees were established. The nine-member Central Executive Committee was elected at a mass meeting. Local youth, student and trade union organisations existed independently of the DVRA.

KwaZulu-Natal

In Durban's African townships, rent increases and related matters, such as the lack and poor quality of housing as well as increases in transport costs, were the main reason for the emergence of civic organisations.⁵⁸ On 8 April 1983, the Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC) was formed as an umbrella body of residents' associations serving five townships: the Lamontville Residents' Association, the Hambanathi Residents' Association, the Chesterville Residents' Association, the Klaarwater Residents' Association, and the Shakaville Residents' Association.⁵⁹ JORAC's leadership included several veterans of the ANC – such as the Reverend Xundu, the JORAC vice-chairperson – as well as several underground ANC activists – such as Victoria Mxenge.

Community organisations emerged in quick succession in Southern Natal's African, Indian and coloured townships from the late 1970s onwards. They engaged the state and its auxiliary forces, the African urban councils, the KwaZulu Bantustan, and the Indian Local Authorities Council (LACs) in fierce struggles which were aimed at addressing 'bread and butter issues' which affected local communities on a daily basis. Among these was the Phoenix Rent Action Committee (PRAC), the Chatsworth Housing Action Committee (CHAC)

⁵⁷ M. Swilling, "'The buses smell of blood': The East London Bus Boycott', *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol. 9, No. 5, March 1984, 67.

⁵⁸ Mike Suttcliffe and Peter Wellings, 'Inkatha versus the Rest: Black Opposition to Inkatha in Durban's African Townships', *African Affairs*, July 1988, 346; J. McCarthy and Mark Swilling, 'Transport and Political Resistance', in South African Research Service (eds.), *South African Review 2*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1984, 36.

⁵⁹ Suttcliffe and Wellings, 'Inkatha versus the Rest', 346.

which campaigned for better township housing, affordable rents and reasonable prices for houses, the Merebank Ratepayers Association (MRA) which waged campaigns against pollution in the Merebank/Wentworth areas. On 29 March 1980, more than 50 Indian and coloured civic organisations from various of Durban's Indian and coloured townships came together under the auspices of an umbrella body named the Durban Housing Action Committee (DHAC), with Pravin Gordhan and Virgil Bonhomme as secretaries.

Limpopo

The Northern Transvaal region of the UDF was launched at the beginning of 1986 and soon had over 100 affiliates. A number of Village and Action Committees from the rural areas, consisting of students, the youth and older residents were part of this group. The most important structures in the region were the youth congresses, which mushroomed in the second half of the 1980s. Mass mobilisation in the Northern Transvaal was provoked by three major struggles during the second half of the eighties: the Lebowa revolt from 1984-86; and the anti-independence struggles in Venda and KwaNdebele. In addition, resistance to incorporation and relocation into the homelands gave rise to a number of rural community organisations.

After the launch of the Northern Transvaal UDF in 1986, regional organisers set out to establish the Northern Transvaal People's Congress (NOTPECO). The regional civic organisation was formed in August 1986 to draw the numerous village committees which sprang up throughout the region into an umbrella civic organisation. These included organisations such as the Phaahl-Manoge Action Committee, the Leandra Action Committee and the Moutse Action Committee. Three urban-based action committees manned by migrant workers on the mines were also formed. NOTPECO drew together migrants working in the urban areas and residents of the rural villages.⁶⁰

Women's Organisations

During the 1980s, a number of significant women's organisations were established, including UWO in the Western Cape and the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW). These organisations brought together young and old, as well as black and white women. The leadership of these organisations included many veterans of the struggle who had been active for a number of decades. Shireen Hassim sees two developments behind the re-emergence of 'large-scale women's organisations' in the early 1980s. Firstly, women's responsibility for bread-and-butter issues such as high rent, lack of services and corrupt officials led to their involvement in women's organisations that linked social and political issues. Secondly, the increasing involvement of women in trade unions brought them into

⁶⁰ P. Delius, 'Migrants, Comrades and Rural Revolt: Sekhukhuneland 1950-1987', *Transformation*, 13, 1990, 22.

conflict with their male partners and colleagues which made it easier for them to be involved in community-based women's organisations.⁶¹

In addition, as the struggle for liberation intensified during the course of the decade, women emerged as a powerful force through the women's organisations and other organisations such as trade unions, student and youth organisations, and civic structures. As was the case with the women's organisations, some of the leaders of the trade unions and civic organisations were veterans. A number of the veterans of the struggle played a crucial role during this period.

The UWO was initiated by eight women who had been involved in the Women's Federation in the 50s and 60s. UWO functioned informally in 1979 and was launched in April 1981.⁶² More than 300 delegates from 31 areas of the Western Cape attended the inaugural conference in recognition of the need for a specific women's organisation to struggle for the elimination of women's oppression within the context of the broader struggle against oppression and exploitation in South Africa.⁶³ Its membership included veterans of the struggles of the 1950s; younger, educated African women and working class African women; coloured women from the Cape Flats; and white middle class, English-speaking women. Many UWO members became active in the UDF, and it had one member on the first National Executive Committee of the UDF and three members on the Western Cape regional UDF in 1985.

A number of UWO's members were veterans of the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) and ANC Women's League, such as Dorothy Nyembe, Mildred Lesia, and Amy Thornton. But the driving force in the organisation was young women who drew inspiration from the past traditions of the FSAW, but who were very conscious of the different political conditions pertaining in the 1980s.⁶⁴ UWO members were instrumental in the formation of organisations like Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) in 1981, the Western Cape Civic Association (1982) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983. In time, however, some UWO branches ceased to function as their members became leaders in the civics while others prioritised UDF activities. Members also took up leadership positions in the trade unions. UWO members were central to the formation of UDF area committees, as well as other structures of the UDF.⁶⁵

⁶¹ S. Hassim, 'The Limits of Popular Democracy: Women's Organisations, Feminism and the UDF', *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 51, 2003, 50-51.

⁶² G. Fester, 'Women's organisations in the Western Cape: Vehicles for gender struggle or instruments of subordination', *Agenda*, No. 34, Celebrating 10 Years, 1997, 46.

⁶³ Rob Davies et. al., *The Struggle for South Africa: A Reference Guide to Movements, Organisations and Institutions* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1988), 369.

⁶⁴ S. Meintjies, 'The women's struggle for equality during South Africa's transition to democracy', *Transformation*, 30, 1996, 55.

⁶⁵ Fester, 'Women's organisations in the Western Cape', 49.

The racial boundaries created by the Group Areas Act meant that each branch had a particular racial and/or class identity. Branches also varied radically in size: a branch in an African township had 600 members, whereas a middle-class coloured branch had about 10.⁶⁶ UWO aimed to participate in the struggle for full and equal democratic rights for all; to work on practical activities which affect the day-to-day problems of people in oppressed communities; to involve women in solving problems that affect them in their community and at their places of work; and to struggle for the removal of all racial discrimination and economic exploitation.⁶⁷ In terms of both its principles and aims, then, UWO identified the link between the liberation of women and national liberation, the link between issues which directly affected women and political issues which affected the subordinated people in general.

In the Port Elizabeth area, women initially organised in a 'women's committee' under the banner of PEBCO. Ivy Gcina and Buyiswa Siwisa revived the idea of establishing a women's organisation in Port Elizabeth.⁶⁸ The idea was to form a non-racial organisation in the tradition of the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW). However, prior to the launch of the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (PEWO), differences arose on the question of launching it publicly as an ANC organisation. The decision was taken to avoid doing so because of the prevailing repression in the Eastern Cape. Contact was meanwhile established with UWO in Cape Town, and Dorothy Zihlangu and other women from that city helped with the formation of PEWO. The women's organisation was launched in November 1983, and Gcina was elected Chairperson. Offices were secured in the Enkhuthazweni Community Centre in Kwazakele. Uniforms in the ANC tradition – green blouses with black collars – were produced.

Young female activists from COSAS and the youth congress were drawn into PEWO, which included a number of veterans in the executive. The younger members played a central role in various campaigns during the decade, including the school boycotts. Former COSAS activist Fikiswa Gaveni was elected into the PEWO executive in 1984, together with other young women such as Nontobeko Madlala and Mpumi Lutywantsi. PEWO's primary task was to entrench the hegemony of the Congress tradition, and political education included the earlier history of the ANC. The members also helped with the formation of women's organisations in other parts of the region. When the UDF was formed, PEWO affiliated and participated in its local and national campaigns.

⁶⁶ Fester, 'Women's organisations in the Western Cape', 51.

⁶⁷ M. Matiwane and S. Walters, *The Struggle for Democracy: A study of community organisations in Greater Cape Town from the 1960s to 1985*, Cape Town, Centre for Adult and Continuing Education, University of the Western Cape, 1986, 111.

⁶⁸ This study of the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation is largely drawn from J. Cherry, "'We were not afraid': The role of women in the 1980s' township uprising in the Eastern Cape", in N. Gaza (ed.), *Women in South African History*, Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2007.

NOW was formed at the end of 1983 by women in Durban's townships. They were mostly women who were involved in the community organisations and popular struggles affecting the townships at the time. The motivation came largely from women involved in JORAC and the Natal Indian Congress. The organisation grew out of a small number of women who came together to observe National Women's Day on 8 August. This group later consolidated to form the NOW.⁶⁹ Phumzile Ngcuka was elected Chairperson, but was succeeded by Victoria Mxenge when she had to flee into exile.⁷⁰

NOW soon had 20 branches in the Durban area, and began to expand in the rural areas. Initially the organisation had members only in townships such as Lamontville and KwaMashu. By 1987 NOW had members in Empangeni, Pietermaritzburg and Natal rural areas such as Howick, Ladysmith and Weenen, and claimed a total membership of 1,000. Membership was also drawn from informal settlements such as Inanda and Umbumbulu, the Natal townships such as Lamontville and Chesterville, and KwaZulu townships such as Umlazi and KwaMashu. NOW was overtly non-racial and organised women of all races. However, its initial leadership was drawn from women activists in JORAC and the NIC. NOW also had the same aims and objective as UWO, and drew a connection between the women's struggle and the struggle for national liberation. It focused on issues such as high rents, inadequate education and incorporation into KwaZulu to draw women into the organisation.⁷¹

After the formation of the UDF in 1983, many of the leaders of NOW and UWO were drawn into the provincial and national leadership of the Front.

The trade union movement

By the beginning of the 1980s, several well-established independent unions were in existence while the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), with 35,000 members at the time of its launch in April 1979, was facilitating increasing cooperation between the different strands in the labour movement. The community unions, which focused on direct involvement in broader political struggles, maintained links with the South African Congress of Trade Unions in exile. A smaller trade union federation, the Congress of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), had a strong Black Consciousness orientation.

Increasing numbers of employers had also reconciled themselves to dealing with effective black trade unions. The 1979 Wiehahn reforms encapsulated in the 1979 Industrial Conciliation Act, and amended in 1981, gave African trade unions legal recognition and the

⁶⁹ E. Ramgobin, 'An Indian woman confronts apartheid', in D.E.H. Russell (ed.), *Lives of Courage: Women for a new South Africa*, New York Basic Books, 1989, 140.

⁷⁰ Hassim, 'The Limits of Popular Democracy', 59.

⁷¹ J. Beall et. al., 'African women in the Durban struggle, 1985-1986: Towards a transformation', in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds.), *South African review 4*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987, 95.

right to participate in statutory collective bargaining structures.⁷² By the end of 1981 FOSATU had signed 130 recognition agreements compared with four in 1979. In addition, the focus of unions in the early part of the decade on economic issues and the achievement of substantial wage gains attracted many more members to the unions, enabling them to enhance their organisational capacity and access to resources, both from dues and from international donations.⁷³

COSATU

Unity talks to bring the three different strands in the labour movement together in one federation began in 1981. Thereafter, a number of summits were held to iron out differences and reach agreement on the new federation: the Langa Summit in Cape Town on 8-9 August 1981; the Wilgespruit Summit on 24 April 1982; the Port Elizabeth Summit on 3-4 July 1982; and the Athlone Summit on 9-10 April 1983. Eventually, the participating unions met together in a number of Feasibility Meetings between July 1983 and June 1985. The Congress of South African Trade Unions was launched at the University of Natal, Durban, on 29 November to 1 December 1985. Elijah Barayi of the National Union of Mineworkers was elected president; Chris Dlamini of the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers Union (SFAWU) was elected vice-president; Jay Naidoo of the SFAWU was elected general secretary.⁷⁴

The formation of COSATU, in a year of heightened resistance, repression and the declaration of the first state of emergency, was hailed as a great step forward. After four years of intensive negotiations, 500,000 workers, including the massive National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), were united.⁷⁵

NACTU

CUSA and AZACTU withdrew from the unity talks that preceded the formation of COSATU because they opposed the existence of white intellectuals in leadership positions in the emerging trade unions. Their opposition eventually crystallised in the formation of CUSA/AZACTU in October 1986 claiming a membership of 350,000. Ideologically it is a logical development as it reflects the alternative Africanist or Black Consciousness tradition

⁷² G. Wood, 'African Trade Unions Movement Role: Representivity, Politics, and the Congress of South Organizing', *Labor Studies Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 4, Winter 2002, 33.

⁷³ A.W. Marx, 'South African Black Trade Unions as an Emerging Working-Class Movement', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 1989, 386.

⁷⁴ S.M. Ndlovu and J. Sithole, 'Trade union unity summits and the formation of COSATU, 1980-1990', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

⁷⁵ Callinicos, L., 'Labour History and Worker Education in South Africa', *Labour History*, No. 65, November 1993, 172.

in oppositional politics.⁷⁶ The focus of the unions which came to form the National Council of Trade Unions (as the new federation came to be known) rejected a combined focus on class and national identities, and retained a focus on educational programmes to alter workers' values. They were less concerned with tightening organisational structures, consistent with a combined focus on race and class identities evocative of the Pan-Africanist Congress tradition.⁷⁷

UWUSA

In May 1986, Inkatha launched the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) in direct opposition to COSATU organisationally and ideologically. UWUSA's two main policy issues were support for the 'free enterprise' system and opposition to the campaign to isolate the South African regime through sanctions – a sharp contrast to COSATU's anti-capitalist economic programme and call for international pressure against South Africa. Buthelezi argued that COSATU had neglected the economic interests of workers in favour of advancing the interests of the ANC/UDF tradition. While Inkatha's political support among Zulu-speaking people in Natal was widely acknowledged at the time, a considerable scepticism existed in their capacity to mobilise workers into trade unions.⁷⁸

The United Democratic Front

The first congress of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee (TASC) was held in January 1983, and it was noted that the organisation had been established with a limited and prescribed role: its campaign against the SAIC elections had been a success. It was decided at the congress that there was a need to consolidate 'the victory and gains' made during the anti-SAIC campaign with the establishment of a more permanent organisation. A motion was adopted to revive the TIC in order to mobilise the Indian community against apartheid. The congress also accepted a call by the Reverend Allan Boesak to form a broad front of organisations throughout the country to oppose the constitutional proposals and the so-called Koornhof Bills.⁷⁹

Discussions about the formation of a broad front to oppose the constitutional proposals had been taking place before the TASC congress. Popo Molefe recalls that, by 1981: '... within our ranks as underground operatives of the movement, there had been an ongoing debate on the need for a broad front against apartheid. And this was as a result of the repeated

⁷⁶ E. Webster, 'The Two Faces of the Black Trade Union Movement in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 39, Workers, Unions and Popular Protest, September 1987, 40.

⁷⁷ Marx, 'South African Black Trade Unions as an Emerging Working-Class Movement', 388.

⁷⁸ Webster, 'The Two Faces of the Black Trade Union Movement in South Africa', 40.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 41–2.

calls made by the president of the movement, both in his addresses, in his interviews, and also of course carried in the publications of the movement such as *Sechaba*.⁸⁰

Patrick Fitzgerald recalls that the Botswana machinery had been told 'a good six or nine months before' the launch of the UDF that the ANC was going to start a 'mass internal democratic movement'. He argues that, although the UDF had its own momentum and people inside the country had their own initiatives, the ANC had earlier taken a conscious decision to form the UDF.⁸¹

At the TASC congress in January a commission was appointed to investigate the feasibility of establishing a united front to oppose the constitutional proposals. Subsequently, an *ad hoc* national secretariat was established and regional UDFs formed throughout the country before the launch of the UDF at Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town, in August 1983.

Western Cape

The UDF was launched both nationally and in the Western Cape region in 1983. Initially the Western Cape region of the UDF did not extend far beyond metropolitan Cape Town.⁸² Over time, however, it spread to many small towns in the Boland, South Cape, Karoo and West Coast. The Western Cape was characterised by a deep gulf between African and coloured areas, by weak organisation in the former, and by deep divisions between assertive political organisations in the latter. Political organisation in the African townships was weak, although new forms of organisation were emerging in the fast-growing squatter settlements, primarily around Crossroads. In Cape Town's coloured areas, militant politics had historically been weak and had been dominated by the Unity Movement. There were few formal organisational links between coloured and African areas. Civic groupings in the African townships had initially participated in CAHAC, but withdrew in 1982 as the separate WCCA. This split resulted from a combination of tensions over language, the dominant role of coloured activists, and different political conditions and needs.

The differences between youth from coloured and African areas were also apparent when CAYCO was formed in May 1983. These tensions persisted into 1984-85, with CAYCO largely dominated by youth from coloured areas. Similarly, there were generally separate student organisations in the different areas. The United Women's Organisation brought together African and white women activists, but few coloured women activists. Racial divisions within the working-class also inhibited the development of independent trade unions, although it was through trade union support work that coloured and African activists were brought

⁸⁰ Interview with Molefe conducted by Barrell.

⁸¹ Interview with Patrick Fitzgerald, Jenny Evans and Jean de la Harpe conducted by Manson.

⁸² This analysis relies heavily on J. Seekings, 'The United Democratic Front in Cape Town, 1983-1986', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

together. Within the Western Cape, therefore, there were not only powerful groupings espousing entrust politics (the Labour Party) and challenging the Charterist movement within the broad opposition, but also very deep divisions and uneven development among the organisations which might participate in the UDF.

The Western Cape region of the UDF was launched at the St. George's Cathedral Hall, on 24 July 1983. The launch conference focused primarily on discussing the draft declaration and working principles, followed by the election of patrons and a Regional Executive Committee (REC). The REC included three veterans of the 1950s (Oscar Mpetha as president; Christmas Tinto and Joe Marks as vice-presidents). Younger activists from the growing post-1980 Charterist networks filled the executive posts: Trevor Manuel and Cheryl Carolus as Secretaries; the recently unbanned, former NUSAS leader Andrew Borraine, and journalist Rashid Seria as Treasurers; and former AZASO national organiser Baba Ngcokoto as Publicity Secretary. The seven additional members of the REC included two older activists, several younger activists, and religious leaders: Jonathan de Vries (AZASO regional chairperson), Rev. Chris Nissen (Reform Presbyterian Church), David Petersen (ex-Labour Party from Worcester), Imam Solomons (Muslim Judicial Council), Mildred Lesia (WCCA), Ebrahim Rasool (AZASO and Muslim Students Association), and Trevor Oosterwyk (CAYCO president). This leadership can be seen as primarily petit-bourgeois with a populist ideology – only Marks and the older African leaders (Mpetha, Lesia and Tinto) could be considered working-class. The initial RECs in each of the major UDF regions included many coloured or Indian leaders, but African representation on the Western Cape REC was particularly limited, reflecting both the strength of political networks in coloured areas and the weakness of networks or organisation in the townships.

The core of the REC comprised Manuel, Carolus, Oosterwyk, Borraine, Rasool, de Vries, Marks, and Lesia – the first six of whom were young, educated, and hardly working-class. The regional chairperson, Oscar Mpetha, only attended intermittently. At the March 1985 AGM, Zoli Malindi defeated Oscar Mpetha for the presidency, and the new REC included Yusuf Adam (treasurer), Goolam Aboobaker (fundraiser), Jeremy Cronin (education and training), and Graeme Bloch.

KwaZulu-Natal

The NIC and DHAC provided the nucleus from which the first UDF region emerged in the country.⁸³ It was formed in Durban on 14 May 1983, ahead of the Western Cape and Transvaal regions which were formed on 24 May and 31 May 1983 respectively. The

⁸³ The analysis in this section relies heavily on Sithole, 'The ANC Underground, armed actions and popular resistance in Pietermaritzburg and the surrounding Natal Midlands townships'; J. Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and Armed actions in Northern Natal', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010; and J. Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal'.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

Southern Natal Regional Executive Committee (REC) of the UDF was made up of Archie Gumede as its President, Professor Jerry Coovadia as the Chairperson, Virgil Bonhomme of the Wentworth Civic Association as the Deputy Chairperson, Yunus Mahomed and Joe Paahla as Co-Secretaries, and Rabbi Bugwandeem and Victoria Mxenge as co-Treasurers. Mcebisi Xundu, Lechesa Tsenoli, Baba Dlamini and several other activists served as additional members. Among them were three white activists from the Black Sash and Diakonia.

Most of the African members of the Southern Natal UDF REC were from the lower middle class professional backgrounds rather than the working class, and almost half of its members were from the NIC and DHAC. The members of the committee were drawn from a group of township-based African activists and another group of predominantly Indian activists who formed the core of the NIC and DHAC. The former were kept at the margins of the processes which led to the formation of the UDF, whereas the latter dominated the Regional Executive Committee in spite of minimal support for it among ordinary Indian people. This region prioritised the campaign against the tri-cameral parliament.

In May 1983 a Committee of Concern was formed to serve as the UDF Natal Midlands interim structure until the UDF Regional Executive Committee (REC) was elected in February/March 1985. This was the second UDF office established in Natal after the one in Durban. Most of the initial Natal Midlands UDF affiliates were from the Indian areas to the northeast of Pietermaritzburg. Appiah S. Chetty, the Pietermaritzburg-based NIC leader and struggle veteran, was elected its first regional chairperson; Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya, the organising secretary; Martin Wittenberg, the minute secretary; Muzi Thus, the rural organiser; and D.V. Chetty, the Treasurer. Simon Gqubule, Colin Gardner and Simon Motala were elected as additional members. A Local General Council (LGC), which was made up of 20 members, was also elected, and it included Yunus Carrim, who represented the local branch of the NIC; Hloni Zondi and S. Faizel who represented organised labour; Kenneth Dladla and Kam Chetty who represented the civic associations; Sipho Gabela and Sobhuza Dlamini who represented students; Sithembiso Benedictus Hlongwane, Sithembiso So Ngcobo and Robbie Mkhize, who represented the youth; and John Jeffrey, who represented the Pietermaritzburg Congress of Democrats. Mike Hart, John Gultig, Dennis Dickson, Reginald Hadebe and Thamsanqa Mseleku were later drawn in as representatives of the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA). The initial leadership was obviously male-dominated, and it would take a few years before Makhosi Khoza, Jean Ngubane, Nana Mnandi, Karuna Mohan, Sibongile Mkhize, Happy Bhulose and Thandi Matiwane were able to form the Natal Midlands branch of the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW).

Limpopo

Petrus Nchabaleng's presence in Sekhukhuneland was an important factor behind the formation of the UDF in the then northern Transvaal. In the 1980s, at the time when there was revival of the struggle against apartheid, Nchabaleng worked closely with the youth to take the struggle to another level.⁸⁴ He later became the first president of the Northern Transvaal region of the UDF.⁸⁵ Other members of the UDF in the province included Joyce Mabudafhasi, who was first regional secretary, and Peter Mokaba, the publicity secretary of the organisation. The UDF tried to use the networks of migrant labourers to mobilise in the northern Transvaal. However, they were not as successful as the ANC and the Communist Party in the 1940s and 1950s. The UDF's first rally in the northern Transvaal was held in Seshego and was attended by 5,000 people. By 1986, 63 organisations were affiliates of the UDF in the northern Transvaal.⁸⁶

In 1984, the Sekhukhune Youth Committee was established mainly by school students from villages such as Apel, GaNkwane and GaNchabeleng. In 1985, the Sekhukhune Youth Committee established the Sekhukhuneland Youth Organisation (SEYO) which modelled itself on COSAS. At first, SEYO had branches in six villages of Apel with a wider network beyond the area. Students from the University of the North continued to influence events as their predecessors did in the 1970s. In 1984, the University branch of AZASO decided to focus on the rural areas. One of their aims was to establish a special sub-committee group consisting of students from Bopedi who were tasked with mobilisation in their respective villages. Students from Turfloop also assisted SEYO in drafting a constitution and by hosting workshops. These student groupings also discussed matters around the Freedom Charter and the rise of the UDF.⁸⁷ In the 1980s, ANC-aligned students took over AZASO and refocused it towards the ANC. With an ANC-inclined AZASO operating at Turfloop, the UDF managed to launch its operations through the university.⁸⁸ COSAS students from the urban areas also visited schools in Sekhukhuneland. Students who sought refuge in villages due to apartheid reprisals also influenced their counterparts to rise against the state. The result was class boycotts in some of the villages.⁸⁹

Education in Sekhukhuneland was in crisis throughout the 1980s. The schools were ill-equipped, lacked library material; classes were without doors, chalkboards, windows and other classroom necessities. But it was an environment which was fertile enough to warrant a student revolt. Between the years 1985-86 students demanded the free distribution of

⁸⁴ Delius, P., 'Migrants, Comrades and Rural Revolt: Sekhukhuneland 1950-1987', *Transformation*, 13, 1990.

⁸⁵ <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/peter-petrus-nchabeleng-0>, accessed on 30 May 2013

⁸⁶ Lekgoathi, S.P., 'The United Democratic Front in Lebowa and KwaNdebele during the 1980s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010.

⁸⁷ Delius, 'Migrants, Comrades and Rural Revolt: Sekhukhuneland 1950-1987'.

⁸⁸ Lekgoathi, 'The United Democratic Front in Lebowa and KwaNdebele during the 1980s', 622-623.

⁸⁹ Delius, 'Migrants, Comrades and Rural Revolt: Sekhukhuneland 1950-1987'.

books from the Lebowa education department. They also demanded the ending of corporal punishment.⁹⁰

Workers also made their presence felt in the northern Transvaal. In the early 1980s, the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU) became visible in the mines around Sekhukhuneland. MAWU had a strong presence in the mine hostels. In 1985, unionists played a significant role in the establishment of the Steelpoort Youth Congress (STEYCO), which was recognised as the best organised youth congress in the region. Street Committees were also formed in the townships and the unionists played a role in establishing youth organisations beyond this area. From 1985 a UDF-linked movement which paid attention to migrant workers – the Northern Transvaal People's Congress (NOTPECO) – made its presence felt in the area and drew some lessons from Sebatakomo. It criticized the role of the chiefs and placed emphasis on working closely with the unions. NOTPECO also earmarked projects aimed at self-sufficiency and which could benefit the unemployed. Together with members of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), the Congress of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) and later with COSATU, youth in the Steelpoort area demanded accountability from the chiefs on how the funds they administered were being spent. Some chiefs fled the area, fearing for their lives.⁹¹ Another union, called the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU), had a branch at Turfloop led by a student called Alf Makaleng. Makaleng was detained in June 1986 and two years later he died in police detention.⁹²

Political activities were on the increase in Lebowa, particularly after the formation of the Northern Transvaal region of the UDF. During the period 1985-1986, activists put pressure on the chiefs to resign from the Lebowa Parliament. Widespread attacks on the homes of chiefs, policemen, alleged witches and anyone else suspected of any connection with the homeland government ensued.⁹³ In 1986, the vehicles of white people were stoned and burned. The situation became tense as schools were also closed and youth organisations spread like wildfire, a reflection of the national political landscape. Arrests, beatings and torture by the police became the order of the day.⁹⁴ It was at the height of this revolution that Peter Nchabeleng, the chairperson of the UDF in the Northern Transvaal, met his untimely death. He was detained in Lebowa on April 10, 1986, and killed by the Lebowa police the following day. He was buried at a mass funeral attended by 20,000 people in Apel, Sekhukhuneland.⁹⁵ Louis Mnguni replaced Nchabeleng as the chairperson of the UDF in the northern Transvaal.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Delius, 'Migrants, Comrades and Rural Revolt: Sekhukhuneland 1950-1987'.

⁹² Lekgoathi, 'The United Democratic Front in Lebowa and KwaNdebele during the 1980s', 619.

⁹³ TRC Report, Volume 3, Chapter 6 – Regional Profile: Transvaal, 643.

⁹⁴ Delius 'Migrants, Comrades and Rural Revolt: Sekhukhuneland 1950-1987'.

⁹⁵ <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/peter-petrus-nchabeleng-0>

⁹⁶ Lekgoathi, 'The United Democratic Front in Lebowa and KwaNdebele during the 1980s', 620.

The youth of the Green Valley in Lebowa formed the Brooklyn Youth Organisation under the banner of the UDF-affiliated South African Youth Congress in 1986. The youth organisation's aims included improving the supply of water and agitating for roads. However, the area became mired in conflict between the older generation and the youth who enforced consumer and school boycotts. In response to the latter, some old members of the community formed their own organisation, Sofasonke, which led to open clashes with the youth. Many died in the conflict and numerous houses were razed to the ground. Over time, however, Sofasonke diminished in significance. At the time of the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, the Green Valley Civic Association was dominated by elderly people.⁹⁷ However, as was the case in other parts of the northern Transvaal, the youth in the Green Valley were involved in attacks on suspected witches, killing a number and burning their houses.⁹⁸

The youth of Motetema, a township just outside Groblersdal, were at the forefront of the struggles waged by UDF structures in the area. One of the bloodiest conflicts between the police and the youth in the northern Transvaal occurred in the area, and by the end of March 1986 about ten youths had been killed. The situation repeated itself in other townships such as Seshego, Lebowakgomo and Mahwelereng where youngsters stoned police vehicles and destroyed houses owned by policemen. The police used force to quell the revolt. The death of Nchabeleng seemed to have sparked the spiralling violence in the different parts of northern Transvaal in 1986.⁹⁹

In the rural community of Zebediela, Lebowa, the role of teacher unions in the UDF became apparent. For some time, the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association (TAUTA) represented most teachers in the Transvaal. The union was, in many ways, a sweet-heart union that did not challenge the homeland authorities. In Zebediela, as was the case in other parts of the country, teachers experienced problems with the education system. They were often overloaded with work and sometimes obliged to teach in subject areas in which they had no expertise. In many instances there was a shortage of teachers and classes were often overcrowded. TAUTA was unable to help, and an alternative had to be sought. The National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA), formed in 1980 and affiliated to the UDF, opened a branch in Sekhukhuneland in 1986. However, the state focused attention on NEUSA in the region, and some of its leaders were arrested in 1986. NEUSA was eventually replaced by the Sekhukhune Progressive Teachers Union (SEPTU) in 1990. Another union called the Northern Transvaal Teachers' Union (NOTTU) was formed in 1989 and was able to establish branches in areas such as Zebediela, Lebowakgomo, Mankweng and Bochum. NOTTU's radicalism earned the organisation ire from the apartheid state. Its leaders were

⁹⁷ I. Niehaus, 'Witch-Hunting and Political Legitimacy: Continuity and Change in Green Valley', *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 63, No. 4, 1993, 498-530.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*,

⁹⁹ Lekgoathi, 'The United Democratic Front in Lebowa and KwaNdebele during the 1980s', 628.

arrested, thrown behind bars and sometimes deployed in other areas and schools where they had no influence.¹⁰⁰

The PAC underground

The beginning of the 1980s saw renewed efforts to revive political activism, resulting in the resurgence of Pan Africanism inside South Africa. A new crop of internal cadres and activists that were active in student, youth and trade union organisations became pivotal in this quest for the revival of the PAC and its ideological orientation. Of critical importance was the emergence of the crop of young leaders who formed themselves into a radical youth organisation called the Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU). It was AZANYU in particular that revived Pan Africanism inside the country, which aided greatly in the revival of the PAC and the re-organisation of those of its cadres who had gone underground for fear of arrest.

The emergence of a revolutionary trade union movement that culminated in the establishment of the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) also did much to influence the revival of the PAC inside South Africa. A large number of radical students who had been expelled from universities or completed their tertiary qualifications enjoyed a cordial reception in the ranks of the trade union movement. Unlike other avenues of formal employments where they would be restricted, these student activists could, without any inhibitions, freely propagate their political views within the trade unions.

The release of PAC leaders such as Zephania Mothopeng and Japhta Masemola later in the decade provide the emerging youth leadership with seasoned leaders whose militancy resonated with the overall outlook of the youth. This relationship further solidified the youth and infused in them a radical orientation akin to the erstwhile ANC Youth League of the 1940s.

The formation of the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (PASO) in 1989 brought into the Africanist fold a considerable constituency of students. PASO spread to many university campuses and colleges and helped to secure a sizeable number of student recruits for the PAC. The formation of the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) in 1990 enabled the PAC to have an internal national political front that was extensively used to advocate its views. The PAM became a critical vehicle that drew back into the PAC many of its veterans and activists who had been imprisoned on Robben Island. Many of these PAC veterans, several who were also banned – like Clarence Makwethu – resurfaced as part of the leadership of PAM. Those PAC

¹⁰⁰ Lekgoathi, 'Teacher Militancy in the Rural Northern Transvaal Community of Zebediela, 1986-1994', 226-252. For more details about the role of the youth in the revolt in Sekhukhuniland refer to I. van Kessel, "'From confusion to Lusaka': the youth revolt in Sekhukhuneland", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 19, Issue 4, 1993, 593-614.

professionals, such as Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, who had after their release from Robben Island pursued professional careers soon took up leadership positions in the PAC and made a tremendous impact on its revival.

The National Forum

On the same day as the UDF launch, the Cape Action League (CAL) was formed by Unity Movement-oriented groups. CAL claimed the support of 46 organisations, and in some areas was certainly 'a force to be reckoned with.' CAL accused Charterist activists of a 'reactionary' approach to the struggle (promoting racism rather than non-racism) and of seeking to ensure their own dominance. CAL advocated a 'principled' approach to struggle, in contrast to the UDF's pragmatism (or opportunism). CAL was thus implacably opposed to the participation of 'organisations such as the middle-class Western Cape Traders Association and predominantly white organisations such as NUSAS and Black Sash'.

As early as 1981, however, the idea of a united front was also circulating in Black Consciousness and other similar-minded circles. In 1981 a document was circulated titled, 'Let Us Build the United Front'. In the Western Cape this was put into practice with the formation of the Disorderly Bills Action Committees against the Koornhoff Bills in 1982. It included ex-Unity Movement people, BC and others. By October 1982 the group was working towards a national organisation to oppose the Koornhoff Bills and the new constitutional dispensation. The call for the creation of the National Forum (NF) was made at the fifth AZAPO congress in February 1983. Its rallying point was opposition to the new Constitution.¹⁰¹

800 people from about 100 organisations met in Hammanskraal, north of Pretoria, to form the NF in June, 1983. The meeting was convened by a National Forum Committee whose members included Saths Cooper from AZAPO; Phiroshaw Camay, general secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa; Tom Manthata, a member of the Soweto Committee of Ten; Bishop Manas Buthelezi, president of the South African Council of Churches (SACC); and Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary general of the SACC. Like the UDF, the NF was formed to oppose the tricameral parliament.

Delegates unanimously adopted the Manifesto of the Azanian People, a document that identified 'racial capitalism' as the enemy and was based on four basic principles: Anti-racism, anti-imperialism, anti-collaboration with the ruling class, and independent working class organisations.¹⁰² A number of the members of the new organisation were recently released Black Consciousness activists and leaders of other organisations such as Muntu

¹⁰¹ N. Gibson, 'Black Consciousness 1977-1987; The Dialectics of Liberation in South Africa', *Africa Today*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1st Quarter, 1988, 14.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 14.

Myeza, former President of SASO, Saths Cooper, founding member of the BPC, and Neville Alexander of the National Liberation Front.¹⁰³ The major constituents of the National Forum were: AZAPO, claimed membership, 110,000; AZACTU (Azanian Congress of Trade Unions, which became part of the National Congress of Trade Unions, NACTU), 11 union affiliates, claimed membership, 95,000; AZASM claimed membership, 80,000; AZAYO (Azanian Youth Organisation), claimed membership, 12,000; AZANYU (Azanian Youth Unity), membership not available; CAL (Cape Action League), membership not available; CUSA (Council of Unions of South Africa, became part of NACTU), 12 union affiliates, claimed membership, 180,000.¹⁰⁴

Campaigns and activities of popular organisations

The 1980s saw unprecedented levels of popular participation in political activities as the growing number of organisations engaged in numerous campaigns and activities in pursuit of liberation. The state responded to the upsurge in political activity with increased repression, which resulted in an increasing link between the various activities and the deaths of activists associated with them in the memories of the affected communities. Insofar as liberation heritage is concerned, therefore, many significant campaigns and activities undertaken by popular organisations are linked to the deaths of activists participating in, or undertaking them. This is not always the case, and there is a need to memorialise those campaigns and activities of the liberation movement that are of national significance – not just because they are associated with significant repression – but because of their contribution to the liberation struggle. This is quite clearly the case with events and processes of the 1910-1960 phase such as the Freedom Charter Campaign. It is for this reason – as well as to acknowledge the ultimate sacrifice made by so many activists participating in campaigns and popular actions during the 1980s – that we focus on the most significant campaigns and activities of popular organisations during the decade, including those where no death is recorded.

The campaigns and activities identified as significant for the purpose of this study include: student and education struggles; community and civic organisation struggles; trade union struggles; and the campaigns and activities of political organisations.

Student and education struggles

1980–1981 school boycotts

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 15n.

One of the first significant events of the decade of relevance to this study was the school boycott which was initiated in coloured schools in the Western Cape in 1980. The initial cause of the boycott was the dismissal of three white teachers who had attended mass meetings of students at two schools in March 1980. The parents' committee of the school which dismissed the teachers rejected the demand made by the students for their reinstatement. Other schools came out in support of the boycotting students at the two schools, and in April 1980 student demands at a meeting of 19 schools included a pay rise for teachers.¹⁰⁵ The demands soon grew to include free and compulsory education, re-admission of barred pupils, and removal of the South African Defence Forces and the police from the schools.

The boycott was also fuelled by deteriorating conditions in the schools and the mushrooming of local organisations. The boycott soon spread to other areas. Across the country, up to 100,000 children in coloured and African schools and university students on five black campuses boycotted classes between April 1980 and January 1981. The greatest impact was felt in the coloured townships of Cape Town and in Kimberley.

Western Cape: In the course of the boycott students in Cape Town allied themselves with workers' struggles under the slogan, 'The workers are strong; our parents the workers are strong; it is only by supporting them that our struggle will be won'.¹⁰⁶ The police reacted violently to the boycott in the Western Cape, and violence peaked on 17–18 June 1980 in the coloured townships of Elsie River, Lavender Hill and Bishop Lavis when a two-day stay away was held to commemorate the uprising of 1976. Coloured leaders had been detained in advance and meetings and gatherings banned. A fare increase had also precipitated a bus boycott, and there were incidents of arson, looting, and street protests. Police responded with tear gas, baton-charges and live ammunition. The number of deaths recorded at five Peninsula hospitals was at least 42. Over 200 people were injured, including children, young or pregnant mothers and a large number of other women. Police officially confirmed 34 deaths, including one in the Boland, and 146 injuries which, they alleged, were mainly stabbing and stoning injuries. At least two fatalities occurred as a result of the actions of those engaged in street protest, including one Constable Hugo, who was stabbed to death in Blackheath during a police baton charge, and a civilian who died when his vehicle crashed after being stoned. On 11 August 1980, two white men, Frederick Casper 'Fritz' Jansen and George Beeton, were killed next to the Crossroads squatter camp during a week of turmoil and widespread street protest. The men were stopped within half an hour of each other,

¹⁰⁵ D. Gilmour, "Smoke in Your Eyes: A Comment on 'Students Take Control: The 1980 Boycott of Coloured Education in the Cape Peninsula'", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1989, 368. Refer also to F. Molteni, 'Students Take Control: The 1980 Boycott of Coloured Education in the Cape Peninsula', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1987, 3-22.

¹⁰⁶ Pamphlet, Committee of 81, Cape Town, 1980. Cited in L. Chisholm, 'Redefining Skills: Black Education in South Africa in the 1980s', *Comparative Education*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1983, 362.

and their vehicles stoned, overturned and set alight. Both drivers died after being dragged out of their vehicles and assaulted.¹⁰⁷

Eastern Cape: The school boycott also took root in African and coloured schools in the Eastern Cape. Students in Grahamstown boycotted school in July 1980, while schools in Uitenhage were still boycotting in November 1980.

KwaZulu-Natal

The boycott also spread to African, Indian and coloured schools, as well as the Universities of Durban Westville, Natal and Zululand during 1980. The school boycotts in 1980 in Natal brought the demonstrators into conflict with Inkatha, the mass black organisation under the leadership of Chief Buthelezi.¹⁰⁸ The boycott received strong support from the students and their parents in KwaMashu, a large township of over 300,000 people to the north of Durban. The stayaway in KwaMashu began on the 29 April and continued intermittently to the middle of July. Two particular features of the boycott were, firstly, that it was totally opposed by the KwaZulu government which increasingly assumed the state's role in suppressing the strike, and secondly that the boycott was not adopted by any of the African townships around Durban or Pietermaritzburg despite attempts by students in KwaMashu to elicit support from fellow students in these areas.¹⁰⁹ COSAS had taken root in many schools in the province, including at schools in the homeland, in particular at KwaMashu in Durban. By the time the boycotts broke out, Buthelezi had already been rejected by the progressive youth of the country, including COSAS. The fact that COSAS was at the forefront of the school boycott in the region was reason enough for the Bantustan leader to oppose it. However, the boycott was also a challenge of the bantustan authority, since a challenge to Bantu Education also meant a challenge to the KwaZulu Department of Education (DEC) itself. Inkatha violently repressed the student revolt in KwaMashu. In addition, the boycott was being conducted by Zulu students, who were therefore bringing 'shame' to the Zulu nation and had to be brought into line.¹¹⁰ Inkatha appealed to parents for support in their suppression of the boycott, arguing that the pupils were rebelling against parental authority and wanting to do as they liked. This appeal to the adult community had a resonance for parents who were anxious about losing control over their children.¹¹¹ Despite the vigour of

¹⁰⁷ Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter TRC), *The Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 29 October 1998, 396-8. Available at www.info.gov.za/otherdocs/2003/trc/, 416.

¹⁰⁸ L. Schlemmer, 'Conflict in South Africa: Build-up to revolution or 'impasse?', Paper presented at the workshop: Violence and Conflict Management in Divided Societies", Arnold Bergstraesser Institute, Freiburg, Germany, March 20 to 25, 1983, 5.

¹⁰⁹ A. Manson, 'From Cato Manor to KwaMashu: Class formation and political opposition in KwaMashu Township, 1958-1980', *Reality*, 1980, 10.

¹¹⁰ N. Gwala, 'Political Violence and the Struggle for Control in Pietermaritzburg', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 3, April 1989, 517-8.

¹¹¹ P. Mdluli, "Ubuntu-Botho: Inkatha's 'people's Education'," *Transformation*, Vol. 5, 1987, 68-9.

official attacks on the boycotting students and the violent reaction it evoked among many Inkatha supporters, the students were not intimidated by Inkatha's opposition and rejected any assistance from Inkatha officials in solving the continuing education crisis.¹¹²

1984-1985 School boycott

In 1984, various events inside the country led to a decision by COSAS to engage in a renewal of school boycotts. Included here were a number of student grievances, such as perceived corruption in the grading of matriculation examinations (to which low pass rates were attributed), as well as corporal punishment, sexual harassment by teachers, age limits for schooling, and lack of official recognition of Student Representative Councils. The factors in the political environment at the time included the Vaal Triangle uprising, the 1984 elections for the Indian and coloured houses of the tricameral parliament, rent struggles, as well as the invasion of the townships by the South African Defence Force. COSAS used immediate grievances on education as a mechanism to mobilise students, and then employed their new strength to build resistance in larger issue-areas, helped by the organisation of 'youth congresses' among unemployed Africans in the townships.¹¹³

Community and civic organisation struggles

Western Cape:

The KTC and Crossroads struggles against removal: The African population of Cape Town more than doubled between 1980 and 1985, leading to a proliferation of squatter camps. The government planned to deal with this situation by creating the new township of Khayelitsha and moving residents of KTC and Crossroads squatter camps to the township. This was fiercely resisted by squatters and township residents via the 'Asiyi eKhayelitsha (We are not going to Khayelitsha) Campaign' adopted by the UDF.¹¹⁴ The UDF worked closely with the squatter leadership, including Crossroads leader and WCCA chairperson Johnson Ngxobongwana. Ngxobongwana was a 'popular leader' in the eyes of the leaders of most UDF affiliates and was welcomed into the progressive movement. In late 1983 the government reiterated its intention to 'clear up' Crossroads. The UDF ignored the warnings of some of its affiliates that Ngxobongwana was a brutal leader who ran Crossroads through force and fear. At the end of 1983, Ngxobongwana's supporters drove out of the area supporters of a rival squatter leader (Memani), and other opponents. The UDF now found itself in the position of supporting a leadership in Old Crossroads which was accused of

¹¹² Manson, 'From Cato Manor to KwaMashu', 10. For a more detailed study of the 1985 boycotts in Cape Town refer to C. Bundy, 'Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Aspects of youth and student resistance in Cape Town, 1985', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3, April 1987, 303-330.

¹¹³ J. Love and P. C. Sederberg, 'Black Education and the Dialectics of Transformation in South Africa, 1982-8', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2, June 1990, 314.

¹¹⁴ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 420.

'forcibly' removing residents from the area and 'driving' them to Khayelitsha.' The situation was worsened when the vice-chairperson of the WCCA issued a statement calling on the removal of Memani's supporters to Khayelitsha. An embarrassed UDF and WCCA had to issue a counter-statement declaring that they were 'not taking sides' and were opposed to any removals to Khayelitsha. However, by continuing 'to work with, and therefore tacitly support Ngxobongwana, some residents lost faith in the progressive movement'.¹¹⁵ Efforts by the state to commence removals in February 1985 were met with an outbreak of street resistance and clashes with police in which at least 18 people were killed and about 250 injured in the Crossroads/Nyanga area in three days. The removals to Khayelitsha were called off and the government announced certain concessions for Africans: a 99-year leasehold for all Africans in the Western Cape; the completion of the New Crossroads development; and the upgrading of Old Crossroads.¹¹⁶

Eastern Cape:

The 1983 Ciskei Bus boycott: On 18 July 1983, a boycott of the partly government-owned Ciskei Transport Corporation (CTC) buses started in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in protest at an 11 per cent fare increase.¹¹⁷ The boycott lasted several years and involved shooting of and assaults on commuters by the Ciskei security forces backed up by vigilantes. When the boycott started, commuters initially walked in large groups the 20 kilometres from Mdantsane to East London. These groups effectively became mass demonstrations against the bus company. Later, more use was made of private taxis and trains. The boycott elicited a violent response from Ciskei authorities. Security forces and vigilantes set up roadblocks in Mdantsane, and commuters were hauled out of taxis and ordered onto buses. On 22 July 1983, five people were shot and wounded by Ciskei security forces at the Fort Jackson railway station. On 30 July, a man was attacked and killed by vigilantes while walking near the Mdantsane stadium. On 3 August, a state of emergency was declared in Mdantsane and a night curfew imposed. Meetings of more than four people were banned and people were prohibited from walking in groups larger than four. The following day Ciskei forces opened fire on commuters at three Mdantsane railway stations, killing six people and injuring dozens. Another two people were shot and killed days later. The community responded to the shootings by attacking buses and government buildings, while Mdantsane school

¹¹⁵ J. Seekings, 'The United Democratic Front in Cape Town, 1983-1986', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010, 534-5.

¹¹⁶ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 420. See also J. Cole, *Crossroads: The politics of reform and repression, 1976-1986*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1978; A.H. Isaacs, F. Schuurman, and T. Van Naerssen, 'Crossroads: The rise and fall of a squatter movement in Cape Town, South Africa', in F. Schuurman and T. van Naerssen (eds.), *Urban social movements in the Third World*, New York, Routledge, 1989.

¹¹⁷ For a background on the living standards of Mdantsane workers refer to J.J. McCarthy and M. Swilling, 'The Apartheid City and the Politics of Bus Transportation', *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, Vol. 25, Cahier 99, Ségrégation spatiale, ségrégationsociale, 1985, 381-400.

students boycotted classes and burnt their schools. Over 1,000 people were detained. The boycott ended in March 1985.¹¹⁸

Cradock:¹¹⁹ Although it does not fit neatly into an event characterised as campaigns and activities of popular organisations, the events in Cradock have some of the characteristics of a civic campaign, as we will see below. Matthew Goniwe, the popular principal of the Lingelihle Secondary School, and his nephew Mbulelo Goniwe, were instrumental in the formation of the Cradock Residents Association (CRADORA) in 1983 to fight rent increases. Goniwe became its first chairperson, while Fort Calata, a fellow teacher at Lingelihle, became chairperson of the Cradock Youth Association (CRADOYA). On 29 November 1983, Goniwe was notified that he was to be transferred to Graaff-Reinet. Assuming this to be a politically motivated transfer, Goniwe refused to accept the move. The Department of Education and Training (DET) then claimed that he had 'dismissed himself'. When the DET refused to revoke the transfer, a school boycott started in February 1984 in support of Goniwe. By 18 March, it was supported by around 7,000 students from all seven Lingelihle schools; it ran for over 15 months and became the longest school boycott in the country.

On 26 March 1984 a magistrate banned all meetings of CRADORA and CRADOYA. A few days later, police fired teargas into a church hall packed with 2,000 pupils. Pupils responded by stoning the police. On 30 March 1984, Matthew Goniwe, Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata were detained. A day later, meetings were banned for three months. Conflict in Lingelihle escalated and the houses of councillors were stoned. Boycott-related violence began on 15 April, when students marched through the township demanding the reinstatement of Matthew Goniwe. On 27 May, police and the SADF cordoned off Lingelihle township searching for public violence suspects. In June 1984, Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Mbulelo Goniwe and Madoda Jacobs were listed in terms of the Internal Security Act. On 16 June, CRADORA called a successful one-day consumer boycott. A June 16th commemoration meeting was dispersed by the police with *sjamboks* and teargas, and schoolchildren stoned police vehicles. On 21 August, Calata was dismissed from his teaching post while in detention. In August 1984, a successful seven-day consumer boycott of white shops in Cradock was called, protesting against the detention of Goniwe, Calata and Mbulelo Goniwe. They were released on 10 October to a hero's welcome. In December 1984, a boycott of a beer hall led to its closure after four months. Consumer boycotts and work stay aways were other tactics used to further the community's objectives – for example, the closure of the beer hall. The claim was made that, to all intents and purposes, CRADORA had 'seized control of Cradock' and was governing the township of Lingelihle.

¹¹⁸ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 80-3. Refer also to M. Swilling, "'The buses smell of blood': The East London bus boycott, 1983", *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol. 9, No. 5, 45-74.

¹¹⁹ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 112-6.

On 3 March 1985, at the UDF Eastern Cape's first annual general meeting, Matthew Goniwe was elected to the UDF Eastern Cape regional executive in the newly-created position of rural organiser. He helped establish civic structures in Adelaide, Fort Beaufort, Cookhouse, Kirkwood, Hanover, Colesburg, Alexandria, Kenton-on-Sea, Steytlerville, Motherwell and Noupoot. Civic and youth organisations in many of these towns used the same methods as organisations in Cradock: boycotts of beer halls and schools and various forms of pressure on BLA councillors and police officers.

In January 1985, the entire Lingelihle Council resigned and were accepted back into the community. They were the first Eastern Cape black local authority to resign. Violence in Cradock escalated again in February 1985. A number of people died in the conflict. Some were police officers, stabbed or 'necklaced'; others were youth who were shot by police. In early April 1985, the school boycott was called off, despite the refusal of the DET to reinstate Goniwe and Calata.

Consumer boycotts: Consumer boycotts were introduced in 1985 in the Eastern Cape town of Port Alfred, where local organisations organised a boycott against white retailers following a price increase. This boycott ended when local businessmen agreed to end segregation in town council meetings and in stores and lobby for the withdrawal of the police from the townships and the construction of a new school.¹²⁰ The success of this boycott led to the spread of its use to other towns in the region and by August at least 23 centres were affected, including the Port Elizabeth–Uitenhage industrial complex. By the end of the year all the major centres – Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban – and scores of small towns throughout the country had been affected by consumer boycotts.¹²¹

Initially, consumer boycotts involved entire townships withholding their purchasing power from the white, and sometimes coloured and Indian retailers in the area, in response to price increases and local socio-economic issues.¹²² However, activists soon realised the potential uses of the consumer boycotts and began to link local demands with national political demands. Since the success of the boycott depended on the widest possible participation by the community, organising committees representing all sectors of the community sprang up in a number of areas. The boycotts also led to mass mobilisation and politicisation, particularly in the Eastern Cape townships, where support for the boycotts came from almost the entire population of the participating townships. The linkage of political demands to socio-economic demands also raised the political consciousness of township residents.

¹²⁰ A. Marx, *Lessons of the Struggle: South African internal opposition*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1992, 153.

¹²¹ K. Helliker et. al., "'Asithengi!': Recent Consumer Boycotts", in G. Moss and I. Obery, eds., *South African Review* 4, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987, 34.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 34.

For example, after a successful mass stayaway in March 1985, PEBCO called for a boycott of white-owned shops which began on 15 July and was to last for a few months. According to White, by November the boycott had been in place for almost four months and was having devastating results. In addition, “unrest” and mass militancy were continuing and spreading, albeit on a rather shaky organisational basis and often in a rather directionless way.¹²³ Negotiations between the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce and the local state resulted in another victory for the masses. Community organisations agreed to lift the boycott by 1 December after the state withdrew the SAP and SADF from the townships, permitted those in hiding to re-emerge and conceded to several minor demands.¹²⁴

KwaZulu-Natal:

Sobantu rent struggle: In 1982, the Sobantu community embarked on struggles against rent and bus-fare hikes. Unrest erupted on 28 September 1982, when a large group of residents, mainly youths, gathered opposite the township superintendent offices, where rents were paid. The police used dogs, teargas and *sjamboks* to disperse the protesters and arrested and charged 19 people under the Internal Security Act. At an anti-rent demonstration on 30 September 1982, hundreds of residents were fired upon by the police. Graham Sibusiso Radebe ran into Constable Siphso Mthembu’s yard, where the policeman opened fire, killing him instantly. Two other 15-year-old youths, Mhlengi Duma and Jabulani Nkosi, also sustained injuries in the same shooting incident. A number of confrontations with the police followed.¹²⁵

Mpophomeni rent struggle: Mpophomeni residents also engaged in rent struggles against their KwaZulu-administered town council when rent increases were imposed in 1983. The Mpophomeni community struggles gave rise to the formation of the Mpophomeni Youth Organisation (MPOYO1) in 1984. Some of its prominent members were Bhoyi Ndlela, Isaiah Ntshangase, and Dominic Ngubo. They worked closely with the ANC veteran, Emmanuel ‘Mdayisi’ Nene, who had featured prominently in the 1959 Sobantu community struggles. Meanwhile another ANC veteran and former Robben Island prisoner, David Mkhize, helped to form the Mpolweni Youth Organisation (MPOYO2) at the Mpolweni mission near New Hanover in 1984. Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya, then a local school teacher, assisted him. Mkhize had served a five year jail term on Robben Island for MK activities in the 1960s. He was released from prison in the early 1970s. His son, Moses Mkhize, also served time on Robben Island in the 1980s.¹²⁶

¹²³ R. White, ‘A Tide has Risen. A Breach has Occurred: Towards an Assessment of the Strategic Value of the Consumer Boycotts’, *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vo. 11, No. 5, May 1986, 89–90.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹²⁵ Sithole, ‘The ANC underground in the Natal Midlands’, 232ff.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 240.

North West:

Resistance to the Bophuthatswana Homeland: Opposition to the Mangope regime was widespread, and encompassed both urban and rural situations. In Phokeng, the Bafokeng resisted Mangope's efforts to control their mineral assets. The kgosi, LeboneMolotlegi, was deposed and his brother, George, a stooge of Mangope's, replaced him. Many of the Bafokeng leaders, including Lebone's wife, Semane, were harassed and forced out of Phokeng. The Bafokeng resisted through recourse to the courts, and mass action to show their opposition to the Bophuthatswana regime's repressive actions.

Resistance to incorporation: In 1986, the two villages of Braklaagte and Leeufontein, which are just north of Zeerust along the road to the Tlokweng border post, were selected for incorporation into Bophuthatswana. This triggered strong resistance as the residents feared they would lose their South African citizenship and would be cut off from employment and other benefits in South Africa. The community, under the chieftainship of Kgosi Papsey Sebogodi, enlisted the support of organisations such as the Transvaal Action Committee (TRAC) to help them fight their impending removal through the courts. After prolonged resistance, on 16 June 1989 a meeting in Braklaagte was broken up by the security police, which led to the death of nine Bophuthatswana policemen, who were burnt alive while inside a police caspir. Over 50 of the villagers were charged with 'common purpose' murder. The Bophuthatswana security apparatus, with the help of vigilantes, subsequently waged a concerted reign of terror against the inhabitants, many of whom sought refuge on the neighbouring white-owned farms, or fled into 'exile' to Gauteng. For 20 years the north-western Transvaal communities of Braklaagte and Leeufontein struggled to stay on their 'black spots' near Zeerust, until they were forcibly incorporated into Bophuthatswana in December 1988. In April 1989, protest against the incorporation escalated into conflict, with intermittent school boycotts in both communities. In Braklaagte, after the stoning of the house of a villager believed to be in favour of incorporation, police arrested more than 100 people. In May, Bophuthatswana police clashed with residents of Leeufontein and allegedly assaulted many. Chief Mangope warned residents that the police were under his orders to maintain law and order in the area. The conflict culminated in the killing of nine policemen and two civilians at a general meeting of the Leeufontein and Braklaagte communities on 1 July 1989. The police reportedly halted the meeting, ordered the crowd to disperse and then opened fire with tear gas and rubber bullets. Police asserted that they were surrounded and attacked and had no choice but to defend themselves. Four of the policemen died when an army vehicle was set alight, trapping those inside; the other five were clubbed, stoned and hacked to death. A number of people were arrested, some by the SAP. Some were alleged to have been badly assaulted.¹²⁷

The 1988 and 1994 coups: As is well known, there were two coups in Bophuthatswana, one

¹²⁷ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 6 – Regional Profile: Transvaal*, 648.

in 1988 which failed because SA in the form of the SADF came to the rescue of the Mangope regime, and the other in 1994 which toppled him. The Mmabatho stadium was a focus of activity during both coups.

Limpopo:

Moutse resistance to incorporation: In the Limpopo Province, resistance took place in areas such as Moutse near Groblersdal, a contested area between the KwaNdebele and the Lebowa homeland governments. The residents of Moutse were North Sotho speakers, and, in keeping with the apartheid homeland policy, was required to become part of the Lebowa homeland. However, the apartheid regime was in favour of incorporating Moutse into KwaNdebele. Residents of Moutse resisted incorporation, and this resulted in a full scale attack by a vigilante group from KwaNdebele, Mbokodo, in 1986. The killing of Moutse residents continued unabated with the South African Defence Force playing a role in the atrocities. In an effort to counteract the activities of the KwaNdebele government, the KwaNdebele Youth Congress (KWAYCO) was formed and affiliated to the UDF then under the leadership of Prince James Mahlangu from the Ndzundza royal family. KWAYCO called for stay-aways against independence of KwaNdebele. Eventually, the idea of independence was shelved.¹²⁸

Vleifontein resistance to incorporation: In April 1986, residents of the northern Transvaal township of Vleifontein resisted the government's unilateral incorporation of the area into the Venda homeland and protested fiercely. Venda-speaking residents of the former ethnically mixed Tshikota township had been moved to Vleifontein a few years earlier in anticipation of their ultimate removal to the homeland. However, when the government tried to implement the incorporation, they met with opposition because residents had been misled about the reasons for their earlier move from Tshikota. At a mass meeting attended by almost all the adults in Vleifontein, a twelve-person committee called the Venda Crisis Committee (VCC) was elected, representing teachers, students and workers. The VCC's brief was to negotiate for the reversal of the incorporation or, if this was not possible, to allow Vleifontein residents to return to Tshikota township.

The Venda government responded by moving its army and police into the township. Homes of VCC members were raided and activists were assaulted and tortured by the Venda Police. In the early hours of 13 June 1986, the Venda Police detained three young VCC members, Steven Nemaide, Russel Molefe and Mpho Ronald Mashau. According to eyewitnesses the three were severely *sjambokked* after their arrest. Soon afterwards five other members of

¹²⁸ Stephen Phatlane, 'The Farce of Homeland Independence: Kwa-Ndebele, the Untold Story', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 37, 2002. For more detail on the role of the Prince in the anti-independence struggle refer to I. van Kessel and B. Oomen, "'One Chief, One Vote': The Revival of Traditional Authorities in Post-Apartheid South Africa", *African Affairs*, Vol. 96, No. 385, October 1997, 568ff.

the VCC were detained. One died shortly after being released from three months' detention at Vuwani police station. He was unable to return to school as a result of constant ill health and what his parents described as 'a wound on the head'. On the same day, a bus transporting Vleifontein residents to work in Louis Trichardt was stopped at a roadblock manned by Venda Police. After commuters refused to disembark, the bus driver was ordered to drive to Tshitale police station, 20 kilometres away, where the commuters were ordered out and *sjambokked* by a row of policemen. The police said the passengers had to realise that Vleifontein was now part of Venda. The commuters were eventually released on bail three days later.¹²⁹

Trade union struggles

In the opening years of the decade the largest trade union federation in the country was the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), which initially eschewed overt political activism in order to avoid the direct state repression which had forced the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) into exile with the ANC in the 1960s. FOSATU instead concentrated on building organisational strength on the shopfloor, and on wresting economic gains for its members, committing itself to non-racialism just when many community organisations were abandoning BC's racial exclusivity. A smaller federation, the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), retained greater ideological affinity with the Black Consciousness Movement, concentrating more on shaping the political values of workers than on building its organisational strength.¹³⁰

However, increasing community support for worker struggles from 1980 onwards placed pressure on the trade unions to be equally supportive of community struggles. Examples of the former include the support given to striking workers by students during the course of a strike at Fattis & Monis in Cape Town in 1980, community support, also in Cape Town, for a boycott of red meat after striking workers were fired from Table Bay Cold Storage in 1980, community support for striking workers in the automobile industry in Port Elizabeth during the same period, and the nation-wide boycott of Wilson-Rowntree products in 1981 after striking workers were fired.

COSATU assumed a political role in the 1980s. The emergence of a strong labour movement challenged the unilateral power of employers in the workplace, while drawing the unions increasingly into issues beyond the workplace into the townships and the wider struggle against apartheid. With the organised workers demanding direct involvement in the struggle for political rights, and with the launch of COSATU in 1985, a shift of key trade unions to open identification with the national liberation struggle was forged. From the mid-1980s, the struggle was characterised by high levels of mobilisation and resistance in the factories

¹²⁹ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 6 – Regional Profile: Transvaal*, 648-9.

¹³⁰ Marx, 'South African Black Trade Unions as an Emerging Working-Class Movement', 386.

and townships: strikes, rent boycotts, consumer boycotts, and stay-aways.¹³¹ This political role became ever more stark as the Federation grew in strength because of membership numbers, while a corresponding strain was placed on national and local political organisations because of severe restrictions.¹³²

The pressure of events in the country and mounting pressure by COSATU's membership to participate in political campaigns, led to an early recognition that the new federation had to work closely with community organisations. This was recognised at the inaugural conference in the keynote address by Cyril Ramaphosa that the 'struggle on the shopfloor cannot be separated from the wider political issues'. The inaugural conference adopted a resolution calling for close relations with other organisations of the mass democratic movement, including the UDF.¹³³

COSATU identified publicly with the national liberation struggle early in 1986 after a visit by a COSATU delegation to Lusaka. The joint ANC-SACTU-COSATU statement acknowledged the independent existence of COSATU, while at the same time affirming that trade unions are an essential component of the national struggle: 'As a representative of our working class COSATU is seized with the task of engaging the workers in the general democratic struggle, both as an independent organisation and as essential component of the democratic forces in our country.' This statement of intent by the COSATU leadership was an attempt to come to terms with the crisis in the townships. Essentially, this meant thinking through the relationship with the national liberation movement and the relationship between students, unemployed youth and the organised workforce.¹³⁴

But, it was the actions of the state which finally pushed the unions into the forefront of opposition, and increasing repression of unions under the state of emergency regulations began in 1985. In addition, with its greater political focus after adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1987, COSATU increasingly adopted the role of the leading representative of the black working class. Among the most significant campaigns it embarked on in the 1980s was the 'Living-Wage Campaign', which was launched in 1987. COSATU demanded not only adequate wages for union members, but also full employment. COSATU voted to call for a maximum 40-hour working week, sacrificing members' overtime pay in order to spread employment.¹³⁵

¹³¹ G. Wood and C. Psoulis, 'Mobilisation, Internal Cohesion, and Organised Labor: The Case of the Congress of South African Trade Unions', *Work and Occupations* 2001 28, No. 3, August 2001, 296-7.

¹³² Marx, 'South African Black Trade Unions as an Emerging Working-Class Movement', 383.

¹³³ Steven Friedman, *Building towards Tomorrow: African Workers in Trade Unions*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987, 413.

¹³⁴ E. Webster, 'The Two Faces of the Black Trade Union Movement in South Africa', 38-41.

¹³⁵ Marx, 'South African Black Trade Unions as an Emerging Working-Class Movement', 383.

Nevertheless, COSATU unions and officials experienced extensive repression during the 1980s. COSATU's growing militancy and participation in the political field provoked a violent response from the state. COSATU headquarters and a number of affiliated union offices were bombed.¹³⁶

The campaigns and activities of political organisations

The Freedom Charter Campaign

During the early 1980s, organisations inside the country took up the Freedom Charter Campaign and high school and university students distributed thousands of copies of the charter to the masses of South Africans. This was in response to the ANC's call in its 8 January 1980 statement for the popularisation of the Charter's aims and objectives on the 25th anniversary of its adoption.¹³⁷ Inside South Africa, ANC underground operatives and student organisations played a significant role in the campaign. Joe Phaahla, an underground operative and student leader at Natal University, recalls that they were 'very central [in the campaign], especially in 1980'. 'I remember that we were aiming for a huge rally at Howard College in June 1980, and then it was banned. We wanted to have a huge Freedom Charter Rally and June 16. ... Both of them were banned.'¹³⁸

The scope and the breadth of the various events commemorating the Freedom Charter included a meeting on the Witwatersrand in June 1982 organised by COSAS and the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW).¹³⁹ Perhaps the most significant indication of the success of the campaign was the adoption of the Charter by the largest legal mass-based organisation inside the country, COSAS, in the year the campaign was launched. COSAS became the first organisation to adopt the Freedom Charter since the banning of the ANC in 1960. We have shown in Volume 2 of *The Road to Democracy in South Africa* how underground ANC activists played a central role in its formation. Initially, COSAS was a BC-oriented organisation (its predecessor, the South African Students Movement – SASM – was a part of the BCM).¹⁴⁰ However, in 1980, the student organisation declared its support for the Freedom Charter. Although COSAS's convenors were products of the BCM, by styling

¹³⁶ Callinicos, 'Labour History and Worker Education in South Africa', 173.

¹³⁷ Refer to www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/cop/jan8-80ext.html; O.R. Tambo, 'Let Us Rise to the Occasion', Speech by President Tambo on the occasion of 68th anniversary of the ANC, 8 January 1980, *Sechaba*, March 1980, 10.

¹³⁸ Interview with Joe Phaahla conducted by Bernard Magubane and Gregory Houston, Pretoria, 8 January 2004, SADET Oral History Project.

¹³⁹ South African Institute of Race Relations, *Survey of Race Relations* (hereafter *SAIRR Survey*)1982, Johannesburg, SAIRR, 1983, 32–3. Publication date of annual survey was usually the following year.

¹⁴⁰ Curtis Nkondo recalls that at the time of the banning of BC organisations on 19 October 1977 there was already division between the SASO and the BPC because members of SASO felt that the BPC was seeking to replace the ANC and PAC and become an organisation in its own right. According to Nkondo, SASO was planning to disassociate itself from the BPC. Refer to Wits, KG, I (29) Interview with Curtis Nkondo conducted by Thomas Karis and Gail Gerhart, New York, May 1989.

itself a 'Congress' it was self-consciously identifying itself with the congress tradition of the 1950s. Its first president, Ephraim Mogale, was actually a clandestine ANC member and was eventually convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC.¹⁴¹

After the proscription of the UDF and other organisations in 1988, COSATU's political role as the leading force was reinforced with the creation of the Mass Democratic Movement. COSATU has emerged as the strongest and most active component of this alliance, for instance by taking the lead in organising the welcome for senior ANC officials released in 1989.

COSAS's guiding principle was that the ANC was 'the authentic liberation movement' of South Africa, and that the youth militants should plan their future activities as a continuation of that tradition.¹⁴² In its first two years COSAS took up two commemorative campaigns that the authorities saw as ANC-supporting: the 1979 hanging of MK guerrilla Solomon Mahlangu, and the centenary of the Zulu victory over British troops at the Battle of Isandhlwana.¹⁴³ Shepi Mati, president of COSAS from 1982, adds that:

COSAS had [a] definite relationship with the ANC. It was launched as an initiative of the ANC people underground inside the country [and those] who were operating from outside the country [who] had an interest that beyond 1976 the youth inside the country must regroup because organisations had been banned in 1977. [In] just two years – '78-79 – COSAS was launched ... So the one definite relationship really was at this stage with the ANC. Of course publicly – because we were a legal organisation [and] the ANC [was] banned – on the public platform we would not admit the fact that we had anything to do with the ANC.¹⁴⁴

The Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) was another major youth organisation to adopt the Freedom Charter. At the inaugural conference in November 1979, organised by AZAPO, a preamble was adopted endorsing the philosophy of Black Consciousness.¹⁴⁵ In 1981 AZASO adopted the Freedom Charter and co-operation with COSAS, and confirmed the dominance of 'United Front', non-racial politics among the organised youth.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ T. Lodge, 'Rebellion: The Turning of the Tide', in T. Lodge and B. Nasson (eds.), *All, Here, and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s*, South Africa Update Series, Cape Town, David Philip, 1991, 36.

¹⁴² S. Johnson, "'The Soldiers of Luthuli': Youth in the Politics of Resistance in South Africa', in S. Johnson, ed., *South Africa: No Turning Back*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1989, 106.

¹⁴³ Julie Frederickse, *The Unbreakable Thread: Non-Racialism in South Africa*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1990, 182n.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Shepherd Mati conducted by Thozama April.

¹⁴⁵ 'Anyone who Fights Racism, Exploitation is on Our Side', interview with Joe Phaahla, president of AZASO, *SASPU National*, 2, 7 (September 1981), 9.

¹⁴⁶ Johnson, 'The Soldiers of Luthuli', 106.

Although there were no trade unions that explicitly declared their support for the ANC or its policies at the time, there were a number of 'community' trade unions whose policies and objectives were clearly ANC-aligned. These include SAAWU, GAWU, the Motor Assembly and Components Workers' Union of South Africa (MACWUSA), and the General Workers' Union of South Africa (GWUSA).

Release Mandela Campaign

Percy Qoboza, editor of the *Sunday Post* in Johannesburg, launched the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela in an editorial on 9 March 1980.¹⁴⁷ Qoboza called on the *Sunday Post* readers to sign a petition, which led to over 86,000 signatures and drew in the support of many organisations and prominent leaders. A Release Nelson Mandela Committee was formed in the same month with Nokukhanya Luthuli (wife of the late Chief Albert Luthuli) as patron. In that year, a meeting was held at the University of Cape Town where Nelson Mandela's daughter, Zenani told the audience: 'The dilemma of our country is having to accept that apartheid has failed with its imposed solution through imposed leaders'. After the meeting more than 1,200 signatures were appended to the petitions circulating in the hall.¹⁴⁸

In Natal, Diakonia, the inter-church organisation representing eight major denominations, joined the campaign. The body called on local congregations to give their full support to the petition ...¹⁴⁹ In Durban, over 1,000 people attending a meeting in Phoenix unanimously backed a call for the release of Mandela. Another meeting in Durban called on whites opposed to the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners to note that Mandela was a natural hero to black people, was internationally recognised and that many politicians in the United Kingdom and America supported the campaign.¹⁵⁰ According to Davis, the ANC, through the Release Mandela Campaign, 'had succeeded in rallying nearly all sectors of black opinion – regardless of party – behind its own charismatic figure. The effort had in effect promoted Mandela in stature from partisan prophet to national saint, and thus the ANC from a prominent caucus to an all-embracing patriotic front'.¹⁵¹

Anti-South African Indian Council (SAIC) Campaign

The South African Indian Council (SAIC) elections were initially scheduled for March 1980, but were later postponed to 4 November 1981. Underground political units of the ANC played a crucial role in the anti-SAIC campaign. The most important of these, according to Barrell, was a Natal unit led by Pravin Gordhan, which included Yunus Mahomed, Zac

¹⁴⁷ Refer to www.anc.org/ancdosc/history/campaigns/prisoner.html

¹⁴⁸ 'Free Mandela', *Sechaba*, June 1980, 9–10.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ 'Mandela Campaign Continues', *Sechaba*, August 1980, 11.

¹⁵¹ Davis, *Apartheid's Rebels*, 49.

Yacoob and Gerry Coovadia.¹⁵² Initially the unit recommended taking part in the elections for the SAIC in order to take over the council and destroy it from within in conformity with an ANC National Executive Committee decision in relation to the SAIC taken in August 1979. However, another ANC-aligned faction in the Indian community wanted a boycott of the election.¹⁵³ Following a meeting of the two factions with Mac Maharaj in London in late 1979, it was agreed that, in order to mirror the tactics in African areas which favoured boycott of all elections for state-created institutions, ANC-aligned groups inside the country would recommend a total boycott of SAIC elections. However, it was agreed that the final decision had to be taken by activists inside the country. The eventual decision was to boycott the elections.¹⁵⁴

The ANC made a call on South Africa's Indian people to boycott the elections in an article which was first published in *Jana Shakti*, a bulletin distributed among the Indian community inside the country.¹⁵⁵ The ANC pointed out that the boycott tactic would be the most effective. It added that the SAIC election issue was an opportunity to carry out mass mobilisation, which would lead to organisational structures and methods with their 'roots in the masses and which relate to their aspirations'. This would include strengthening existing organisations and groups and ensuring 'that they tackle these specific issues through all forms of struggle'.¹⁵⁶ The election issue also provided an opportunity for the ANC 'to broaden the political consciousness of our people around the burning issues confronting them daily as well as in the long term'. It saw its tasks as being to: support and strengthen the anti-election campaign in every area; help to raise the political consciousness of the masses of our people; and build a unity of action of Africans, Indians, coloureds and democratic whites.¹⁵⁷

Anti-SAIC committees were established, especially in Natal and the Transvaal, and opted to boycott the elections. The NIC took the lead in the anti-SAIC committee in Natal, while former members of the TIC took this role in the Transvaal. In this campaign, instead of merely advocating a boycott of the elections, 'Anti-SAIC Committees in both the Transvaal and Natal conducted their operations almost like election campaigns, canvassing door to door and speaking to almost every voter in many constituencies'.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² Barrell, 'Conscripts to their Age'.

¹⁵³ In 1979 the ANC had accepted the boycott of government-created institutions 'as a tactic and a weapon of struggle'. The ANC saw its task as mobilising and marshalling forces against these institutions. One way of doing this was to forge unity between Africans, coloureds, Indians and progressive whites. (See *Green Book*, section on 'Our General Approach in the Struggle against Government-Created Institutions'.)

¹⁵⁴ Barrell, 'Conscripts to their Age'.

¹⁵⁵ For the full article refer to 'Boycott the SAIC!', *Sechaba*, August 1980, 27ff.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁵⁸ *Sunday Tribune*, 10 January 1982.

The Transvaal committee was formed in June 1981 when 150 representatives of political, religious and community organisations elected a 13-man committee. A mass meeting in Lenasia organised by the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee (TASC) to launch the boycott campaign, was attended by 3,000 people. The organisation committed itself to the programme of the Freedom Charter in its struggle for democracy in South Africa. The boycott campaign was extremely successful, with the overall voter turnout under 20%.¹⁵⁹

Anti-Community Councils Campaign

African local government was reformed in 1983 after the passage of one of the Koornhof bills, the Black Local Authorities Act, No. 102 of 1982. In terms of this legislation, 232 community councils in 299 African townships in 'white' South Africa were phased out and replaced by town or village councils. The new structures were given certain new powers in an attempt to confer on them greater status and autonomy.¹⁶⁰ Elections for the new local authorities were held countrywide in November and December 1983, prompting widespread resistance and mobilisation. Prior to the elections, an Anti-Community Councils' Election Committee was formed by a number of ANC-aligned organisations affiliated to the UDF: COSAS, AZASO, the SCA, FEDSAW, the Municipal and General Workers' Union, GWUSA, and GAWU. Various meetings and rallies were organised by the committee, where people were called upon to boycott the elections. The campaign against the elections culminated in a rally attended by 10,000 Soweto residents at Regina Mundi church in Soweto in November 1983. The overall poll in the election was 21%, compared to 30% in the previous elections for community councils in 1978.¹⁶¹

The campaign against elections for the tri-cameral parliament

The first purpose of the UDF was to oppose the Constitution and the Koornhof Bills. In mid-December 1983, the UDF held its first national conference in Port Elizabeth to discuss its strategy towards possible referendums for the Indian and coloured communities after the white population had endorsed the adoption of the new Constitution at an all-white referendum on 2 November 1983. At the centre of discussion was whether members should participate in these racial referendums and register a 'no' vote; totally boycott the referenda; or allow each region freedom of choice. The conference was unable to reach a decision and regions indicated that they wanted to consult their membership. The UDF conference unanimously accepted that if elections were held instead of referendums, it would call for a boycott.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Cf *SAIRR Survey 1981*, 20.

¹⁶⁰ Cf *SAIRR Survey 1983*, 253.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 257–8. It must be noted, however, that the boycott of government institutions was a strategy of a number of leading movements and organisations at the time, including the Unity Movement and the BCM. Successful boycotts cannot be attributed solely to the efforts of ANC-aligned organisations.

¹⁶² *SAIRR Survey 1983*, 61.

The ANC's support for the boycott strategy was evident during the run-up to the elections for the SAIC in 1981. In addition, in its January 8th statement for 1984, the ANC, through Oliver Tambo, stated: '... our democratic movement must mobilise to ensure that the so-called coloured and Indian sections of the black population refuse to be recruited to play the role of partners in apartheid tyranny'.¹⁶³

Regional differences emerged on the question of the Front's participation in the racial referendums. On the one hand, the Natal UDF proposed that the UDF contest the issue in the referendums because they felt that the majority of Indian voters in the province would reject the new constitution. On the other hand, the Western Cape and Transvaal regions opposed participation because they felt that their communities might vote in favour of the new constitution. The Western Cape UDF pointed out that contesting the referendums was tantamount to participating in the new parliament.¹⁶⁴

A decision, taken by the UDF national executive on 25 January 1984, called for a non-racial referendum, a boycott of ethnic referendums, but left the way open for affiliates to take part in them if this was appropriate in terms of 'local conditions'.¹⁶⁵ However, with evidence of mounting opposition to participation in the tri-cameral constitution, Indian and coloured leaders opting for participation persuaded the government to abandon the idea of referendums for their communities.

In the campaign against the Black Local Authorities (BLAs) in 1983, the pattern was set for meetings at houses in the townships where eligible voters were encouraged to boycott the elections. UDF volunteers distributed thousands of pamphlets and conducted house-to-house campaigns in some African townships. Despite government efforts to break the tradition of boycott and election apathy within the townships, percentage polls were generally lower than the 1978–79 elections for the former community councils.¹⁶⁶

Elections for the coloured and Indian chambers in the new tri-cameral parliament were scheduled for the end of August 1984. The UDF and its affiliates, together with other major anti-apartheid movements, decided on a boycott campaign. But, as a test of its support and opposition to the reform proposals, the UDF launched a 'Million Signatures Campaign' on 21 January 1984. This campaign involved large numbers of UDF members who were charged

¹⁶³ Oliver Tambo, 'The Dream of Total Liberation of Africa is in Sight', president's statement for 1984, *Sechaba*, March 1984, 8.

¹⁶⁴ Steven Mufson, *Fighting Years: Black Resistance and the Struggle for a New South Africa* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990), 59.

¹⁶⁵ Statement of the UDF National Executive Committee, January 1984. Cited in Howard Barrell, 'The United Democratic Front and National Forum: Their Emergence, Composition and Trends', in *South African Review* 2, 18.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 15; Patrick Laurence, 'Resistance to African Town Councils: The Collapse of Indirect Rule', *Indicator SA*, 2, 4 (January 1985), 12.

with collecting signatures throughout South Africa indicating the rejection of the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills and demanding a non-racial, unitary and democratic South Africa. By October the UDF had just under 400,000 signatures, and the UDF claimed that police harassment of UDF supporters was largely responsible for the shortfall. The campaign had also been overtaken by the anti-election campaign.

The campaign against the constitution was conducted largely through the direct mobilisation of Indian and coloured people through the UDF and its affiliates who participated in mass rallies, house-to-house meetings, distribution of literature and the holding of public meetings in which UDF spokesmen urged those attending to boycott the elections. In addition, every potential anti-apartheid force was mobilised through the trade unions, youth, student, women, religious, civic and other organisations. In the Western Cape, the University of the Western Cape, and peninsula schools and colleges embarked on a prolonged boycott of classes over eight weeks, with the students and individual staff members devoting all their energies to this campaign. Over 300 staff (mainly black) of this university organised a protest march and sustained placard demonstrations against the elections.¹⁶⁷ In the Eastern Cape, members of the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (PEWO) played a central role in both the Million Signatures and anti-elections campaigns.¹⁶⁸ The results of the elections indicate the widespread opposition to the new dispensation: the official percentage poll in the coloured election was 30% and in the Indian election 20%. The UDF put the figures at 17,5% and 15,5% respectively.

The 1989 Defiance Campaign

The Defiance Campaign against apartheid laws was launched as a national initiative by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM),⁹ but the Western Cape was to play a leading role. By March 1989, protest actions resulting in arrests had begun in Cape Town. There followed a proliferation of defiance activities targeting a range of apartheid laws, peaking in opposition to the 'whites-only' election of 6 September 1989.

On 6 August 1989, 16 restricted activists announced their defiance of their restriction orders at an Athlone church service, sparking off a cycle of arrests and continued defiance. On 8 August, defiance rallies were held at schools and campuses in the Peninsula, and the UDF was declared 'unbanned' by a mass meeting in St. George's Cathedral followed by a march under the banners of banned organisations. On 12 August, restricted activists again publicly defied their restriction orders at a National Women's Day rally in Hanover Park, which was then teargassed. Many were detained under the emergency regulations.

¹⁶⁷ Anon, 'Mobilisation Politics in Cape Town, August 1984-October 1985: a Personal Account', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 34, Market Forces, December 1985, 104.

¹⁶⁸ J. Cherry, , "'We were not afraid': The role of women in the 1980s' township uprising in the Eastern Cape", in N. Gaza (ed.), *Women in South African History*, Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2007, 293.

On 19 August, thousands of people set off to defy 'whites-only' beaches at Strand and Bloubergstrand in a high-profile act of 'beach apartheid defiance'. Some groups were shot at with birdshot, others were sjambokked. There were multiple public protests in the following weeks. On 23 August church leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, were teargassed on a march in Gugulethu, and a week later 170 women were arrested while kneeling during a women's mass march in town. In a climax of the defiance campaign, thousands of protestors participated in a three-pronged march to Parliament on 2 September. The march was dispersed with batons and a water canon loaded with purple dye, and more than 500 people were arrested. Altogether, over 1,000 people were arrested during these defiance activities.

The internal activities of the liberation movements

Armed actions of the ANC

One of the first steps the ANC took to implement armed operations was to establish a Special Operations Unit in 1979 to carry out high impact attacks on strategically placed military and economic targets that supported the apartheid regime. These attacks would serve to improve the morale of those who were oppressed by apartheid, and at the same time adversely affect the economic viability of apartheid. The second key feature of military policy during this period, the development of a sustained armed struggle inside South Africa, was facilitated in a number of ways. The attempt to establish popularly-rooted internal bases led to the deployment of small groups of cadres into the country.

Western Cape

The Western Cape was divided into four military zones. The 1980s saw an upsurge of armed activity throughout the country, and several significant armed actions took place in the province during this period. These included two attacks on state offices in Cape Town and Langa on 9 December 1981 and 20 March 1982 respectively. The Western Cape also experienced its first operation for 1981 when a powerful bomb destroyed the offices of the chief commissioner of the Department of Co-operation and Development for the Western Cape in Observatory on 9 December.¹⁶⁹ On 4 June 1982, Michael Younghusband was killed when a bomb exploded in a lift in the Cape Town Centre building. The target was presumably the President's Council, which had offices in the building. Fumani Gqiba, a trained cadre, was deployed to the Transkei in 1980 where he registered as a student at a theological college. His mission was to establish units in the region, as well as in Cape Town where he grew up, and to carry out operations. He was a member of the unit that carried

¹⁶⁹ *Daily News*, 9 December 1981.

out a number of attacks in Langa and Cape Town in 1982. He was also instrumental in establishing underground MK units in the Transkei and Cape Town at the time. Special Operations used an internally based unit consisting of Heather Gray and Rodney Wilkinson to mount an attack on the Koeberg Nuclear Power station in Cape Town on 19 December 1982. 'Over a period of 12 hours, a series of explosions rocked the various security areas within the plant.'¹⁷⁰ When it claimed responsibility for the attack, the ANC said that it was to show that the ANC was operating inside South Africa's borders rather than from neighbouring countries.¹⁷¹ Inside the country, a number of activists in the newly-formed UDF began to join MK underground structures. One such group emerged in the Western Cape in late 1984, early 1985. Cecyl Esau, who had been active in youth structures in the area from the 1970s, recalls that after the elections for the tri-cameral parliament in 1984; discussions were held among some youths about the way forward. They decided to hold a meeting in Bonteheuwel at Quentin Michaels' house, and those who attended included Anthony Deidrich (Quinne), Anton Fisher and Ashley Kriel. Ismail Moss, a student activist at UWC, linked the group with Jabu Masukata and Vivian Matthee, through whom they established links with MK. Their initial task was to recruit, and they were joined by Julian McKay and Marjorie Lewis. Armed activity by the ANC in the Western and Northern Cape escalated dramatically from mid-1985 to 1989. The over 100 attacks resulted in at least four deaths and approximately 60 injuries. No PAC or APLA armed actions appear to have taken place in this period. There was a strong shift in 1985 towards attacking personnel of institutions deemed oppressive or 'collaborative'. The homes of two members of the Labour Party in Mitchells Plain and Grassy Park were attacked with grenades on June 12 1985, along with an attack on the Langa police station. One person was seriously injured in the Mitchells Plain attack. Over the next four days, the homes of community councillors in Crossroads, Langa and Nyanga were attacked with grenades. Three members of the Security Branch were injured when a grenade was thrown at them near the Gugulethu police station. During an attack on the Mitchells Plain home of a Labour Party member on 15 August 1985, Rashaad Witten was killed and three others injured.¹⁷² After the 1986 coup in Lesotho, the ANC was ordered out of the country. Before the departure of ANC members, however, cadres in Lesotho had decided that a certain number of them would go inside the country. These included Skenjana Roji, Ngwenduna Vanda, Mpilo Maqhekeza, Sipiwo Mazwai, Tony Yengeni, Dumisane Mafu, Hilton Matle, Johnson Tyekiso, and Mbulelo 'Ntsizwa' Ngono. Tony Yengeni was one of those sent inside the country to join the 'underground structures in Cape Town'. Yengeni entered the country in January 1986, travelling by car from Lesotho to Cape Town. His instructions were, among other things, to form an Area Politico-Military Committee. He became chairman of this committee and also served as the regional political

¹⁷⁰ R. Williams, 'Before we Forget: : Writing the History of Umkhonto we Sizwe between 1961 and 2000', *Journal of Peace, Conflict and Military Studies*, 1, 1 (March 2000) at www.uz.ac.zw/units/cds/journals/volume1/number1/article2.html.

¹⁷¹ SAIRR *Survey for 1982*, 231. Lodge, 'The African National Congress in South Africa', 155n, points out that it was reported that Eskom was auditing an insurance claim of between R20 million and R100 million.

¹⁷² TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 479-80.

commissar. Yengeni joined other MK units constituted by cadres brought in from outside the country. A month after he had entered the country the regional commander was arrested and he took over as MK regional commander. These structures operated for close to two years before they were uncovered in September 1987. In 1986 there were at least 19 incidents in the Western Cape, including four grenade attacks on personnel, four explosive devices in buildings and five gunshot attacks on personnel. Several police personnel were injured, some seriously. Primed explosive devices were detonated at the Mowbray railway station toilet on the eve of May Day, and at the Mowbray police station on 3 July. The attacks resulted in slight injuries for a policeman and policewoman. A shoot-out at a roadblock also occurred near Warrenton in the Northern Cape on 13 December in which one MK operative was killed.¹⁷³ Several mini-limpet mine attacks in 1987 involved 'soft' targets with a high potential for civilian casualties. In a significant 'soft target attack' that did not result in any injuries, Jennifer Schreiner, under the command of Tony Yengeni, placed two limpet mines in a ladies' toilet in Cape Town's airport around midnight on 21 July. There were also sabotage attacks on power pylons, railway lines, petrol stations, and a bus stop outside a government residence. A powerful car bomb exploded outside SADF residences in District Six and a primed limpet mine was discovered at a bus terminus in Cape Town. Hand grenade attacks were carried out in 1987 against SAP personnel (both on patrol and in their homes) and community councillors, or persons linked to these groups. On 9 January a hand grenade was thrown into a vehicle driven by the well-known Warrant Officer Barnard near KTC. The explosion killed his colleague, Constable Labuschagne, and seriously injured Barnard. Three days later a Constable Mtetwa was killed by automatic gunfire in Gugulethu. Community councillor Dennis Lobi's home was attacked by grenades on 15 and 16 June, injuring four people.¹⁷⁴ In 1988, 21 MK attacks in the Western Cape targeted municipal buildings and institutions in the build-up to the October 1988 municipal elections. On June 16, a homeless man was killed when a dustbin outside the Wynberg magistrate's court exploded. MK member Allan Ndodomzi Mamba was later convicted for this killing. Ten policemen, two boys and a woman were injured when a police patrol was attacked with grenades and shots in Nyanga. Police claimed that MK operative Mthetheleli Gcina was responsible for the attempted killing of community councillor Dennis Lobi on 5 August 1988. MK operatives Sydney Hendricks and Vanessa Rhoda November, who were part of the 'Ashley Kriel Detachment', were responsible for a limpet mine explosion at the Bonteheuwel municipal rent office on 28 September 1988 which seriously injured Mogamat Nurudien Bartlett.¹⁷⁵ The whites-only election in September 1989 drew a number of bombings. Polling stations, magistrates' courts as well as railway lines and stations were targeted. Two MK operatives, Robbie Waterwitch and Coline Williams, were killed in one of three simultaneous explosions on 23 July near the Athlone magistrate's court. Many of the armed attacks by MK members amounted to attacks on 'soft targets' or on installations with

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 480.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 481.

serious human risk. At least four civilians were killed. During 1985 a series of hand grenade attacks directly targeted the private homes of alleged collaborators, killing one teenager. Police claimed to have uncovered two extensive MK networks and brought them to trial in 1987. The first network was alleged to have carried out operations in the Western Cape from late 1985 until arrests were made in August 1987. The breakthrough came, according to the police, when 14 'coloured' men were arrested in August for a number of attacks, including a hand grenade attack on the police station in Mannenberg on 17 November 1985; a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop in Rondebosch on 5 February 1987; a limpet mine explosion at an electricity pylon near the Goodwood showground on 12 February 1987; a hand grenade attack on a private residence in Mitchell's Plain on 23 April 1987; a hand grenade attack on the residence of a policeman in Bonteheuwel on the same day; a hand grenade attack on the residence of a policeman in Ravensmead on the same date; and a hand grenade explosion on the suburban railway line between Netreg and Heideveld stations on 5 May 1987. The arrests of the 14 led to the arrests of 11 others that were said to constitute a second large MK network in the region.¹⁷⁶ Those arrested were a white woman, seven African men, two African women, and a coloured man.¹⁷⁷ The number of people arrested as suspected MK members of these networks reached 33 in August, according to the police, and included 4 regional commanders of MK, members of MK's intelligence unit and the Special Operations Unit, as well as couriers.¹⁷⁸ Police claimed that those arrested were responsible for the following additional operations: a limpet mine explosion at the Mowbray police station in 1986; a limpet mine explosion at a Lakeside post office on 2 August 1986; an AK-47 attack on members of the SAP in New Crossroads on 11 March 1987; a limpet mine explosion at the Athlone magistrate's court on 12 June 1987; a hand grenade attack on the residence of a Gugulethu community councillor on 15 June 1987; a second hand grenade attack on his residence on 16 June 1987; a hand grenade attack on members of the SAP in the KTC squatter camp on 21 June 1987; a limpet mine explosion in the ladies' toilet at the DF Malan airport on 22 July 1987; a hand grenade attack on the residence of a police constable in Gugulethu on 23 July 1987; and a limpet mine explosion on the railway line near the Stellenbosch station on 23 July 1987.¹⁷⁹ Two of those arrested, Ashley Forbes and Peter Jacobs, who were both students at the University of the Western Cape, were alleged to be the commander and commissar respectively of an MK unit in the Western Cape.¹⁸⁰ Jacobs Petro allegedly commanded an MK structure in the Peninsula, bringing in Anwar Dramat, Clement Baadjies and Colin Peterson at various stages. He also acted as a contact person between various MK units in the Peninsula, and in the process commanded a number of different units. From about May 1987 Dramat acted as the commander of the 'Noordhoek Structure', which consisted of units in each of the townships of Elsie's River, Ravensmead and Uitsig. He took over command of the entire

¹⁷⁶ *BBC Monitoring Report (SAPA)*, 8 August 1987.

¹⁷⁷ *The Star*, 7 August 1987.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *BBC Monitoring Report (SAPA)*, 8 August 1987.

¹⁸⁰ The charges are taken from *South*, 10 December 1987.

structure of MK in the region when Petro left the area on 14 August. Collin Cairncross became commander of an MK structure known as 'JB' or 'Bush Detachment'. Ashraf Kariem and Colin Peterson joined Cairncross's unit in 1987. Nazeem Lowe is alleged to have participated in the planning and execution of the attack on the Mannenberg police station in 1985. Walter Rhooode was recruited by David Fortuin into a 'military unit' known as 'the Detachment' early in 1987. Rhooode participated in a limpet mine attack on a railway line between Parow and Netreg stations on 2 May, together with Fortuin and Jeremy Veary. The alleged commander of the second MK network in the Western Cape, which included 15 people who were brought to trial in 1987, was Lizo Bright Ngqungwana. Many of those accused of being members of the network, including Quentin Michels from Bonteheuwel and other coloured and African townships in the region, claimed to have joined MK because of police brutality during the 1976 uprising in Cape Town.¹⁸¹

Eastern Cape

Between late 1980 and mid-1982, several bombings occurred around Port Elizabeth and East London, causing injuries and damaging property. Most of these acts can be attributed to MK units operating from Lesotho from the second half of 1981 until May 1983. An Eastern Cape unit carried out an attack shortly after midnight on 19 May 1981 on the main railway line linking Port Elizabeth to Johannesburg and Cape Town heard in several Port Elizabeth suburbs.¹⁸² On 24 May, 3 MK cadres armed with AK-47 rifles and hand grenades, attacked the Fort Jackson police station near East London. The combatants fled to the Ciskei dormitory Mdantsane near East London, where, in a clash with members of the Ciskei police force, one policeman was injured.¹⁸³ In August 1981, a member of one of the units was killed in a series of clashes with police while trying to escape back to Lesotho. Another cell member died in a sabotage attempt in January 1983.¹⁸⁴ In August 1981, MK units in the Eastern Cape mounted attacks on shopping complexes in East London and Port Elizabeth. On 6 August a unit placed bombs in East London's central city shopping area that resulted in injury to three women and a man.¹⁸⁵ The five combatants thought to have been involved in this attack tried to make their way from East London through the Transkei to Lesotho. However, the group clashed three times with police – the first time in Butterworth on 7 August when they clashed with Transkeian policemen who had gone to a house in Msobomvu township to investigate some 'leads'. Two policemen were killed in this clash. The second clash with the police occurred on the same day at a police roadblock in Elliot in the Eastern Cape. Two combatants died in the shootout with the police while a third was subsequently arrested. Two other combatants managed to escape, but were killed in a gun

¹⁸¹ *New Nation*, 24 June 1987.

¹⁸² *Evening Post*, 20 May 1981.

¹⁸³ *The Star*, 25 May 1981; *Evening Post*, 25 May 1981; *The Guardian* (UK), 26 May 1981.

¹⁸⁴ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 73.

¹⁸⁵ *Sowetan*, 7 August 1981.

battle with police on 13 August on a farm near Elliot.¹⁸⁶ Despite the deaths and arrest of members of the Eastern Cape MK unit in Elliot, MK continued to mount operations in the region. Five days after the shootout on the farm in Elliot, an explosive device was placed on a railway line near East London. The bomb exploded on the line between Mdantsane and Mount Ruth railway stations, a major route for people going to work in East London. Traffic on the line was disrupted for more than 3 hours.¹⁸⁷ However, the first attack in the province, which occurred on 30 October 1980, was an attack on the Port Elizabeth House of the Transkei Consul. The residence was damaged by a bomb, although there were injuries. Janet Cherry suggests that the MK cell that later operated in Port Elizabeth from mid-1981 to mid-1983 undertook the bombing of the residence in Summerstrand.¹⁸⁸ On 29 May 1982, an MK unit placed a bomb (which was discovered before it exploded) in the concourse of the Constantia Centre in Port Elizabeth, which normally had 100 people passing through it at any one time during working hours. In the same year, on 28 July, an MK unit in the Eastern Cape struck at the law courts in Port Elizabeth. Three MK cadres died when the bombs they were carrying exploded prematurely.¹⁸⁹ An attempt to bomb the Bantu Affairs Administration Board (BAAB) offices in Port Elizabeth on 26 January 1983 resulted in the bomb apparently exploding prematurely, killing a bystander and the holder of the bomb, MK member Petros 'James' Bokala. Bokala was part of a small network of ANC members in Port Elizabeth, some of whom were later jailed. Five people were injured in the explosion, and the building was extensively damaged.¹⁹⁰ The bombing of the Umtata bulk fuel depot and sabotage of the Umtata water and electricity installations, both on 25 June 1985, resulted in no deaths or injuries. Transkei enforced a nightly curfew for years after this and several trials resulted. After the bombing, the ANC sent MK commander Mzwandile Vena to Cape Town to replace an operative who had been arrested. Vena was also arrested in Cape Town and fought unsuccessfully against extradition to Transkei to face charges on this matter. The state alleged he had been assisted by Mazizi Attwell Mapekeza and Zola Dubeni. Dubeni was killed by police in Cape Town in March 1987 and Mapekeza was gunned down in Lesotho.¹⁹¹ On 31 July 1985, MK units were involved in a skirmish with members of the security forces at Mount Ruth. According to *MK in Combat*, the skirmish took place on the old highway between King William's Town and East London. A SAP policeman was shot dead and another was wounded. Two MK combatant – known as Lucas and Eldridge – were killed.¹⁹² In other reports it was claimed SA security forces clashed with 'a heavily armed

¹⁸⁶ *The Star*, 8 August 1981; *Sowetan*, 10 August 1981.

¹⁸⁷ *Daily News*, 19 August 1981.

¹⁸⁸ Cherry, J., 'No Easy Road to Truth: The TRC in the Eastern Cape', Paper presented at the Wits History Workshop Conference, June 1999, 3-4. Cherry alleges that the so-called 'Senzangakona' unit was probably responsible for the spate of bombs in the Port Elizabeth area at the beginning of the decade. Refer to Cherry, 'Hidden histories of the Eastern Cape underground', 370. Cherry also attempts to link various other attacks in the province in the period with specific MK units in the same study.

¹⁸⁹ *The Star*, 29 July 1982.

¹⁹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 January 1983. Cherry, 'Hidden histories of the Eastern Cape underground', 371.

¹⁹¹ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 119.

¹⁹² *MK in Combat*, 18.

gang' and a South African security policeman and two ANC cadres were killed. The police claimed to have seized a silenced AK47 and several limpet mines and that the cadres were on their way to East London's main power station when Ciskei intelligence tipped them off. In court proceedings in which the woman in Mdantsane who sheltered them, Ms. Nontutuzelo Ndlazulwana of Zone 9 (charged with harbouring ANC guerrillas), it was revealed the shootout happened near the Mount Ruth railway station. Ciskei security police later seized three limpet mines and documents from the house. The report indicates three men died and two were wounded in the shootout.¹⁹³ On 3 August 1985 a powerful explosion rocked the Zwelitsha Magistrates Court.¹⁹⁴ This was fairly typical of many MK operations where a limpet mine was planted at a government building, timed to go off at a time when there would be minimal casualties. On 19 February 1986, a bomb exploded at the Cambridge East SAP station. This operation resulted in an explosion in the toilet block near the Radio Control room inside the police station and there were no injuries. The limpet mine was placed in the police station by Marion Sparg.¹⁹⁵ On 17 April 1986, a bomb exploded on the 12 storey Botha Sigcau government building in Umtata. The Building housed the headquarters of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) and the office of the Prime Minister, George Matanzima. The explosion occurred on the eve of the funeral of King Sabatha Dalindyebo, which Matanzima was highjacking. According to reports, the bomb was on the 5th floor and damage was caused to the 5th, 4th and 3rd floors. Four people were injured, one seriously.¹⁹⁶ An MK unit was discovered in the Transkei early in 1986 when a hand grenade detonated inside the official car of a Transkei cabinet minister while his three sons and two of their friends were using it. Mbandla, Mlungisi and Bongani Boo, sons of the minister of Agriculture, E.Z. Boo, were driving with Mongo Koran, son of an ex-cabinet minister, and an unidentified friend when the grenade exploded. The friend was killed instantly, and the four others were injured in the blast. Follow-up operations by the police yielded two AK-47s, a quantity of ammunition, and hand grenades in an outbuilding on the Boo's property in Lady Frere.¹⁹⁷ On 18 April 1986 MK cadres carried out a double limpet mine attack on the Wild Coast Sun Casino at Mzamba. Two people were fatally injured. According to TRC amnesty records, the attack was planned by Dumisani Mafu and carried out by Ndibulele Ndzamela, Pumzile Mayaphi and Eastern Pondoland regional commander, Attwell Maqheza, aka China.¹⁹⁸ The Alice post office was targeted by an MK unit on 29 June 1986. A bomb, placed in a telephone booth, exploded, damaging both the magistrates court and post office. There were no injuries.¹⁹⁹ A gun battle took place in Mdantsane on 15 July

¹⁹³ *Sunday Times*, 4 August 1985, 'Massive military campaign in Ciskei'; *Daily Dispatch*, 25 January 1986, 'Evidence: mines found in house in Mdantsane'.

¹⁹⁴ *Daily Dispatch*, 3 August 1985, 'Zwelitsha courts rocked by blast'.

¹⁹⁵ See <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/marion-monica-sparg> (site accessed 31 May 2013).

¹⁹⁶ *Argus*, 17 April 1986, 'Bomb rocks PM's HQ in Transkei'. *Daily Dispatch*, 18 April 1986, 'Blast rocks Transkei government building'.

¹⁹⁷ *City Press*, 16 February 1986.

¹⁹⁸ See granting of amnesty by TRC, <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/pr/2000/pr001213a.htm> (site accessed 15 June 2013).

¹⁹⁹ *Daily Dispatch*, 26 June 1986, 'Bomb blast in Ciskei town'.

1986 in which the SAP killed one MK cadre. The ANC cadre is not named in the media but is described as staying in a house in Zone 14 for a month before the shootout. He had been a student at the University of Transkei and had come to Mdantsane during the boycott of lectures. Ciskei police surrounded the house at about 10:30 and he defended himself for nearly two hours until overcome. Ciskei police claimed to have recovered an AK-47 and 4 empty magazines.²⁰⁰ Police also claimed to have killed a further four suspected insurgents in King Williams's Town in the Eastern Cape on 11 July. Police attempting to force a car off the road were fired upon by the four occupants of the car, and one was shot dead in the skirmish. The other three managed to escape in their car, but were caught in another shootout near Fort Jackson. Another cadre was shot dead in this skirmish, while the other two fled on foot into the bush. They were later shot and killed in a follow-up operation. It was subsequently confirmed that the insurgents had been responsible for a limpet mine explosion in Queenstown.²⁰¹ A shootout between 4 ANC cadres and the South African and Ciskei security forces on the road between Breidbach and Zwelitsha occurred on 11 July 1986. According to the *Daily Dispatch*, at about 08:15, acting on information, South African and Ciskei security forces stopped a car near Breidbach. Four men got out and engaged them with firearms and threw a grenade which did not explode. One cadre was shot at the Breidbach intersection. The other three sped off in the direction of Fort Jackson, pursued by the apartheid security forces. They were stopped at a roadblock set up by the SAPS near the Fort Jackson off-ramp. Two of the cadres got out of the car and ran into the bush. The third was found to have been fatally wounded in the car, which had been 'riddled with bullet holes and both the front and rear windscreens were shattered.' The cadres, armed with Tokarev pistols, AK-47s and hand grenades, continued to engage the police in a fire fight in the bushy ravine running down to the water-filled quarry until they were overcome and killed.²⁰² In July 1986, an MK unit attacked the police station in Madeira Street, Umtata. Three police officers and four others are believed to have died. ANC guerrilla China Talakumeni (aka Solly Prusente) was fatally injured and was later buried secretly by his colleagues.²⁰³ According to the amnesty application of Duminsani Mafu, the attack on the Madeira Road Police station took place on 29 July 1986. It resulted in eight fatalities and five people wounded. The police station was at the centre of repression in the Transkei in which arrested ANC members were tortured. The attack was planned and coordinated by Mafu in his capacity as commander and carried out by Mbulelo Ngoni, Solly Talakumeni and Simphiwe Mazwai with assault rifles and hand grenades. The *Daily Dispatch*, carried a detailed report of the attack by 3 cadres with AK-47s and hand grenades on a police station; and later listed 7 people killed and 11 injured in the attack.²⁰⁴ In January 1987, MK cadres

²⁰⁰ *Daily Dispatch*, 16 July 1986, 'Man dies after Ciskei shootout'.

²⁰¹ *Citizen*, 12 July 1986; *Daily Dispatch*, 24 July 1986.

²⁰² *Daily Dispatch*, 12 July 1986, 'Shootout on highway'.

²⁰³ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 120.

²⁰⁴ See granting of amnesty by TRC, <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/pr/2000/pr001213a.htm> (site accessed 15 June 2013); *Daily Dispatch*, 31 July 1986, '7 die, 9 injured in Umtata'; *Daily Dispatch*, 2 August 1986, 'No new leads in police station raid'.

engaged in a battle with Transkei security forces in the Mendu forest, in the Willowvale district of the Transkei. The *Daily Dispatch* quoted a senior Transkei official as saying Transkei Defence Force and Transkei Police clashed with guerrillas in thick forest at Mendu and that a number of arrests were made and weapons seized. A member of the Transkei security police from Butterworth was wounded in the arm during the fire fight.²⁰⁵ In July 1987, an MK cadre, Mpumelelo Mbanjwa, who was living in house no. 7401 in Zone 3 in Mdantsane, fired on two Ciskei policemen with an AK-47 when they approached the house, after a large contingent of police with Casspirs had surrounded the house at 11:30. He also threw a hand grenade before being killed. A Ciskei police commissioner claimed they seized two AK-47s, two limpet mines, and explosives. Three other Ciskei policemen were injured. Three South African security policemen were also in the skirmish. In an article in the *Weekly Mail* it was reported that he kept 17 Ciskei police vehicles at bay until he was killed. In a subsequent trial, Mr Zwelakhe Bikitsha and Mr Boyce Soci were charged with 'harbouring a terrorist; for providing accommodation to Mr Mathemba Vuso and another man'.²⁰⁶ The *Weekly Mail* reported two shootouts with South African and Transkei police – one at Mount Fletcher and the other at Ugie on 27 January 1988. The incident at Mount Fletcher happened outside the supermarket owned by the Mayor when police in a kombi stopped a saloon car with an East London registration. Two suspected guerrillas escaped on foot, and were pursued by the police. One was reported as shot dead and the other was arrested two days later at Matatiele. The Mayor (V.T. Gqola) was also detained by the police in a wide crackdown, apparently mistaken for his former Robben Islander brother, Bafana Gqola. The report also revealed that two days before, in Ugie, two South African policemen were shot at by guerrillas in two cars when they were stopped by the police. One constable was wounded in this incident.²⁰⁷ On 7 March 1988, the SAP raided a house in Mlungisi. The cadre living in the house resisted, wounding six SAP members before he and a civilian were killed.²⁰⁸ On 21 April 1988, a shootout occurred between an MK cadre and Ciskei security police at Lower Gqumashe, near Alice. The incident occurred at about 04:00 when police approached the house. Two policemen were killed and another injured. Subsequently, South African and Ciskei security police arrested, tortured and charged a University of Fort Hare first year student, Sicelo Hela. Lungekhaya Carrie was charged as an accomplice. Hela was acquitted after his statement to the police made under torture was dismissed.²⁰⁹ On 29 January 1989, two houses in Mdantsane belonging to Ciskei security policeman were

²⁰⁵ *Daily Dispatch*, 24 January 1987, 'Alleged terrorists held at Mendu'.

²⁰⁶ *Cape Times*, 17 July 1987, '2 policemen, guerrilla die in shootout'; *Daily Dispatch*, 17 July 1987, 'Police, suspect in Ciskei shootout'; *Weekly Mail*, 17-23 July 1987, 'I saw a man lob a grenade at police... before dying in a volley of bullets'; *Daily Dispatch*, 4 February 1988, 'Defence accuses policeman of false testimony'; *Daily Dispatch*, 5 February 1988, 'Terror accused acquitted'; *Daily Dispatch*, 6 February 1988, 'Jubilation in court as M'sane man acquitted'.

²⁰⁷ *Weekly Mail*, 5-12 February 1988, 'Mid-day shootout with guerrillas at shopping centre'.

²⁰⁸ *Cape Times*, 8 March 1988, 'Shootout at home in Queenstown' reported a fire fight at home in Mlungisi.

²⁰⁹ *Weekend Mail*, 22-28 April 1988, 'Two Ciskei police die in gun battle'; *Cape Times*, 22 April 1988, 'Two Ciskei security cops killed in shootout'; *Star*, 22 April 1988, 'Two Ciskei policemen shot dead'; *Cape Times*, 14 September 1988, 'Student gets off terror charge'.

attacked. The policemen, who were implicated in torture and murder of IDASA manger, Eric Mntonga, were attacked with AK-47 fire and hand grenades.²¹⁰

KwaZulu-Natal

Throughout the decade, Natal experienced numerous MK attacks. The ANC's military wing established a structure based initially in Mozambique to lead operations. Numerous units were sent into the country or established in the area to carry out these operations. Various MK units carried out numerous armed operations in support of the community struggles in and around Durban during the first half of the 1980s.

Natal, and in particular the city of Durban, was the arena for the first series of attacks in 1981. Three MK cadres – Patrick Maqubela (a lawyer from Durban), Mboniswa Maqhutyana from Umlazi, and Seth Gaba (Seth Mpumulelo) from East London – were accused of carrying out eight attacks in the area in early 1981 that caused an estimated R500 000 worth of damage and injuries to nine people.²¹¹ Ivan Pillay, one of the members of the Swaziland-based Natal MK machinery, recalls:

And they were comrades who received crash courses over two or three days in Swaziland by the military machineries; they were totally legal people then based at home who carried out these operations; they were not people from the outside; they read the situation and most of their actions had some political meaning. So, again, that drove home the point, the importance of actually, for the combat side of the underground work, actually having trained legal people operating from inside the country. And so it began to set a trend for crash-coursing people and sending them back as soon as possible.²¹²

The Maqubela unit detonated a bomb at the Harriet House in Field Street which housed the Scotts Stores on 7 February 1981. It caused damage estimated at R13, 590. One person was injured. The second bomb blast hit the railway line at Umlazi on 25 May 1981. No one was injured in this explosion. The third bomb exploded at recruiting offices of the South African Defence Force (SADF) at the Trust Bank Building in Smith Street in Durban on 27 May 1981, causing damage estimated at R23, 385.²¹³

The fourth explosion was at the Cenotaph Francis Farewell Square on 26 June 1981. Maqubela's unit placed 5kg of TNT at two motor car showrooms at McCarthy Leyland on Smith Street and Parks for Peugeot also on Smith Street in Durban on 26 July 1981. These

²¹⁰ *City Press*, 29 January 1989, 'Three Ciskei police die following alleged punishment'.

²¹¹ Lodge, 'The African National Congress in South Africa', 158, 158n.

²¹² Interview with Ivan Pillay conducted by Howard Barrell, Lusaka, 20 July 1989.

²¹³ Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal', 324.

explosions were an act of solidarity with the striking workers at these car factories in Pretoria and the Western Cape.²¹⁴ The blasts ripped open the frontage of the McCarthy Sigma and McCarthy Leyland showrooms, and destroyed 15 cars. The Maqubela unit was responsible for two more bomb blasts which rocked the Durban city centre on 10 October 1981. The first was an explosion at the Durban train station and the second at the offices of the Department of Co-operation and Development which was responsible for administering African affairs. The blast destroyed part of the local offices of the Department and caused damage to about a dozen stores and other offices within a 200-metre radius. Five people were wounded in the explosion. On 3 November 1981 the Maqubela unit bombed the South African Indian Affairs offices in Stanger Street in Durban in support of the campaign against the SAIC elections.²¹⁵

Among the most spectacular operations in Durban was an attack on the Durban South electrical substation on 21 April. The substation provided electrical power to the nearby African township of Lamontville, about 15 kilometres from the centre of Durban, and the attack took place at a time when the residents were protesting against a hike in electricity tariffs. The explosions caused an estimated R2,5-million damage, thousands of people were left without power, and factories were closed in Prospecton and Umbogintwini and telephone communications disrupted.²¹⁶ According to Jabulani Sithole, the unit responsible for this attack was infiltrated from abroad and consisted of Jonathan Magome, Ambrose Sizakele and Mbuso. They also placed a bomb outside the offices of the *Daily News* which exploded and blew out the entire front of a nearby clothing store, shattered shop-fronts and scattered debris across a street in the heart of Durban's business district just after the lunch hour on 7 February 1981. The attack did not result in any serious injuries or deaths because of steady rainfall.²¹⁷

In June, Natal was once again targeted by a series of explosions. A bomb explosion in the central Memorial Square in the Durban city centre on 26 June resulted in no deaths or injuries, but occurred an hour before thousands of people normally passed through the area.²¹⁸ According to Jabulani Sithole, the attack was carried out by a two-man MK unit, Siphilwe Wilfred Makhathini (alias Drift, Mpi, or Meshack Mhlongo) and Gayo Jabulani Walter Nxumalo (alias Bafana or Bongani Mvundla), who were infiltrated into Southern Natal in April 1982. The Makhathini-Nxumalo unit carried out four other armed actions in and around Durban in April and May 1982. Another attack was carried out on a water-pipeline in Umlazi River canal during the night of 25 April 1982. It exploded causing extensive damage to the pipeline. On 21 May 1982, Makhathini and two cadres the unit recruited inside the country targeted the Coloured Affairs Administration building in

²¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 July 1981; *The Star*, 27 July 1981.

²¹⁵ Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal', 325.

²¹⁶ *Natal Mercury*, 22 April 1981; *Evening Post*, 21 April 1981.

²¹⁷ Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal', 326.

²¹⁸ *The Star*, 26 June 1981.

Armitage Street in Durban. The explosive device was timed to explode at five o'clock that afternoon. On the same night a bomb placed by the unit was set to explode at the Port Natal Administration Board building in Moodie Street in Pinetown. Another explosive device was placed on the water pipeline near the Ngwenya School next to the southbound N2 Highway in Chesterville during the night of 25 May 1982. It exploded causing minimal damage.²¹⁹ The railway line between Felixton and Fort Durnford on the Natal North Coast was damaged for the second time within a month by explosive devices on 28 June.²²⁰

Two explosions rocked the Durban city centre on 10 October 1981. The first was an explosion at the Durban train station. The second was directed against the offices of the Department of Co-operation and Development, responsible for administering African affairs. The blast destroyed part of the local offices of the Department, and damage to about a dozen stores and other offices within a 200-metre radius. Five people were wounded in the explosion, which occurred just after 8 p.m.²²¹ In December newspapers reported the arrest of 6 suspected members of the ANC that constituted the cell responsible for most of the bombs in the Durban area during 1981. A number of Africans, Indians and White were among those arrested and large quantities of arms, ammunition and explosives were seized. It was widely speculated that the 'arrests had almost certainly smashed the ANC cell that has evidently been operating in the area this year'.²²² The Natal units suffered another blow when three men were arrested and several arms caches of limpet mines, arms and grenades were discovered in remote parts of Piet Retief, Nongoma and Nqutu in northern Natal between December 6 and December 16.²²³

Towards the end of the year, the aboveground organisations inside the country mounted a successful campaign against the elections for the South African Indian Council (SAIC). MK participated in this campaign by mounting a series of attacks, including the bombing of the Durban offices of the Department of Indian Affairs on 3 November.²²⁴

The Port Natal Administration Board in Pinetown and the Offices of Department of Coloured Affairs in Durban were targeted in 1982. This was followed on 2 June by 6 explosions in three different parts of the northern Natal area bordering Swaziland. One blast occurred at the Paulpietersburg railway station, another four at the Kemps List Mine, and one at a fuel depot in Paulpietersburg.²²⁵ The Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court was attacked on 30 June, when a bomb was placed below the concrete steps leading up to the Supreme Court and

²¹⁹ Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal', 326-7.

²²⁰ *Daily News*, 29 June 1981.

²²¹ *Sowetan*, 12 October 1981.

²²² *The Guardian* (UK), 11 December 1981. Refer also to the interview with Litha Jolobe conducted by Gregory Houston and Bernard Magubane, Pretoria, SADET Oral History Project.

²²³ *Cape Times*, 21 January 1982.

²²⁴ Barrell, 'Conscripts to the Age', 273. Refer also to *The Star*, 3 November 1981.

²²⁵ *The Star*, 3 June 1982.

exploded at midday. Five offices, including a charge office and the offices normally used by the security police during political trials were extensively damaged. The latter building was again targeted less than two months later when an explosion ripped through the building on 21 March.²²⁶

In November 1982, a large contingent of 17 MK cadres attacked an SADF counter-insurgency unit in Tonga, Natal, near the Swaziland border. Tlokwe Maserumule, a member of this unit, testified at the TRC about the attack. According to Maserumule,

we were given a mission to go and clear a route from Swaziland into Tonga. There was a military base of anti-insurgent units in Tonga. According to information we were given, when the unit was being grouped ... Our senior commander then responsible for Northern Province, Asiti, was Northern Transvaal. Durban was Comrade Manchek[er] and the commander for the actual operation was Comrade Peter Malada ... The operation was planned in Mozambique, in Matola, after information was made available to us. But there was an anti-insurgency unit which established a temporary base in Tonga. Actually it was from Namibia then, that unit. So after that information the unit was grouped and I was responsible for preparing the unit physically, to prepare them physically for the operation ... After the preparations we moved into Swaziland in Matzapa, Manzini, to wait for further instructions because a reconnaissance was supposed to be made ... before we could move in for the attack ... Thereafter a date was set, a date and time was set and then six bakkies were made available for us to get into South Africa ... [T]he information that was made available to us, on our way to Tonga, was that there was also a police station next to the camp. When we arrived on the spot we were divided into two groups. A group of three people went into the police station, the rest of us ... went into the camp and then the operation started. It was in the early hours of the morning ... between 1 and 2.

The unit was armed with a Bazooka with six shells, one light machine gun, and AK-47s. The Bazooka was used in the attack on the SADF camp. Maserumule fired all six shells into the temporary camp. Maserumule adds: 'By the time we left the spot the camp was flat to the ground.' The unit apparently had information that there were 45 people in the camp, but according to the SADF no one was killed in the incident.²²⁷

In 1983, an MK unit carried out an attack on the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court on 30 January. The bomb used in the Pietermaritzburg attack was placed below the concrete steps leading up to the Supreme Court and exploded at midday. Five offices, including a charge

²²⁶ *The Citizen*, 23 March 1983; *Sowetan*, 23 March 1983.

²²⁷ TRC Amnesty Hearing, Application of Frans Tlokwe Maserumule, AM6217/97, Pretoria, 17 April 2000, at www.doj.gov/trc/trc_frameset.htm

office and the offices normally used by the security police during political trials were extensively damaged.²²⁸ According to Sithole, the attack was carried out by MK cadre Thembinkosi Paulson Ngcobo, commonly known as 'Naughty', who planted an MZ demolition limpet mine at the provincial Supreme Court building. He had been instructed to blow up the building because it symbolised political oppression and judicial tyranny and was the venue for almost all political trials in Natal.²²⁹ The building was again targeted less than two months later when an explosion ripped through it on 21 March.²³⁰ The latter attack was carried out by Sithabiso Mahlobo, who was assisted by Ben Martins.²³¹ On 11 February 1983, Ngcobo bombed the Drakensberg Administration Board (DAB) offices at Sobantu Township in an act of solidarity and support with its residents, who were at the time involved in struggles against rent and bus-fare increases.²³²

In 1983, attacks in August marked the formation of the UDF, a coalition of anti-apartheid organisations formed in Cape Town on 20 August. Among these was an explosion that destroyed a power pylon in Cato Manor, Durban, just prior to the launch of the new organisation.²³³ In November MK carried out a number of attacks in Natal, including bomb explosions on the Johannesburg-Durban railway line on 1 November, and at a municipal depot and police warehouse in Durban the next day. On the eve of the anniversary of the launch of MK on 16 December there were three small explosions in Durban on 15 December.²³⁴

On 14 October, 1983, MK units bombed two electricity pylons at Prestoury and Plessis Laer in Pietermaritzburg.²³⁵ According to Sithole, 'Naughty' Ngcobo was responsible for both explosions, and his intention was to cut off the power supply to the city and disrupt its economic activity.²³⁶ In November MK carried out a number of attacks in Natal. There was a bomb explosion on the Johannesburg–Durban railway line on 1 November; and the following day, explosions rocked a municipal depot and police warehouse in Durban.²³⁷ MK carried out a series of attacks on the eve of the anniversary of the launch of the military wing on 16 December. Among these were three small explosions in Durban on the same night.²³⁸

²²⁸ *The Star*, 31 January 1983.

²²⁹ Sithole, 'The ANC underground in the Natal Midlands', 226.

²³⁰ *The Citizen*, 23 March 1983; *Sowetan*, 23 March 1983.

²³¹ Sithole, 'The ANC underground in the Natal Midlands', 228.

²³² *Ibid.*, 226.

²³³ *Daily News*, 22 August 1983.

²³⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 November 1983.

²³⁵ *Citizen*, 15 October 1983.

²³⁶ Sithole, 'The ANC underground in the Natal Midlands', 226.

²³⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 November 1983.

²³⁸ *The Times* (London), 17 December 1983.

MK mounted a series of attacks at the beginning of 1984, including the bombing of an ESKOM installation at Georgedale near Pietermaritzburg on 23 February, and the Mandini SAP station and ESKOM power station at Pietermaritzburg on the night of 28 February. MK carried out a major operation in Durban on 3 April, involving a massive car bomb explosion in a building that housed the offices of Department of Internal Affairs, as well as the offices of the SAIC. Three people were killed in the attack and 12 injured.²³⁹ According to Sithole, the attack was carried out by Charles Morabe, who was nicknamed 'Rabbit'.²⁴⁰ The attack, coming as it did just over two weeks after the signing of the Nkomati Accord, dented the confidence that the government may have had that it had succeeded in neutralising the ANC.

April also saw an MK attempt to mount a spectacular operation in the Durban area when a unit of four cadres attacked the Mobil Oil Refinery in Durban on 13 April. The guerrillas fired several rockets at the massive complex in the Merebank area of Durban from the Bluff overlooking the refinery. The rockets cut three fuel lines and one hit a fuel tank. The fleeing guerrillas managed to make their way from the site of the attack by car, but were cornered at a paint factory in Jacobs. In the ensuing gun battle the four guerrillas and three civilians caught in the crossfire were killed.²⁴¹ In the various skirmishes that ended with the shootout at the paint factory, a policeman was shot in the head and a police dog shot dead.²⁴²

In June, two unidentified MK cadres died in a shootout with police in Verulam, Durban, a week before the anniversary of the Soweto uprising. Police found a huge arms cache of ammunition and limpet mines.²⁴³ A few weeks later, on 21 June, a bomb exploded in the Durban Berea area and damaged a 66,000-volt electrical transformer in Musgrave Road.²⁴⁴

On 12 July 1984, five people were killed and 27 injured in a car bomb explosion on Bluff Road, Durban. Charles Morabe carried out this operation. Oliver Tambo asserted that the bomb had been intended for a military convoy and condemned the bombers for being 'inexcusably careless' by causing civilian casualties.²⁴⁵ The Swaziland MK machinery had taken a decision in 1983 to form a separate unit responsible for special operations under the command of MK cadre 'Ralph' (Raymond Edgar Lawrence).²⁴⁶ This unit was to specialise in car bomb attacks on military targets in the Durban and Pietermaritzburg areas. Targets identified for attack included the Natal Command, C.R. Swarts, a military office in

²³⁹ *Daily News*, 4 April and 5 April 1984.

²⁴⁰ Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal', 330.

²⁴¹ *Daily News*, 15 May 1984. One of the MK cadres killed in this incident was Clifford Brown, from Buffalo Flats in East London.

²⁴² *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 May 1984.

²⁴³ *The Star*, 11 June 1984.

²⁴⁴ *Sowetan*, 22 June 1984.

²⁴⁵ Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal', 331.

²⁴⁶ Refer to TRC Amnesty Hearings, AM 7256/97, Application of Raymond Lalla, 5 September 2000, Durban, www.doj.gov.za/trc/amntrans/2000/200905db.htm, evidence-in-chief of Raymond Lalla.

Pietermaritzburg, the Bluff Military Base, the military training college in Jacobs, and the military maintenance depot in Jacobs.

By 1985, a Durban MK machinery led by, among others, Vejay Ramlakan, and commanded by the Swaziland-based Natal Urban Machinery, covered most of the Durban area. It included both African and Indian cadres.²⁴⁷ The so-called 'Durban bombers' were brought to trial in 1986, and the 10 accused were Vejay Ramlakan (a medical doctor), Sibongiseni Dhlomo (another medical doctor), Dudu Buthlelezi, Phumezo Nxiweni (a student at Alan Taylor residence), Dhanpal 'Ricky' Naidoo, Jude Francis, Bafu Nqugu, Sibusiso Ndlanzi (real name Mbongwa), Ordway Msomi and Sipho Bhila.²⁴⁸ The command structure of MK in Durban consisted at various times of Mduduzi Sithole ('Belgium'), Sihle Mbongwa, Lulamele Khatle, Dlomo and Ramlakan. Each of these commanders was responsible for recruiting and establishing units. Ramlakan, for example, had under his command units led by Ricky Dhanpal Naidoo, Raymond Metharaj Saclou and Jude Francis.²⁴⁹

The Durban MK machinery's first operation was an aborted attempt by a member of a unit attached to the Durban MK command, Nxiweni, to bomb SADF vehicles in Wentworth and Lamontville during April 1985. The next was a series of explosions at a Spar Foodliner, the Trust Bank Centre, and Gillespie Street in Durban on 18 April. In June, Nxiweni placed a limpet mine at the XL restaurant on the beachfront in retaliation against the SADF raid in Botswana. On 16 June, Sipho Bhila placed a bomb at the Lamontville township offices.²⁵⁰

The first effort to establish an APMC in a major city occurred in late 1985 during Operation Butterfly in Durban. What this meant is that, in most cases, internally based MK units still operated in isolation from one another. Meanwhile, three MK units under Ramlakan's command carried out a series of attacks in the second half of the year. Sibongiseni Dhlomo, another member of the Durban MK command, co-ordinated a number of attacks made at about the same time.²⁵¹ Dhlomo travelled to Swaziland, returning with two MK cadres trained abroad: Ndlanzi and an unidentified individual by the name of 'Kevin'. At the end of November, Dhlomo made another visit to Swaziland and on this occasion returned with another three trained cadres, including Andrew Zondo. One of these infiltrators carried out an attack on the Mobeni Post Office on 8 December 1985. Ndlanzi, after receiving instructions from the Swaziland machinery that an operation should be planned to retaliate

²⁴⁷ Barrell, 'Conscripts to the Age', 416 and 416n.

²⁴⁸ Ramlakan was sentenced to 12 years; Derek Naidoo to five years; Jude Francis to six years; Dlomo to 10 years; Mbongwa to 12 years. Bhila was acquitted. Bhila, Portia Ndandwe, and Nxiweni were killed by members of the security forces in different incidents in 1987.

²⁴⁹ TRC Amnesty Hearings, Applications of Vejaynand Ramlakan, AM 4012/96; Derek Naidoo, AM 4017/96; Dhanpal Naidoo, AM 4007/96; Jude Francis, AM 4011/96; David Madurai, AM 4013/96; Richard Vallihu, AM 3010/96; Sibongiseni Dhlomo, AM 6389/97; Sibusiso Mbongwa, AM 4016/96; and Audway Msomi, AM 4015/96, Durban, September 2000, at www.doj.gov.za/trc/amntrans/2000/200904db.htm

²⁵⁰ Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal', 333.

²⁵¹ TRC Amnesty Hearings, Applications of Vejaynand Ramlakan et al., evidence-in-chief of Vejay Ramlakan.

for the attack on ANC houses in Maseru, passed the instructions on to Zondo. Zondo discussed the matter with Msomi, who attached a bomb on a vehicle parked in Durban's Pine Street causing an explosion on 21 December. Two days later Zondo placed a bomb at the Sanlam shopping centre in Amanzimtoti, killing five people.²⁵²

On 21 December 1985, the South African security forces mounted an attack on suspected ANC targets in Maseru, Lesotho. Seven people were killed in the attack on two ANC houses.²⁵³ Andrew Zondo had been in Maputo when the SADF attacked ANC houses in Matola in 1983, and he subsequently decided to undergo military training. He completed two years military training in Angola, and in 1985 was deployed to supplement the ANC units in Natal. Here he was placed under the command of Lulama Tollman, and led three cells in the region. In 1985, Zondo received instructions from the Swaziland machinery that an operation should be planned to retaliate for the Maseru attack. Zondo discussed the matter with Audway Msomi, who attached a bomb to a vehicle parked in Durban's Pine Street, causing an explosion on 21 December. Two days later Zondo placed a bomb at the Sanlam shopping centre in Amanzimtoti, killing five people, and injuring 27 others.²⁵⁴ It appears that in an unauthorised choice of targets that were not in accordance with ANC 'legitimate' targets, Zondo, together with an unidentified colleague, placed a sports bag containing the limpet mine in a bin outside a shopping centre on 23 December.²⁵⁵

Audway Msomi was commander of a sub-unit of the Durban MK unit that included Thuso Tshika and 'Bafungu'. An externally trained MK cadre known only as 'Stan' provided Msomi with a crash course in the use of firearms, explosives and explosive devices. This unit took part in a number of attacks, after having established a dead-letter-box (DLB) in Umgababa on the Natal south coast with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition of Eastern European origin in November 1985.²⁵⁶ Msomi and other members of the Area Politico-Military Committee were arrested on 24 December, just after the Amanzimtoti blast. Tshika was not picked up in the police swoop and managed to make his way into exile.

The Swaziland machinery launched an operation called 'Operation Butterfly' in late 1985 to support the Durban machinery. The objective was to: 'settle a group of middle-ranking, externally trained political and military cadres in the Durban area; to reorganise the local underground from the top downwards, asserting authority over existing (and often isolated) underground units; to reflect the principle of integrated political-military command in

²⁵² *City Press*, 20 July 1986.

²⁵³ Kasrils, *Armed and Dangerous*, 242.

²⁵⁴ *City Press*, 20 July 1986.

²⁵⁵ F. Mc A. Clifford-Vaughan, 'Terrorism and Insurgency in South Africa', in Crenshaw, *Terrorism in Africa*, 259. Reprinted from *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, 12 (1987), 259–75. Zondo was found guilty in his subsequent trial and hanged on 9 August 1986.

²⁵⁶ Refer to TRC Amnesty Hearings, AM 5962, Applications of Audway Qonda Msomi and Thuso Tshika, Durban, 5 September 2000, at www.doj.gov.za/trc/amntrans/2000/200905db.htm.

structures; and to prepare the ground for the clandestine entry into the area of more senior leadership.²⁵⁷ Another objective was to establish the first major Area Politico-Military Committee (APMC) inside the country. Most of the cadres infiltrated were arrested soon after entering the country, and the internal network subsequently uncovered. According to Ivan Pillay, '...the Butterfly experience was an ultimate failure. But it did achieve some success.... It drew in lots of militants from the townships and so on.'²⁵⁸

In 1986, another attempt was made to establish a permanent MK network in the Natal Midlands when Zenzele Terence Dlamini was deployed to the area. Dlamini linked up with other MK operatives already based in Pietermaritzburg, as well as with an ANC underground political unit in the area, before carrying out a number of operations.²⁵⁹ Sithole discusses the deployment of MK units to the Greater Newcastle area in 1986. These units were charged with carrying out armed operations to stimulate political activity, and to recruit and train locals for the military wing of the ANC.²⁶⁰

A limpet mine was attached to a police van while it was patrolling Umlazi, Durban, on 11 February 1986. The mine exploded at about 11.45 p.m. after the van had been parked in the police compound. Damage was caused to two vehicles.²⁶¹ In other attacks, a Durban unit of MK struck at an electrical substation in Sideman on 18 February. Two explosions occurred at the site, the second four hours after the first and after corporation employees had been allowed into the area to inspect the damage. No one was hurt when the second mine, which was buried beneath a pile of sand less than 2 metres from the transformer, exploded.²⁶² An electrical substation mid-way between Durban and Pietermaritzburg was bombed on 20 February. The electrical transformer was destroyed in the blast and the power supply was cut off in a number of adjoining areas.²⁶³

A series of explosions rocked different parts of Durban in one weekend after the 10th commemoration of the Soweto 16 June uprising, and a few days after the declaration of a state of emergency on 12 June. These operations were carried out by a unit of Special

²⁵⁷ Barrell, 'Conscripts to the Age', 416. For detail on this operation see Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal'. Operation Butterfly was conceived in 1982 or 1983 when a medical student from the University of Natal, Charles Ndaba, went into exile. He met with Zwelakhe Nyanda of the Natal Command and the idea was conceived that underground cells be created in the Durban area with the Alan Taylor Residence in Wentworth as headquarters. Nyanda remarked to Ndaba that it was 'time the medical students stopped dissecting butterflies and get involved in political activities', hence the name of the operation. A corps of cadres emerged at the residence, and included Ramlakan, Khate and others, until they were joined by a trained cadre, Mduduzi Sithole, in 1985. TRC Amnesty Hearings, AM 7256/97, Application of Raymond Lalla, evidence-in-chief of Raymond Lalla.

²⁵⁸ Interview with Pillay conducted by Barrell.

²⁵⁹ Refer to Sithole, 'The ANC Underground in the Natal Midlands'.

²⁶⁰ Refer to Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal'.

²⁶¹ *Daily Dispatch*, 12 February 1986.

²⁶² *Weekly Mail*, 20 February 1986.

²⁶³ *BBC Monitoring Report* (Capital Radio, Umtata), 21 February 1986.

Operations based in the Wentworth coloured township.²⁶⁴ The spate of bomb attacks continued at the end of June and into the first week of July. These included a blast at a pedestrian crossing over a Durban freeway caused by two limpet mines on 31 June.²⁶⁵ Police reported that they had made major arrests during the last week of the month and the first week of July: the arrest of four suspected ANC members near Durban. Follow-up operations led to the discovery of an arms cache of AK-47 rifles and large quantities of chemicals used to manufacture explosive devices.²⁶⁶

On 14 June 1986, three people were killed and about 69 injured in a car bomb explosion at Magoo's Bar on the Durban beachfront. The operation was carried out by Robert McBride, Greta Apelgren and Matthew le Cordier. McBride was convicted of the killings and sentenced to death three times for the bombing. His sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment and he was released in terms of the Record of Understanding in 1992. Apelgren was acquitted on all counts. Le Cordier gave evidence for the state and escaped prosecution.

McBride had been instructed by his MK commander in Botswana, Aboobaker Ismael, to choose a military target for a car bomb attack. He said that he had conducted a reconnaissance exercise to ascertain that the bar was frequented by off-duty military personnel. However, this exercise had been conducted in an extremely amateurish and naïve manner. His claim that the Magoo's bar was targeted because it was believed to be a rendezvous for SADF members could not be substantiated. None of those killed or injured had any link to the military or the SAP. The unit carried out a number of other attacks during 1986.

In August, police in different parts of the country killed a number of suspected members of MK. Four cadres were killed in a shootout with police in Durban on 8 August following an incident in which a house in KwaMashu was fired upon and attacked with three hand grenades.²⁶⁷ However, MK operations continued in October, with a bomb exploding in a manhole in Mobeni, Durban, on 10 October,²⁶⁸ and a limpet mine explosion outside a Lamontville, Durban, police station used by members of the SAP and SADF on 20 October.²⁶⁹ In mid-November the scene of operations shifted to Northern Natal, when 28 people were injured in two bomb blasts in Newcastle. Two of the more seriously injured were policemen. The first bomb went off at 2.42 p.m. at the CNA in the Game shopping centre, and the second, hidden in a dustbin in front of the 'B' court at the local magistrate's court, went off

²⁶⁴ For detail on the activities of the Wentworth unit that carried out this attack, refer to Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal'.

²⁶⁵ *Business Day*, 1 July 1986.

²⁶⁶ *Daily Dispatch*, 27 June 1986.

²⁶⁷ *Citizen*, 9 August 1986.

²⁶⁸ *Cape Times*, 11 October 1986.

²⁶⁹ *The Star*, 20 October 1986.

at 3.10 p.m.²⁷⁰ The two suspected insurgents arrested were, according to the police, linked to the Newcastle attack, as well as being implicated in a mine explosion at the Glencoe railway station and an attack with AK-47 rifles at the Osizweni police station on 10 October.²⁷¹

Gordon Webster (alias Steve Mkhize, or Joe Webster) from New Hanover, a small farming town between Pietermaritzburg and Greytown, established the next MK unit. It operated in the Natal Midlands and southern Natal areas from Pietermaritzburg, New Hanover, Mooi River to Hammarsdale and Durban. Webster's Pietermaritzburg unit placed a limpet mine on a pipe near the Lion Park turn off from the N3 highway to Pietermaritzburg in January 1986, causing extensive damage. This turned out to be a water pipe. Webster and Khumalo then blew up the electricity substation at Umlaas Road between Camperdown and Pietermaritzburg in February 1986. On 2 March 1986, Webster and Khumalo sabotaged an electricity sub-station near Camperdown causing extensive damage. Webster was confronted by two policemen on 15 April 1986, and after being shot was arrested and taken to Edendale Hospital. On the evening of 4 May 1986, the Durban unit led by Robert McBride, and including Greta Apelgren, Robert's father, Derrick, Themba Khumalo, Antonio Arturo du Preez, and Matthew Lecordier, rescued Webster from the hospital in a daring operation.²⁷²

Twenty-four people were injured in two bomb explosions outside the Magistrates' Court in Newcastle on 11 November 1986. SAP Sergeant Vusimuzi Kunene lost both legs in the explosions. In August 1987, MK combatants Thuso Tshika, Basil Sithole, Patrick Nkosi and Abraham Mathe faced charges of terrorism in connection with these explosions and others, including a grenade and small arms attack on 10 October 1986 at Osizweni KZP station, in which one KZP officer was injured. The first three accused were convicted and sentenced to prison terms on Robben Island. Mathe was acquitted. MK operations continued in October, with a bomb exploding in a manhole in Mobeni, Durban, on 10 November; a limpet mine explosion outside a Lamontville, Durban, police station used by members of the SAP and SADF on 20 November.

Zenzele Terence Dlamini, Baba Majola from Imbali and Mduduzi Xaba from Sobantu carried out two armed operations on the Sobantu mobile police station near the Sobantu Community Hall and the military base at Khwezi School. Zenzele Dlamini had established several combat units at both Imbali and Sobantu by the time of his arrest towards the end of 1986, made up of Pho Zimu, Sibusiso Xaba, Mlungisi Magubane, Thabani Zulu and many others. Almost all members of this unit were arrested in late 1986 and convicted in 1987.

²⁷⁰ *Business Day*, 12 November 1986; *Citizen*, 13 November 1986.

²⁷¹ *BBC Monitoring Report*, 15 November 1986. For detail on the unit that carried out this attack, refer to Sithole, 'The ANC Underground in the Natal Midlands'.

²⁷² Sithole, 'The ANC Underground in the Natal Midlands', 252-8.

A one-man MK unit carried out a series of operations in Durban during 1989.²⁷³ Mohammed Rafiq Rohan, then a reporter with *The Post* newspaper in Durban, accompanied a delegation of representatives of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses to a meeting with the ANC in Lusaka in October 1988. Here he met Aboobaker Ismail, who was MK chief of Ordnance at the time. During discussions Rohan indicated his interest in contributing to the struggle, and Ismail requested him to contribute by smuggling weapons into South Africa. Rohan instead opted to be a combatant and, after acquiring permission from MK Headquarters to establish a unit, Ismail introduced Rohan to the Zimbabwean regional commander of Ordnance, Riaz Saloojee (MK name Kelvin Khan). MK Headquarters also gave Ismail permission to run the new unit, although his specific task was to provide military supplies to MK cadres in the field.

Rohan's main aim as a combatant was to strike at the apartheid security forces, because: 'By striking at the military I would be striking at the heart of the apartheid state'.²⁷⁴ Thus, during training sessions he and Saloojee discussed various possible targets, such as the police's radio headquarters in Ridge Road, Durban, the Natal Command HQ, and the Durban headquarters of the security branch at C.R. Swart Square. Among the operations Rohan carried out were an attack on the offices of the Natal Command during the course of a military function on 10 March, which involved explosive devices that damaged the building where the event was taking place and injured 17 people; and the placing of a limpet mine near the male residence on the premises of the security police headquarters on 7 April 1989.

In the late 1980s, the headquarters of 'Operation Vula' was established in Durban. The 'Operation Vula' commanders set up three key committees to supervise the structures which they formed in and around Durban. They were the military, political and overall politico-military committees. Siphiwe Nyanda headed the military committee and its members were Zakhele Charles Ndaba, Mbuso Shabalala and Dipak Patel. The members of the Political Committee were Jabu Sithole (chair), Pravin Gordhan and Mpho Scott, who were its joint secretaries, and Vusi Tshabalala. Moe Shaik headed Vula's intelligence structures.²⁷⁵

North West

In the first half of the year, MK mounted very few operations in the North West. This probably was because it was an important area for infiltration. On 3 August 1984, a

²⁷³ TRC Amnesty Hearings, Applications of Mohammed Rafiq Rohan (AM 7162/97), Riaz Saloojee (AM 7158/97) and Aboobaker Ismail (AM 7109/97), Durban, 26 June 2000.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ Sithole, 'The ANC Underground and armed actions in Southern Natal', 343-4.

saboteur died at the hands of the police when he hurled a hand grenade at a group of policemen who were tracking down a unit of four cadres in the north-western Transvaal town of Ellisras.²⁷⁶ During 1987, an MK unit was established by a highly-trained MK cadre, Jerome Joseph Maake, together with two other MK cadres who were infiltrated from abroad, in the Moutse area.²⁷⁷ The trained MK cadres were deployed to this area to recruit and train people so that they could resist incorporation into KwaNdebele.²⁷⁸ The remaining three members of the unit – Piet Mohlamme Mathebe, Chakie Edison Mathebe and Charles Doctor Mathebe – were trained inside the country by Maake. This unit's first operation was an attack on a suspected informer, Elias Mmusi (also known as Elvis Mishi) at Sanniesloot. Mmusi was fired at with an AK-47, suffering slight injuries. In September 1987, the unit attacked a police vehicle at a T-junction in Moteti. Lt. Johannes Petrus Fourie, commanding officer of the watch unit of the KwaNdebele police at Dennilton, and his son, Sgt. Mark Fourie, were both killed. The unit's next target was the Dennilton police station. Maake and Chakie Mathebe approached the station in the early hours of the morning and, on finding the gates locked, fired on the windows and door of the building from outside the perimeter fence. The two policemen occupying the building returned fire, and were injured during the exchange. The unit carried out two further attacks in 1987: the planting of a limpet mine at the Moutse magistrate's court in Sempururu; and the planting of explosives at the Kwaggafontein police station.

Limpopo

The liberation of Zimbabwe in 1980 made the ANC more optimistic about the possibility of infiltrating MK cadres through Zimbabwe. The ANC planned to join with cadres from the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and then infiltrate South Africa. 100 MK combatants were based in Zimbabwe under ZAPU and about 150 'were in gorges on the Zambian side of the Zambezi River under the command of ZAPU guerrillas'. The ANC Revolutionary Council put together 'plans to open up new front on the 250-odd kilometre Zimbabwean border with South Africa and use this as a springboard for rural guerrilla warfare in the Northern Transvaal'.²⁷⁹ The PAC also planned to open underground military structures in the northern Transvaal in the early 1980s. APLA cadres left Zambia into Botswana and then South Africa. However, APLA's plan to reach its destination was foiled when one of its cadres, Abel Dube, was arrested. It is not clear whether some of his

²⁷⁶ *BBC Monitoring Report*, 8 August 1984.

²⁷⁷ TRC Amnesty Decision, Applications of Jerome Joseph Maake (AM 7756/97), Piet Mohlamme Mathebe (AM 5695/97), Chakie Edison Mathebe (AM 5696/97) and Charles Doctor Mathebe (AM 5698/97), www.doj.gov.za/trc/decisions/2000/ac20102.htm; and TRC Amnesty Hearing, Applications of Maake, P.M. Mathebe, C.E. Mathebe, and C.D. Mathebe, 29 February 2000, www.doj.gov.za/trc/amntrans/2000/200229jh.htm

²⁷⁸ TRC Amnesty Hearings, Application of Jerome Joseph Maake, evidence-in-chief of Maake.

²⁷⁹ G. Houston, 'The ANC's armed struggle in the 1980s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, volume 4, 1980-1990*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2010, 1050-1051.

colleagues managed to evade the police.²⁸⁰ But with such positive spirit prevailing within the liberation movements, the 1980s promised to be a period of fireworks. MK's second large-scale attack on a homeland police station during 1981 took place on 26 October. This was the attack on the Sibasa police station, located across the road from the South African 'embassy' and a few kilometres from the government buildings of the Venda homeland capital, Thoyo-ya-Ndou.²⁸¹ Three policemen were manning the police station when the attack began at about 10:45 a.m. A heavily bandaged man faking injury entered the police station and pretended to lay charges. Once inside the building he threw hand grenades at the policemen, and this was immediately followed by gunfire from AK-47s and a rocket attack from two different points near the station. Two policemen were killed in the attack and the third was critically wounded. A clash on 9 November 1983 between four MK combatants and the SADF near the town of Alldays in the Northern Transvaal, 40 km inside the South African border, left one soldier and four combatants dead. The cadres had been armed with AK-47s, rifle grenades, an anti-tank mine, RPG-7 launcher and rockets.²⁸² One major operation mounted by MK in late 1985 was Operation Hurricane, which was announced with the explosion of a number of landmines planted by MK combatants in the border areas of the north-western region of Transvaal in November and December 1985. MK cadres familiar with the target areas were infiltrated into South Africa from Botswana, Swaziland and Zimbabwe to lay landmines in the border areas. Cadres who were based in the target areas were also used. Anti-tank landmines, manufactured in the Soviet Union were used in these operations and could only be detonated by vehicles weighing between 850 and 1,000 kilograms. In November, six landmines killed one civilian and injured another civilian and four soldiers. In an explosion in December, six people were killed and five injured.²⁸³ One MK unit was responsible for placing the landmines that resulted in these 7 explosions towards the end of the year. These incidents were: an explosion damaging a vehicle on 26 November at or near Wiepe in the district of Messina (Musina), which resulted in the death of Edward Meluba and injury to Elija Makgamata; and an explosion damaging a bakkie on 26 November at or near Messina. On 27 November there were three incidents, including an explosion that damaged a tractor on a farm near Wiepe, resulting in the death of Glabi Philemon Ncube; an explosion of a military vehicle on a farm at or near Messina, causing injury to a Constable Philemon Motaung; and an explosion involving a police Casspir vehicle on a farm in the district of Messina resulting in injury to a Mr Fourie and Piet Mapotele. On 15 December an explosion killed six and injured five occupants of a bakkie, all of them white civilians.²⁸⁴ An explosion in the Wiepe district, about 30 km from Messina, on 12 February blew up a bakkie at about 9:42 a.m. The left rear wheel of the vehicle

²⁸⁰ T. ka Plaatjie, 'The PAC's exile politics, 1980-1990', *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, volume 4*, 1253-1254.

²⁸¹ *Sowetan*, 28 October 1981; *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 October 1981.

²⁸² *BBC Monitoring Report*, 7 November 1983.

²⁸³ Clifford-Vaughan, 'Terrorism and Insurgency in South Africa', 268n.

²⁸⁴ Refer to TRC Decisions, AC/200/093, www.doj.gov.za/trc/decisions/2001/ac21093.htm.

detonated the mine that had been planted on a bush road.²⁸⁵ The discovery of two MK combatants in the district of Maastroom in the far northern Transvaal, bordering Botswana, raised fears that limpet mines had been placed in the area. This occurred after a shootout between SADF personnel and the two combatants on a farm about 70 km west of the town of Alldays. A member of the SADF was shot when he was closing in on one of the combatants, who was also subsequently shot dead. The other combatant managed to escape.²⁸⁶ MK suffered a setback in its landmine campaign when four of its cadres were killed and one captured whilst on a mission on 25 December 1986. A unit of five, led by 'Agrippa', entered the country in late December to lay landmines in the Messina district. However, a farmer spotted them and fired at them. While the cadres were withdrawing, helicopters with military personnel appeared on the scene. A shoot-out took place, and four of the five men were killed, and one, Mthetheleli Mncube, was captured.²⁸⁷ The thinking behind this campaign was that the border areas were defined by the South African security forces as being part of a 'military zone', and the white farmers were conscripted into commando units. The ANC halted this campaign when it became clear that most victims of such explosions were civilians, including black farm labourers and the wives and children of farmers.²⁸⁸ The rural areas of Alldays and Ponderdrift in the northern Transvaal were the site of a major skirmish between members of MK and the security forces in the second week of July 1986. The clash took place on a farm in the area, and six of the seven suspected cadres died in the shootout. In addition, a policeman was injured and one cadre escaped.²⁸⁹ In 1988 Jacob Mpsa Raphalo was instructed by MK chief of staff, Chris Hani, to infiltrate South Africa through Botswana as commander of a unit of six other trained cadres. The cadres infiltrated and established themselves in the vicinity of Ellisras and based themselves near Beauty on the banks of the Palala River. On 8 August a tracking unit of the SAP surprised them, and a battle ensued at about 16h00. One member of the unit, James Kgwattha, and a policeman, Constable N.C. Claassen, were killed, and two cadres and a policeman were injured. Six of the cadres managed to escape during the night and make their way back to Botswana, abandoning the weapons they had brought into South Africa along the way. They were arrested in Botswana and deported to Zambia.²⁹⁰ There were also underground activists in Venda. For example, Vha-Musanda Vho-Shandukani Mudzunga was the Chief Administrative Officer in Venda under the homeland government and used his position to secure travelling documents for ANC members travelling in and out of the country. Before his deployment to Venda in 1987, he served in the office of Consulate General in Johannesburg where he issued passports to the homeland citizens. Whilst in Johannesburg,

²⁸⁵ *Citizen*, 13 February 1986.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*; *BBC Monitoring Report* (Sapa), 4 February 1986.

²⁸⁷ TRC Amnesty Hearings, AM 5829/97, Application of Mthetheleli Zephania Mncube, at www.doj.gov.za/trc/amntrans/2000/200703me.htm.

²⁸⁸ TRC, *The Report, Volume 2, Chapter 1, National Overview*, 35.

²⁸⁹ *The Star*, 12 July 1986.

²⁹⁰ TRC Decision, AM 5298/97, Application of Jacob Mpsa Raphalo, at www.doj.gov.za/trc/decisions/2000/ac20081.htm

he managed to issue a passport to one Sydney Mufumadi, an ANC operative who travelled outside the country for meetings with the ANC in exile. This put Mudzunga under the spotlight and may have motivated the Consulate General office to move him to Venda.²⁹¹ On the other hand, the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) found its way to places such as Zebediela. Peter Mokaba, the president of SAYCO and a prominent UDF leader, often visited schools in Zebediela to distribute politicising materials including pamphlets. The results were excellent as youth formations continued to mushroom in the area.²⁹² The MK unit operating in KwaNdebele also carried out its military operations in the area in 1987. A suspected informer, Elvis Mishi, survived an attack from the MK unit at Sanniesloot. However, Lt Johannes Fourie and his son were not so lucky. They were travelling in a police vehicle in September 1987 when they were attacked and killed instantly. The MK operatives also planted a limpet mine at the Moutse magistrate's court in Sempururu as well as explosives at the Kwaggafontein police station.²⁹³

The counter-revolutionary activities of the state

Western Cape

The 1985 Pollsmoor march and aftermath: In July 1985, the murders of the Cradock Four (see below) led to an upsurge in violence in the Western Cape. After a commemoration service for the Cradock Four at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) on 19 July 1985, at least 11 people were injured in Gugulethu in mass stonings of vehicles and accompanying police action. On the day of the funeral of school student Sithembele Matiso, who was killed by a rubber bullet on 29 July, mourners clashed with the police. Many people were injured by rubber bullets, tear gas, buckshot or being beaten with batons. A hand grenade was thrown at police near the graveyard, injuring the head of the Unrest Unit and five other policemen. On 23 August Allan Boesak announced plans for a mass march to Pollsmoor prison (on 28 August) to demand the release of Nelson Mandela. On the scheduled date, police sealed off many routes and used sjamboks and firearms against groups that attempted to begin the march, resulting in widespread deaths and serious injuries. Confrontation quickly spread elsewhere in Cape Town. In early September almost 500 coloured schools and colleges were closed by the government. At least 28 people were killed in the ensuing revolt across the Peninsula. Another 150 were injured, mainly in Gugulethu, Nyanga, Athlone, Philippi and Manenberg. 172 people were arrested in the period of the march and thereafter. Fifteen policemen were also injured in the fray.

²⁹¹ Mudzunga, 'Autobiography of an Underground Political Activist'.

²⁹² Peter Lekgoathi, 'Teacher Militancy in the Rural Northern Transvaal Community of Zebediela, 1986-1994', *South African Historical Journal*, 58, (2007), 226-252.

²⁹³ Houston, 'The ANC's armed struggle in the 1980s', 1130-1131.

After the Pollsmoor march, the revolt gripped the townships of the Western Cape until the end of the year, with ongoing street battles, barricades and stone throwing and arson attacks on institutions, shops and schools. The troubled townships were regularly sealed off by security forces and placed under virtual siege. The key areas of conflict continued to be Athlone, Bonteheuwel, Manenberg and Mitchells Plain as well as the African townships of Gugulethu, Nyanga and Langa, with Khayelitsha increasingly entering the fray. On 6 September, 464 coloured schools and tertiary institutions were closed by the government. The widespread political outrage that followed the mass killings at the Pollsmoor march had reached other organisations and sectors of the affected communities. The death toll continued to grow at the rate of several deaths per week. October 1985 was an extremely violent month, with daily clashes between police and residents resulting in an estimated 37 deaths in the Peninsula and Boland. The day after the Trojan Horse shooting (see below), a crowd gathered at the St Athans Road Mosque in Athlone was confronted by the police, who shot and killed Abdul Fridie. On 26 October, the state of emergency was extended to the Western Cape, which prohibited up to a 100 organisations from holding meetings. Thereafter, the Peninsula experienced only isolated clashes between protestors and security forces. Of particular note were the large high-profile burials of MK operatives such as the 'Gugulethu Seven', Ashley Kriel, Robbie Waterwitch and Coline Williams.²⁹⁴

Worcester: In Worcester, on 16 August 1985, student activist Nkosana Nation Bahume was shot dead by the security forces. At the funeral, police fired at mourners, killing Mbulelo Kenneth Mazula. On 21 September 1985 Andile Feni and two others were shot and injured by a policeman in Zwelethemba after a crowd had thrown a petrol bomb at a police officer's house after a mass meeting that had resolved to chase all police from the area. On 1 October 1985, Thomas Kolo was shot dead by security forces. On 2 November 1985, Cecil Roos Tamsanqa van Staden was shot by police and died two days later. The following day, William Dyasi was shot dead by police in Zwelethemba. On 9 November, at the night vigil of one of the victims, Buzile Fadana, was shot dead after police arrived and an 'armed encounter' resulted. His death marked an end to this cycle of killings and injuries that year. Roadblocks were set up and residents were only allowed to go to their homes on producing identity documents. There were 24 hour foot patrols, and searchlights swept the streets at night.²⁹⁵

Beaufort West: On 22 January 1985, a popular local UDF and youth organiser, Mandlenkosi William 'Tshaka' Kratshi, was shot and killed by police at his home. Residents renamed the township 'KwaMandlenkosi'. That weekend the township erupted in widespread protest in which Andile Amos Klaasen was fatally shot by a policeman. At least 15 residents and two policemen were wounded.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 420-5.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 428-30.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 430-1.

Colesberg: From June to October 1985, local organisations took up a campaign around the lack of facilities. On 2 July, SADF soldiers set up camp outside the residential area, resulting in clashes with youth. When youths approached the houses of two African police officers, police inside the house opened fire, killing four people.²⁹⁷

Knysna: Seventeen-year-old Goodman Tatasi Xokiso was shot dead by police in street clashes at Knysna in March 1986. Several others were injured and/or arrested.²⁹⁸

George: Serious tensions and conflicts arose between the residents and authorities in George over the proposed forcible removal of people from an informal settlement, Lawaai-kamp, to a new township called Sandkraal. This contributed to the protests in George that resulted in the deaths of at least five people in early 1986. In February 1986, Rhotsi Mbuyiselo Jonas Jack, Skosana Meanwell Lakeyi and at least one other were shot dead by police during street protests. This was followed by the 'necklace' killing of Afrika Nqumse, an employee of the Development Board seen as responsible for the forced removals. On 3 March 1986, Oudtshoorn activist Nkosinathi Hlazo was shot dead, allegedly while fleeing arrest.²⁹⁹

Paarl: Between August and November 1985 several people died or were injured in Paarl. The first death in 1985 was that of Adri 'Aaron' Faas on the day of the Pollsmoor march. Faas's death was followed by the fatal shootings in October of Neil Moses and Pikashe in street protests.³⁰⁰

The Trojan Horse and other ambush tactics: During late 1985 and early 1986, security force members sometimes adopted ambush tactics against street protestors and others by concealing themselves either in a moving vehicle or at the scene. In each instance, police opened fire without warning, causing deaths and injuries. Those killed or injured were frequently merely curious bystanders. The best known of these cases is the 'Trojan Horse' shooting. However, there are several other cases. On 15 October 1985, police hiding in large wooden crates on the back of a railway truck fired directly into a crowd of about a 100 people who had gathered around a Thornton Road intersection, killing Michael Cheslyn Miranda, Shaun Magmoed and Jonathan Claasen and injuring several others. This operation was repeated the following day when members of the security force drove down a road opposite Crossroads in the same truck, and shot and killed Goodman Mengxane Mali and Mabhoti Alfred Vetman. Six months after the Athlone incident, on 26 March 1986, security forces concealed in a railway truck shot dead three people near Crossroads, namely Lennox

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 431.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 432.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 432-33.

Thabang Maphalane, Eric Heynes and Goodman Bongani Dastile. On 29 August 1985, policemen hiding in the garden of a Bellville South house fired at a group of people, killing Sarah van Wyk and wounding at least four other women.³⁰¹

The Bongolethu Three shooting: On 17 June 1985, three children, Andile Majola, Fezile Hanse and Patrick Madikane, were shot dead at the house of an African security policeman by members of the Riot Unit. Residents of Bongolethu argue that the shooting was essentially an ambush. Youth gathered at the house did not know that there were policemen waiting in the house. One constable stated that one youth actually went into the front room of the house, but the policemen did not reveal their presence. No warnings were issued and no warning shots fired. In addition, buckshot was used as opposed to the lighter birdshot. After what became known as the 'Bongolethu Three' incident, the townships of Bongolethu and Bridgeton remained in a state of ongoing revolt and political upheaval until the end of the year, with mass detentions and trials continuing in 1986. All African police were driven out of the townships during this period.³⁰²

Killing of MK operatives: At least nine MK operatives were killed in the Western Cape between 1986 and early 1990, namely Norman Petersen, Zola Dubeni, Ashley Kriel, Mthetheleli Gcina, Nkululeko 'Solly' Mutsi, Anton Fransch, Samuel Baloi, Coline Williams and Robert Waterwitch. This figure does not include the Gugulethu Seven, who were not technically MK operatives. Other individuals who were killed and may have been indirectly linked to MK, or who were suspected of politically motivated acts, included Patrick Welile 'Deks' Dakuse, Ayanda Silika and Mpumelelo Rwarwa.³⁰³

The 'Gugulethu Seven': On 3 March 1986, seven young men were shot dead at the corner of Gugulethu's NY 1 and NY 111 and in an adjoining field. They were Mandla Simon Mxinwa, Zanisile Zenith Mjobo, Zola Alfred Swelani, Godfrey Jabulani Miya, Christopher Piet, Themba Mlifi, and Zabonke John Konile. The police claimed that the deceased were known terrorists who had been killed during a legitimate anti-terrorist operation. Security forces had allegedly acted pre-emptively to prevent these terrorists from attacking a police bus ferrying senior policeman to the nearby Gugulethu Police Station that morning.

However, it later emerged that this was a calculated police operation. Vlakplaas askaris Eric 'Shakes' Maluleke and Jimmy Mbane were given weapons and grenades and went to the home of squatter leader Yamile claiming to be commanders from exile. They opened a concealed panel in the minibus, showing their weapons, which prompted Yamile to introduce them to Christopher 'Rasta' Piet. They soon had the core of the group which became known as the Gugulethu Seven. The askaris started by fixing Christopher Piet's

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 435-7.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 437-8.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 428-30.

faulty AK-47, then got the youths to write their biographies, as was standard practice in the liberation movements. Mbane was tasked to train the youths and gave them basic training in military combat over two months while Eric Maluleke provided political education.

When their training was complete, the youths, together with the askaris, planned an attack on a police bus which took senior policemen to Gugulethu police station every morning. More than 25 heavily armed policemen were deployed 3 March. They were aware that two askaris would be part of the group of 'comrades'. The entire area was encircled and saturated by police. In the morning, Jimmy Mbane began dropping off the seven youths at the site. A grenade was allegedly thrown and the deployed policemen started firing from all sides in a small area of combat. The two askaris who had set up the ambush were able to escape.³⁰⁴

Other MK/ANC cadres killed in the Western Cape: Samuel Mzuga Baloi was unarmed when he was executed by askaris acting on 22 February 1990.³⁰⁵ Zola 'Jabulani' Dubeni was shot dead by members of the Security Branch on 14 March 1987. Dubeni joined the ANC in exile in 1980 and worked as an MK operative in Transkei in 1985, transferring to the Western Cape in 1986. He was arrested in Nyanga on 13 March 1987 by Security Branch and Vlakplaas personnel including Larry Hanton, and about an hour later pointed out an AK-47 and an F1 grenade at two sites in Nyanga. The police claimed the Dubeni pulled out a plastic packet and produced a grenade at one of the sites. Dubeni was shot in the stomach and head and died on the scene.³⁰⁶

Mthetheleli Gcina was shot dead by askaris Lucky 'Agrippa' Madubula and David Musimeke on 27 September 1988 after he had been pointed out to them by an informant who wished to point out a trained ANC 'terrorist' to them. Gcina allegedly produced a pistol and fired two shots while retreating. Both askaris returned fire. Gcina was reportedly wounded on his left cheek and stomach and died en route to hospital.³⁰⁷

Ashley Kriel, a young activist from Bonteheuwel, was shot and killed during a raid by members of the Security Branch (of the South African Police) in a 'safe house' in Hazendal, a district of greater Cape Town.³⁰⁸ The surge in popular activity in the mid-1980s meant that many in the coloured community in the Cape were making common cause with Africans against apartheid. The fact that Ashley Kriel and other youths from coloured townships joined MK demonstrates conclusively that there was a sea change within the coloured

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 451-3.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 453-4.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 454-5.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 455-6.

³⁰⁸ M. Bock, 'Multiple representations of a human rights violation: Competing discourses in TRC narratives and related media texts', *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics PLUS*, Vol. 36, 2008, 36.

community.³⁰⁹ Kriel left the country in late December 1985, joined the ANC and underwent military training in Angola. He infiltrated the country in April 1987. The circumstances of his death have been the subject of controversy. On 9 July 1987 two policemen disguised as council workers went to Kriel's Athlone home. Kriel allegedly opened the door holding a pistol concealed beneath a towel, and a scuffle broke out during which Kriel was shot in the back with Kriel's own weapon. However, the TRC found that there is evidence to contradict this version of events.³¹⁰

Patrick Welile 'Deks' Dakuse was shot dead by the police on 23 January 1989, allegedly while showing police the site of a buried weapon in the bushes near Khayelitsha. Dakuse was a well-known militant activist. Police alleged that he had pulled out a hand grenade at the site whereupon he was shot.³¹¹

Ayanda 'Ace' Silika (23) was shot dead in Crossroads while allegedly escaping from the custody of members of the Unrest Investigation Unit on 12 May 1986. Silika, a youth activist, was arrested as a suspect in the fatal shooting of Constable Patrick Legong on 25 March 1986. His brother, Guarantee Silika, had been shot dead by police during the street conflicts of 1985.³¹²

Nkululeko 'Solly' Mutsi and Anton Fransch died in similar circumstances in shoot-outs with police. Mutsi died on 5 July 1988 in Gugulethu after a four-hour gun battle with police. Anton Fransch was wanted by the police as a student activist and member of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing³¹³ before leaving the country in September 1986 to be trained by the ANC in Angola. He died in a battle with security forces after trading gunshots and grenades for some six hours on 17 November 1989. A security force member was instructed to throw an M26 grenade into the room occupied by Fransch. According to the police, there was a detonation inside the room before the grenade could be thrown. After police penetrated the house, Fransch's body was found badly disfigured by a hand grenade explosion.³¹⁴

Four limpet mine attacks in the Peninsula were planned for the evening of Sunday 23 July 1989 as part of an anti-election bombing campaign by MK. Mines exploded at a police station in Mitchells Plain and at the Somerset West magistrate's court. The fourth mine, intended for the Athlone magistrate's court, detonated behind public toilets opposite the court. The bodies of MK operatives and youth activists Coline Williams and Robert

³⁰⁹ M. Adhikari, "Youth have the right to Know: "South", 1987-1994", *Kronos*, No. 26, August 2000, 134.

³¹⁰ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 456.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 456-7.

³¹² *Ibid.*, 457-8.

³¹³ For more details on the Bonteheuwel Military Wing refer to B. Brockman, 'Contextualising the emergence of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW)', 77-87.

³¹⁴ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 458-9.

Waterwitch of the Ashley Kriel unit were found at the scene. Subsequent inquests found that they had died as the result of an explosion. Suspicions existed that the explosives had been 'zero timed' for immediate detonation.³¹⁵

Eastern Cape:

Deaths in detention: In 1980, Sizwe Kondile, a member of an ANC underground network operating from Lesotho, was assassinated by Port Elizabeth security policemen. In mid-1980 he had joined the ANC underground while studying at the University of Fort Hare, and when two members of the network were arrested in September he departed for exile with other comrades. About a year later he was abducted by security policemen in Maseru, taken to Port Elizabeth and Jeffrey's Bay where he was tortured. He was handed over to the security force's Vakplaas unit, who shot him before burying his body near the Mozambican border.³¹⁶

In 1982, COSAS activist Siphwe Mthimkulu and Tobekile 'Topsy' Madaka were abducted from Port Elizabeth and killed by the security police. It was revealed to the TRC that the two had been killed, their bodies burnt and the remains thrown into the Fish River near the Post Charmers police station in Cradock. Mthimkulu was a student activist in Port Elizabeth from 1979 until 1982, and was chairperson of the Loyiso High School Students' Representative Council and an active COSAS member. It was also widely believed that he was an underground member of the then banned ANC. Mthimkulu was involved in the COSAS schools boycotts of 1980–81 and a campaign against Republic Day celebrations in 1981, which involved the distribution of ANC pamphlets in Port Elizabeth. Along with other COSAS members, he was detained on 31 May. After being shot while trying to escape detention, he was treated in Livingstone Hospital. He was released without charge on 20 October 1981, after five months in detention. The day after his release Mthimkulu complained of pain in his stomach and legs and was soon unable to walk. Fighting for his life, he was admitted to Livingstone Hospital. In November, he was transferred to Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town, where it was discovered that he had been poisoned. In January 1982, Mthimkulu returned to Port Elizabeth in a wheelchair. On 2 April 1982, he instituted a claim against the Minister of Police for poisoning. Within two weeks, he had disappeared.³¹⁷

*The Langa massacre:*³¹⁸ In March 1985, tensions in Uitenhage townships reached boiling point. Between 8 and 10 March, police reported 23 incidents of arson and 18 of stone-throwing. Police action against militant youth resulted in six people being killed by the

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 459-460.

³¹⁶ Cherry, 'Hidden histories of the Eastern Cape underground', 376.

³¹⁷ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 74-5. Refer also to Cherry, 'Hidden histories of the Eastern Cape underground', 377-9; Cherry, 'No easy road to truth', 5-10.

³¹⁸ For more detail on the massacre refer to R.J. Thornton, 'The Shooting at Uitenhage, South Africa, 1985: The Context and Interpretation of Violence', *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 17, No. 2, May, 1990, 217-236.

police. The funeral of four of the six was to be held on Sunday 17 March, and a stay away was called for Monday 18 March as part of the 'Black Weekend'.³¹⁹ Police said that three petrol bombs were thrown at a police vehicle in Langa during the weekend, and that they shot and killed a young man. The houses of two police officers in Langa were destroyed by fire. On 21 March 1985, a large group of people from Langa township assembled at Maduna Square and began to march to KwaNobuhle to attend the funeral. The police blocked the road into the centre of Uitenhage with two armoured vehicles and ordered the crowd to disperse. When the crowd failed to comply immediately, police opened fire on the crowd, fatally shooting 20, and injuring 27 others.³²⁰

Duncan Village killings: On 11 August 1985, large-scale violence was sparked off in Duncan Village after the funeral of human rights lawyer and activist Ms. Victoria Mxenge, who had been assassinated in Durban. Speakers at the funeral demanded the release of Nelson Mandela from prison, the withdrawal of the troops from the townships, the denunciation of government 'collaborators' and institutions and the lifting of emergency regulations. A message from Mandela was smuggled out of prison and read at the funeral. At the end of the funeral, members of the crowd attacked a passing vehicle with CDF soldiers in it, killing one policeman. Returning mourners attacked buildings like the rent office, schools, a beer hall, a bottle store and a community centre. That evening, rampaging youths swept through the Ziphunzana area of the township, burning the houses of all six community councillors, as well as the homes of police officers and of suspected 'collaborators'. The police dispersed the youths with rubber bullets, teargas and sneeze powder. The violence continued the following day, a Monday. Police responded by firing on all crowds they came across, including mourners holding church services for people killed in the various incidents. By 16 August, the toll had risen to 19 people dead and 138 injured after running battles with security forces. On 31 August, 19 people were buried at a mass funeral attended by 35,000 people.³²¹

Aliwal North shootings: The first clashes in Aliwal North between police and students took place on 22 August 1985; student activist and leader Mr Mzingisi Biliso was the first victim. The following day, about 24 people were shot dead by the security forces.³²²

Queenstown massacre: The Eastern Cape township of Mlungisi in Queenstown was in a state of violent turmoil between 1983 and 1986. Conflict escalated with the imposition of a consumer boycott by UDF-aligned organisations in August 1985. Tension between the coloured and African communities followed the enforcement of the consumer boycott and

³¹⁹ For more detail on the stayaway refer to M. Swilling, 'Urban Social Movements under Apartheid (Les mouvements sociaux urbains et l'apartheid)', *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, Vol. 25, Cahier 99, Ségrégation spatiale, ségrégation sociale, 1985, 363-379.

³²⁰ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 85.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 87-9.

³²² *Ibid.*, 90.

at least one coloured man was 'necklaced'. This led to the formation of a coloured vigilante group supported by the local SAP and SADF. Schools were also boycotting from the time of the assassination of the 'Cradock Four' in June. In September, the brother of a suspected informer was 'necklaced' in Queenstown's Mlungisi Township. On 17 November, a report-back meeting on negotiations with the Department of Education and Training, the Queenstown municipality, the East Cape Development Board and the Queenstown Chamber of Commerce was called by the residents' association of the local Mlungisi Township. The Mlungisi Massacre involved the shooting of Mlungisi residents inside a church hall, while they were holding a meeting to receive a report-back by their leaders from a meeting they held with authorities of the municipality and with members of the white business community. The Mlungisi leaders were given an ultimatum: the boycott must be called off. The leaders decided to have a meeting about it, at ten o'clock on the same day as the boycott was supposed to end at twelve o'clock. Soon army trucks and personnel surrounded the church where the meeting was held, a voice announced over a loud hailer that the meeting had to disperse in five minutes. The order was ignored. Moments thereafter, teargas was fired into the church and a stampede followed during which people tried to escape. Police vehicles followed the stream of people running, shooting at random with bird shot, teargas and real ammunition. Fourteen people were killed and many injured. Three of the victims were buried two weeks after the incident, and 11 were given a mass burial on 7 of December 1985. Nosipho Zamela, also a Xhosa, was burned as a witch on the 8th.³²³

Hankey shootings: Hankey, a small farming town on the Gamtoos River about 100 kilometres west of Port Elizabeth became politically volatile after the emergence of youth and community organisations aligned to the UDF and opposed to the BLAs. In April, activist Sandile Joseph Mjacu was shot, allegedly by a councillor, and died in hospital on 3 May. In response one of the councillors who had not resigned was killed by militant youth. In late May, five more youths were killed by the security forces.³²⁴

'Trojan Horse' killings in Despatch, Uitenhage and Steynsburg: On 18 April 1985, a municipal truck loaded with branches drove past the Nomathamsanqa Higher Primary School in Despatch. The truck was stopped by youth in the street, and the driver got out and fired a gun into the air. Police officers emerged from hiding places nearby and opened fire on the group of youths, killing four and injuring two. A few weeks later a similar incident took place in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, during which old COSAS activist Khayaletu Melvin Swartbooi was killed. On 27 December, a third such incident took place in Steynsburg, a small town which had also been experiencing violent clashes between youths and police. Three youths who were part of a demonstration at the time were killed.³²⁵

³²³ T. Hamrin-Dahl, 'Witch accusations, rapes, and the use of myths in modern South Africa'. Available at www.jakobsgaardstolten.dk.

³²⁴ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 91.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 94.

The 'Cradock Four': The 'Cradock Four', Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkonto and Fort Calata, and Oudtshoorn activist Sicelo Mhlauli, were abducted and assassinated outside Port Elizabeth on 27 June 1985. On that day they drove to Port Elizabeth to attend a UDF briefing. Their burnt and mutilated bodies were found near Bluewater Bay outside Port Elizabeth about a week later. The car in which the four were travelling had been intercepted at the Oliphantshoek pass. The four were shot or stabbed, and their bodies mutilated, before being dumped in the veld near Port Elizabeth.³²⁶ Matthew Goniwe was a prominent activist in the Eastern Cape UDF, and was a community leader in the Cradock Residents Association (CRADORA). He had been active in leading various elements of the anti-apartheid movement that had heated up in South Africa in the wake of the Soweto uprisings in 1976, and especially in the months after September 1984 when mass protests hit the country. He presented a serious threat to the apartheid government.³²⁷

The 'PEBCO Three': The 'PEBCO Three', Siphon Hashe, Qaqawuli Godolozzi and Champion Galela, were lured to the Port Elizabeth airport with a false telephone message, abducted by the Port Elizabeth security police and taken to the remote and disused Post Chalmers police station outside Cradock where they were killed on 8 May 1985.³²⁸

Killing of Batandwa Ndonga: On 24 September, Ndonga was fetched from his home by a group in a minibus. Shortly afterwards he was seen trying to climb out of the vehicle's window, shouting that he was being attacked. He escaped briefly and was gunned down in a neighbour's yard. Transkei and South African police together with *askaris* from Vlakplaas were implicated in the killing.³²⁹

Security force killing of MK members: In January 1987, Mbulelo Ngoni (aka Khaya Khasibe) faced Transkei police, military and members of the SAP in a 36-hour shoot-out at a rural shop, in Willowvale, southern Transkei. Ngoni escaped with the assistance of guerrillas Dumisani Mafu, Zolile Ntlathi and Mazizi Attwell Masekeze. On 5 August 1987, police shot and killed MK member Sonwabo Mdekazi (aka Thandi Malgas Khumalo) in New Brighton. The police claimed that they had surrounded the house where he was staying at about 04:30 a.m., broke in and shot him because he had tried to shoot them from his bed. Police reported seizing an AK-47 rifle, a pistol and ammunition at the scene. Mdekazi had been a founding member and later regional organiser of COSAS; he had spent three years in jail until 1980 on charges of public violence before leaving the country.³³⁰

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 116-7.

³²⁷ D.C. Catsham, 'Permanently removed from society: The Cradock Four, the TRC, Moral Judgements, historical truth and the dilemmas of contemporary history', HAOL, No. 7, Primavera, 2005, 135.

³²⁸ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 117.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 119.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 120.

On 12 January 1988, MK member Sthembele Zokwe was shot dead by Transkei police at his home in Ngqamakwe just hours after his detention in Butterworth. Police claimed he had tried to throw a grenade at them. According to Cherry, his brains were blown out, and his skull stuffed with newspaper.³³¹ In February 1988, a joint South African and Transkei Police hit squad gunned down MK members Lizo Macanda (aka MK 'Gift', also known as Thembinkosi Gladman Mgibe), Zolile Sangoni and Zonwabele Mayaphi in broad daylight in an Umtata suburb. A fourth man, Thozamile Nkume, escaped. In March 1988, MK member Qondo Hoho was shot dead by police together with a relative at Mlungisi, Queenstown. The house in which he had been staying was smashed down by police during the incident.³³²

KwaZulu-Natal

Deaths in detention: Ephraim Thami Mthethwa died on 25 August 1984 in the Durban Central Prison after 165 days in custody awaiting trial on charges relating to his alleged attempts to leave the country for military training. Mthethwa was alleged to have committed suicide by hanging himself with his tracksuit jacket.³³³

Lamontville UDF activist Bongani Cele was detained, and on 9 July 1987, his family was informed that he had been shot dead by police officers allegedly acting in self-defence when Bongani attempted to pull a pin from a grenade. However, the post mortem report indicated that Bongani had been shot in the back at very close range while his feet and hands were chained.³³⁴

The Trust Feed massacre: On 3 December 1988, gunmen opened fire on a house in the Trust Feed community, near New Hanover, killing 11 people and wounding two. Captain Brian Mitchell, Station Commander at the New Hanover police station at the time of the massacre, Sergeant George Nichas and two Security Branch members, together with the Inkatha leader in the area, Jerome Gabela, were involved in setting up the Inkatha-aligned Landowners' Committee in opposition to the largely UDF-supporting Trust Feed Crisis Committee. At a meeting at the Inkatha headquarters in Edendale in August 1988, an attack on the Trust Feed area was planned for December 1988, involving members of Inkatha and special constables. After a police 'clean-up' operation to disarm and round up UDF suspects, the police would withdraw, leaving Inkatha members and the special constables to launch an attack on UDF members.

On 2 December, about 30 to 40 policemen rounded up known UDF members, and detained them under state of emergency regulations. The police were then withdrawn from the area.

³³¹ Cherry, 'No Easy Road to Truth', 14.

³³² TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 120-1.

³³³ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 193.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 193-4.

At midnight, Mitchell went to see how the operation had gone, and, disappointed that only a building had been burnt and no one had been killed he instructed the special constables to attack and burn the shop of Faustus Mbongwe, chair of the Crisis Committee, and to attack a particular house. These instructions were carried out. In the attack on the house 11 people were killed. The victims had been attending a night vigil following the death of a relative.³³⁵ In subsequent court proceedings the Supreme Court found that the massacre was the final event in a joint SAP-National Security Management System (NSMS) operation to disrupt the Trust Feed community and to give Inkatha control over the Trust Feed settlement.³³⁶

The Chesterville Four: Vlakplaas operatives killed four members of the Chesterville Youth Organisation in an undercover operation using askaris in June 1986. The deceased were Russell Mngomezulu, Muntuwenkosi Dlamini, Russell Mthembu and Sandile Khawula.³³⁷ The activists were lured to a house by *askaris* posing as comrades, where they were then killed.³³⁸

The Quarry Road Four: On 7 September 1986, members of the Security Branch in Quarry Road, Durban, killed four men believed to be part of an MK cell in Durban: Blessing Mabaso, Thabane Memela, Percival Luvuyo Mgobhozi and Mbongeni Zondi. A quantity of illegal weapons was found in the vehicle in which the four deceased were travelling. The police claimed the four deceased were responsible for an attack on a home in KwaMashu on the previous day as well as an AK-47 and hand-grenade attack on a home in Umlazi on 22 August 1986, in which Evelyn Sabelo, wife of Inkatha member Winnington Sabelo, was killed and her four children injured.³³⁹

The Killing of Ntombi Khubeka: In May 1987, a group of Security Branch members from Vlakplaas and the Natal Security Branch from Durban were allegedly responsible for the death of MK member Ntombi Khubeka, who was allegedly involved in liaison between the local and external units of MK. The Security Branch members had information that a locally trained ANC combat unit was operating in KwaMashu and Inanda. Khubeka was alleged to be responsible for stashing weapons, accommodating external operatives and gathering intelligence on possible targets. Two of her brothers were at the ANC headquarters in Lusaka. In May 1987, she was abducted by Vlakplaas askari Jimmy Mbane and taken to Winkelspruit where she died under interrogation by members of the Security Branch. They buried her body at Inanda Newtown.³⁴⁰

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 198-201.

³³⁶ S. Bekker, 'Capturing the Event: Conflict trends in the Natal region, 1986-1992', *Indicator SA*, Issue Focus, Durban, Centre for Social Development, University of Natal, 1992, 7.

³³⁷ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 202.

³³⁸ M. de Haas, 'Violence in Natal and Zululand, the 1980s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990-1996*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013, 113.

³³⁹ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 202-3.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 203.

The Killing of Phila Portia Ndwandwe, aka MK Zandile: Phila Portia Ndwandwe, otherwise known as 'MK Zandile', was the acting commander of MK activities between Natal and Swaziland and was responsible for the infiltration of ANC cadres into Natal. She was also believed to have given orders for a number of violent MK actions in Natal, including the killing of Durban Security Branch policeman, Warrant Officer Sokhela, in August 1986. Ndwandwe was abducted from Swaziland by members of the Durban Security Branch in October 1988 and taken to their farm or 'safe house' at Elandskop, outside Pietermaritzburg. She refused to co-operate with the police. The police officers, lacking admissible evidence on which to prosecute her, decided to kill her. Her body was buried on the Elandskop farm.³⁴¹

The Killing of Jameson Ngoloyi Mngomezulu: Swaziland-based MK commander, Jameson Ngoloyi Mngomezulu, was abducted from his home in June 1985 and taken to Piet Retief where he was assassinated by members of Vlakpaas and the Jozini Security Branch.³⁴²

The Killing of Stanley Bhila: MK member Stanley Bhila was acquitted in the Durban trial of Dudu Buthelezi and nine others in February 1987. The ten trialists were accused of involvement in 13 attacks in the Durban area. Security Branch members suspected that Bhila was also involved in a fatal bombing at Amanzimtoti in December 1985 (see below). On 18 February 1987, days after his acquittal, he was abducted and killed by members of the Durban and Vlakplaas Security Branches.³⁴³

The Killing of Dion Cele: MK member Dion 'Charles' Cele (real name Mzimela), based in Swaziland, was involved in smuggling arms to South Africa. He was also allegedly responsible for a number of explosions in the country and for recruiting cadres for internal and external training. Cele was abducted from Manzini, Swaziland, in July 1987 by Security Branch members Sergeant Lawrence Wassermann and Hentie Botha, with the help of an unknown informer, and taken to a house in the Eastern Transvaal for questioning. When he refused to co-operate he was taken to the Security Branch farm at Elandskop, Natal. His hands were tied and a bag was forced over his head. He was hit with a heavy piece of wood on the head and finally shot in the head.³⁴⁴

The Killing of Phumezo Nxiweni: Phumezo Nxiweni was a student at the University of Natal Medical School when he was arrested in February 1987 in connection with two explosions in Durban during 1985. The first was a limpet mine explosion at the XL tea-room on 19 June 1985 in which seven people were injured; and the second was a bomb explosion at the Spar

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 203-4.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 204.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 205.

Foodliner in St. George's Street, Durban. In May 1986, Nxiweni was one of ten accused in the Dudu Buthelezi trial in connection with 13 attacks committed in the Durban area. He was acquitted in February 1987. Security Branch members also suspected Nxiweni of involvement in the fatal Amanzimtoti bombing in December 1985 (see below). In November 1988, Nxiweni was abducted and taken to the Security Branch farm at Verulam for interrogation, where he was killed and buried.³⁴⁵

The Killing of Bhekayena Raymond Mkhwanazi: Bhekayena Raymond Mkhwanazi, known by his MK name 'Tekere', left the country in 1984 after being harassed by the police. 'MK Tekere' was caught while on a mission to place bombs in the Durban area. He was abducted and taken to the Security Branch farm at Elandskop, where he was killed by SAP members.³⁴⁶

The Killing of Mxolisi Penwell Khumalo, aka 'MK Mubhi': MK operative Mxolisi Khumalo, aka 'MK Mubhi', was killed on 30 July 1988 at Pietermaritzburg in an incident in which, according to the police, a hand grenade in Khumalo's possession exploded. Khumalo was deliberately lured to a place in Sobantu where he was killed. Khumalo went into exile in 1986. Police had obtained information about an MK operative in the area and had found Khumalo. According to the police, they tried to arrest Khumalo, but he reached for a grenade in his pocket and a struggle ensued. Makhaye stepped away to avoid the explosion, and was then shot. He was buried in a pauper's grave at the Mountain Rise Cemetery on 8 August 1988, under the name of 'Thembilile Gladman Sithole'.³⁴⁷

The Killing of Harrison Dube: On 25 April 1983, Lamontville councillor and JORAC chairperson Harrison Msizi Dube was shot dead after returning from a JORAC meeting. The community went on the rampage, attacking councillors' homes and buildings belonging to the Port Natal Administration Board and killing three alleged police informers. The violence quickly spread to the Chesterville township. In Lamontville, five people, including the Inkatha-aligned mayor, Moonlight Gasa, were arrested on 22 June 1983 in connection with Dube's killing.³⁴⁸

The Killing of Philemon Khanyile: Chesterville community leader Philemon Khanyile was stoned and burnt to death in his car by an angry crowd of residents when he attended the funeral of Harrison Dube. The crowd had been led to believe that he was a police informer. Khanyile was a member of JORAC and a teacher at the Chesterville High School. The Riot Unit had deliberately framed Khanyile as an informer.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 206.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 206-7.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 208-10.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 210-11.

The Killing of the Mdluli Family: On 8 January 1987, the vigilante A-Team petrol-bombed and burnt down a number of houses belonging to UDF supporters, including the house of Musa Mdluli, a Chesterville resident. Four of his five children died in the incident.³⁵⁰ The A-team consisted of ex-convicts, which had been established to ostensibly fight crime in the township. From the outset, however, they were co-operating with the police to 'discipline' UDF-aligned youths. The violence escalated in 1986, with about 40 people dying in that year in violence-related incidents linked to the clashes with the A-team.³⁵¹

The Summertime House Attack: On 18 January 1988, about 300 people were gathered at a house named 'Summertime' in Unit 1 South Mpumalanga for a UDF meeting. Inkatha members approached the house and commenced firing on the people who were there. From there they went on and attacked other houses, destroying approximately eight houses and killing about nine people. An estimated 200 people were injured during this attack.³⁵²

The Umlazi Cinema Massacre: A memorial service for Victoria Mxenge was held in the Umlazi Cinema on 8 August 1985. Although there was a large contingent of police and soldiers outside the cinema, hundreds of men armed with assegais, knobkerries and firearms burst into the cinema and began stabbing and shooting randomly. The soldiers and police who were allegedly present took no action to prevent the attack. Seventeen people died in the incident.³⁵³

The Attack on David Gasa: Victoria Mxenge's funeral was held in King William's Town in the Eastern Cape, on 12 August 1985. A few days later, David Gasa's home was attacked and burnt. A mass funeral for the people killed in the Umlazi Cinema attack was held on 23 October 1985. That same day a busload of Inkatha supporters attacked Gasa's home a second time. The attack resulted in the death of his mother-in-law one week later.³⁵⁴

The Killing of Jacob Dlamini: Josiah Dlamini was the owner of the Umlazi Cinema and made it available for the memorial service. His son, Jacob, was subsequently killed by Inkatha members in Lindelani.³⁵⁵

North West

Security force action against insurgents: On 4 May 1983, the Western Transvaal Security Police received information from a Botswana informer, a certain Andries Moatshe, that he would be infiltrating two MK members, Skiri Schoeman Ramokgopa (combat name,

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

³⁵¹ De Haas, 'Violence in Natal and KwaZulu, the 1980s', 111-2.

³⁵² TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 225-6.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 225-6.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 233.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 233-4.

Solomon 'Kruchev' Mlonzi), and Bushy Voltaire Swartbooi (combat name, Calvin 'Marx' Kakhasa), into South Africa. The men were shot on the South African side of the border by South African security force at a place called Silent Valley in the Derdepoort-Thabazimbi area. The men were buried as paupers in Tlhabane Township outside Rustenburg. Notorious askari, Joe Mamasela, in a joint operation with a South African military force, posing as an MK operative ostensibly recruited a group of young men, all from Mamelodi, and all in their teens, to join MK. They were to leave the country and cross over into Botswana. On 26 June, Mamasela, with the approximately eleven recruits, drove the young men in a kombi to make their exit from the country. However, near the border, at Nietwerdiend he handed them over to a waiting group of South Africa's Special Forces who 'forced them out of the kombi, made them lie on the ground and injected them with a chemical substance'.³⁵⁶ The men were forced back into another kombi, driven to another site, where an accident was faked, and the vehicle set alight. This unit was also involved in kidnapping ANC activists from Mamelodi, Atterigeville, Brits and Tembisa. Several of these men were killed en route to Bophuthatswana, the usual method being strangulation on the floor of the vehicle they were travelling in, or being electrically shocked to death. Whether dead or still alive, the intended ANC recruits were then taken to remote parts of Bophuthatswana, where they were blown up with remote controlled limpets or landmines. One man was obliterated by being placed on top of 8 kgs of TNT. The remains of these unfortunate young men were discovered by villagers and farm workers in Slagboom on the 16 June 1987, in Buanja village in the Bafokeng district on 24 June, and in Cyferkuil on 29 August of the same year.

The Winterveld Massacre: Events in Bophuthatswana came to a climax on 26 March 1986 when 11 people were shot dead by police and scores injured at a football ground in Winterveld. The shooting was reported to have taken place after a restless crowd began to move forward, during which 'two small stones' were thrown and a red flag was displayed.³⁵⁷ Winterveld was a squatter camp close to Mabopane, within the borders of the former Bophuthatswana. There were many non-Batswana living there and the Mangope government wanted to drive them out. This awakened strong resistance from the residents. The 11 protestors were shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force attending a meeting in protest over the police detention of youths in the area. This happened at the local stadium. About 2,500 people were arrested in the wakes of the shootings. Subsequently, Brigadier Molope, a disliked figure who was in command at the time of the shootings, was assassinated in Winterveld.³⁵⁸

Limpopo

³⁵⁶ N. Rousseau, "The Farm, the River and the Picnic Spot: Topographies of Terror", *African Studies*, Vol. 68, Issue 3, (2009), 356.

³⁵⁷ P. Laurence, 'Rural revolt: Transvaal's homelands in ferment', *Indicator SA*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Spring 1986, 22.

³⁵⁸ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 6, Regional Profile: Transvaal*, 639.

Deaths in detention: A number of people died whilst in police custody in this period. Tshifhiwa Isaac Muofhe, president of BECO and an underground agent of the ANC, died on 12 November 1981, two days after being detained by Venda police. He had been arrested on suspicion of being involved in the Sibasa bomb explosion. The police interrogated him and later took him out in an open Landrover to point out particular places. They alleged that Muofhe tried to escape by jumping from the vehicle in which they were travelling. Muofhe was taken back and detained at Matashe, the Venda central prison in Vondwe, near Sibasa. He was found dead the next morning.³⁵⁹

Tshikhudo Tshivase Samuel Mugivhela died in detention on 20 January 1984, after being arrested by the Venda police for harbouring and feeding 'terrorists'. Mugivhela owned a field where he planted mielies and sweet potatoes. Before arresting him, police searched the field for weapons, and his wives were interrogated to find out whether they were cooking for the 'terrorists'.³⁶⁰

In October 1985, Ngoako Ramalepe, chairperson of the Student Representative Council (SRC) at Modjadji College of Education in the Gazankulu homeland, was beaten to death by members of the Lebowa Police after being arrested at a shopping centre. He had just returned from a march to celebrate the recent release from detention of another colleague.³⁶¹

Peter Nchabaleng died in police custody on 11 April 1986. Nchabaleng was a central figure in the establishment of the UDF in the Northern Transvaal. He was an experienced political activist and as such was a considerable political threat to the homeland and South African government authorities. Nchabaleng spent eight years on Robben Island for MK activities. On his release in 1971 he was banished to his birthplace, Apel in the Northern Transvaal, where he became involved in local politics. In 1977 he was again charged for involvement in MK activities in Sekhukhuneland.³⁶² He was taken from his home by Lebowa police on 10 April and died later the same night. Lebowa police claimed that he had died of a heart attack.³⁶³

Mr Makompo Lucky Kutumela, a 26 year-old journalist and AZAPO member, was beaten to death at Makopane police station in March 1986. He had apparently been detained because of articles he allegedly wrote, which implicated the police in murder. His death precipitated a number of revenge attacks. An inquest the following year concluded that Mr. Kutumela had been murdered.³⁶⁴

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 586-7.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 586.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 646.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 644.

³⁶³ Laurence, 'Rural revolt: Transvaal's homelands in ferment', 22.

³⁶⁴ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 6, Regional Profile: Transvaal*, 645.

Security force killings: On 14 September 1983, Humbelani Elvin Tshifhiwa Mulaudzi and two other guerrillas were killed by Venda government security forces as they tried to cross back into South Africa via Beit Bridge. His body was later found so badly riddled with bullets that it was unrecognisable.³⁶⁵

Sixteen-year-old Wilson Tibane was among a group of youths who marched towards Dan Village near Tzaneen to demand an end to the homeland government. They were intercepted by Gazankulu police who opened fire. Wilson Tibane was shot and killed.³⁶⁶

In 1987 the South African security forces killed six MK members in an ambush near the Botswana border. The plan was to provide police transport for a group of MK insurgents who wanted to enter the country from Botswana on 10 July 1986, and to halt the vehicle carrying the insurgents at a roadblock. Several police and defence force units were involved. The plan was to lob a tear gas canister into the vehicle to force the insurgents to surrender. On 10 July 1987 a policeman picked up the six men at a prearranged spot near Alldays in Northern Province and drove to a bridge where his colleagues were waiting. It is alleged that the insurgents were armed with automatic rifles and grenades and opened fire when they were attacked. All six MK operatives were killed in the shoot-out.³⁶⁷

1988 Bophuthatswana Coup attempt: In February 1988, disaffected elements of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF) staged an attempted coup. They were led by Rocky Malebane-Metsing, leader of the opposition Progressive People's Party (PPP), and Warrant Officer Mothuloe Timmy Phiri of the Bophuthatswana National Guard Unit. The coup lasted only 15 hours before members of the SADF intervened and restored Mr Lucas Mangope to power. Five people died and one person was injured in the course of the coup and counter-coup. While the actions of the SADF, which had been sanctioned at State Security Council level, severely undermined the homeland's claim to independence, the coup also had far-reaching implications for the citizens of Bophuthatswana who were subjected to even more stringent repressive measures than had been in force before the coup.³⁶⁸

Some of the reasons for the coup included disaffection in the BDF, allegations of corruption, misappropriation of government funds and manipulation of the October 1987 elections in Bophuthatswana as well as dissatisfaction with low salaries in the civil service and defence ministry. The dominance of whites in the BDF was another source of discontent. A number of organisations such as Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC), the Bafokeng Women's Club, the Black Sash and the PPP were banned in the wake of the 1988 coup. A 90-day

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 585.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 646.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 631-2.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 641.

detention law was introduced. Batswana in the Bafokeng region, as well as members of youth clubs and women's cultural groups, were harassed and detained by members of the BDF and SADF. By 23 February 1986, 423 people were being held in connection with the coup. Of these, 182 were members of the National Guard Unit and 57 were members of the BDF. Two were policemen. In the wake of the coup, hundreds of opponents of the Bophuthatswana administration went into hiding as the Bophuthatswana security forces conducted what was termed a clean-up operation.³⁶⁹

There was an increase in repression after the coup attempt. Several members of the PPP were detained and severely tortured in the wake of the coup. Falvius Bathusi Molelekeng, an active PPP member, was arrested on 11 February 1988 and died shortly after his release from detention. He had been tortured.³⁷⁰

Interne political violence

Western Cape

Conflict in Crossroads: Crossroads originated as an illegal squatter camp in a period when the government was demolishing a number of illegal squatter camps on the outskirts of Cape Town. The squatter camp was first settled in 1975 and grew rapidly after 1977 as homes in other areas were bulldozed by the state. The squatters were a mixture of rural immigrants without permits to live in urban areas (the majority) and people who had urban rights but could not get family accommodation in the townships and wished to live with their families. After an international campaign from 1978-79 by Crossroads leaders and white sympathisers, the government agreed to 'legalise' most of the Crossroads inhabitants and to rehouse them. The first batch of houses was built, and some people were rehoused in what is known as New Crossroads (now administered as a suburb of Nyanga).

According to Cole, in the course of 1983, following the announcement of the formation of Khayelitsha in March, the state pushed forward with a two-pronged strategy to deal with the growing crisis in the Cape Peninsula. Firstly, it began building the first phase of the new township; and secondly, it put pressure on squatters living 'illegally' in the area. Old Crossroads found itself under the same pressure as the surrounding squatter settlements of Nyanga Bush and KTC. As a result of this ongoing and increasing threat of removal, the leadership of Crossroads joined forces with the surrounding camps. Before long they found themselves part of the progressive movement in the Western Cape. The launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in August breathed a new life into localised struggles. In the

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Cape Peninsula, the UDF was forced by objective conditions to take up the squatter issue and support their resistance.³⁷¹

Johnson Ngxobongwana, as leader to both the WCCA, a major affiliate in the region, and the largest squatter community movement, was an obvious ally. As indicated above, conflict broke out between supporters of Ngxobongwana and another community leader Memani in April 1983, and again in December.³⁷² In the course of 1985, however, Ngxobongwana increasingly distanced himself from the UDF. It was widely speculated that he had switched allegiances to the state and its security forces while in prison awaiting trial on charges on which he was later acquitted. He returned to Crossroads in June after being arrested in January 1985, providing an opportunity for political realignment in the area. While he had been in prison youth who were sympathetic to CAYCO took the lead in the struggle against attempts by the government to forcibly remove people to Khayelitsha (during which at least 18 people were killed over three days in mid-February). The government relented, and offered concessions including the upgrading of Old Crossroads. Emboldened by success, the youth sought to marginalise the Old Crossroads leadership through allying with headmen under Jeffrey Nongwe against Ngxobongwana's Executive Committee. Ngxobongwana courted other headmen, and drew them into an alliance against the youth. From the end of the year a bitter struggle was fought between the two forces for control over Crossroads. With the support of the security forces, Ngxobongwana fought an escalating war of attrition culminating in May 1986, when his 'witdoeke' raided and destroyed the squatter settlements ringing Crossroads, turning 70,000 people into refugees.³⁷³

The first open conflict between the 'comrades' and the witdoeke occurred towards the end of December 1985, spilling over into the new year as groups of witdoeke rampaged through New Crossroads, attacking activists. At least seven people were killed and many injured on both sides. Hundreds of activists fled the area. The first six months of 1986 were marked by sporadic ongoing skirmishes and conflicts between Ngxobongwana's supporters and areas or activists aligned with the UDF. On the night of 25 May 1986 a carload of youngsters was stopped at a witdoek roadblock. Vuyani Dyaboza, Lukhanyiso Finye and a young woman were then abducted by the witdoeke and held in an informal prison in Crossroads. While the young woman managed to escape, Finye and Dyaboza were hacked to death and their bodies dumped.³⁷⁴

The TRC found that there was covert official endorsement of and support to the witdoeke. Between 17 and 21 May 1986, thousands of witdoeke from Old Crossroads systematically torched and looted the satellite squatter camps of Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and

³⁷¹ J. Cole, *Crossroads: The Politics of Reform and Repression, 1976-1986*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987, 82.

³⁷² *Ibid.*

³⁷³ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5, Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 464-5.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 465.

Portland Cement. Both SAP and SADF personnel were present at the scene and not a single witdoek member was arrested. Around 38 people were killed in incidents associated with this first attack and many others injured. An estimated 30,000 people were made homeless. The security forces then encircled the area with barbed wire to keep its former residents out.³⁷⁵

Conflict in KTC squatter camp: The conflict between the youth and the witdoeke soon spread to the KTC squatter camp. Thousands of witdoeke assembled outside the Development Board offices next to Crossroads on the morning of Monday 9 June and moved off in groups to attack. Over three days, KTC was systematically set alight and destroyed. Approximately 20 people were killed in this attack and 30,000 people made homeless. A total of over 65 persons died in the two attacks and up to 60,000 were made homeless. ITN cameraman George De'Ath was hacked by witdoeke on 10 June near KTC and died several days later, becoming the first journalist to be killed in the South African conflict.³⁷⁶

The conflict in KTC, September 1987 – April 1988: The security forces also fomented conflict between two opposing groups in KTC. Towards the end of 1987, tensions developed between the two sections of KTC squatter camp – the first arrivals in 1983 who were largely township dwellers (called Old KTC) and the later arrivals of 1984 who were migrant refugees from Crossroads. Although both were aligned to the UDF, differences existed between the two groups ranging from their organisational practices to their housing demands. The situation escalated in late 1987, causing several deaths on both sides. These deaths as well as numerous other assaults, shooting injuries and arson signalled the start of a period of conflict lasting until March 1988. Most of Old KTC fled and settled in neighbouring Tambo Square. The UDF attempted to mediate, but ultimately the ANC in exile was compelled to intervene. Activists and squatter leaders were flown to Lusaka from 9–18 March 1988 where attempts to build unity bore some fruit. The TRC found that it was widely believed that the conflict was fomented by the security forces. Armed white plain-clothes men in balaclavas were seen moving around the area in the middle of the night.³⁷⁷

Rural vigilantes: In Ashton and Zolani, the vigilante group *Amasolomzi* was responsible for numerous shootings of and assaults on residents. Police and *Amasolomzi* co-operated with each other in house-to-house searches in Zolani, during which many residents were assaulted.³⁷⁸

Eastern Cape

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 467.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 468.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 473.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 473-4.

UDF-AZAPO clashes, Port Elizabeth: In 1985 and 1986 inter-organisational conflict arose in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area. The conflict started between AZAPO and the UDF in Port Elizabeth; later it developed into a violent conflict between the UDF and an organisation called *AmaAfrika* in KwaNobuhle. This conflict emerged at a time of school boycotts and developed into increasingly violent clashes between UDF-aligned youths and security forces and those regarded as their allies, such as community councillors. A prominent feature of these conflicts was the use of fire in attacking opponents – arson attacks on houses and burning of people. By 1985, the ‘necklace’ method of killing was being used, which involved placing a tyre around the victim and setting him or her alight. In Port Elizabeth, the conflict centred on the UDF and Reverend Mzwandile Ebenezer Maqina, who was aligned to AZAPO. Tension between Reverend Maqina and the UDF started in 1984 when Maqina opposed the school boycotts, which made him unpopular with COSAS. On 6 April 1985, at the funeral of AZAPO member Patata Kani, Reverend Maqina claimed that he had been threatened by members of COSAS, marking the beginning of the ‘feud’. The end of that month saw the first of several attacks on UDF leaders by AZAPO members. Counter-attacks followed, with leaders on both sides being targeted. By May 1985, the conflict had spread to Uitenhage where it emerged as a conflict between the National Automobile and Allied Workers’ Union, whose members supported AZAPO, and the UDF-supporting Motor and Component Workers’ Union (MACWUSA) and its ally the Uitenhage Youth Congress (UYCO). Also in May, the conflict spread to Grahamstown AZAPO and UDF affiliates.³⁷⁹

UDF-Peacemaker clashes, Uitenhage: In September 1984, the KwaNobuhle Town Council decided to raise rents and service charges. The Uitenhage Youth Congress called for the resignation of the councillors and a boycott of their businesses. Councillors responded by installing police guards and getting personal firearms for their protection. In addition, a group of young men formed a vigilante group called the ‘Peacemakers’ in support of the councillors. Violence escalated between September 1984 and March 1985, with violent attacks on councillors and police by *amabutho* being met by increasingly harsh responses from the police and vigilantes. When conflict developed over the use of the KwaNobuhle community hall in November 1984, the police openly backed the Peacemakers in their violent clashes with the *amabutho*.³⁸⁰

UDF-AmaAfrika clashes, Uitenhage: At the beginning of 1986 violent conflict erupted between the UDF and *AmaAfrika* in KwaNobuhle. *AmaAfrika* was led by the Reverend Ebenezer Maqina, who had been expelled from AZAPO in Port Elizabeth in January 1986. Its forerunner in Uitenhage was the African Persons Concerned Committee (APCC). *AmaAfrika* soon came into conflict with the UDF when it objected to the consumer boycotts and to the undisciplined actions of township youth aligned to the UDF following the detention of UDF

³⁷⁹ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 96-9.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 99-100.

leaders in June 1986. Violence erupted in January 1987 when a march through KwaNobuhle, organised by the APCC and protected by SAP vehicles, led to the death of up to four people, the assault of many others, and the burning down of at least ten houses belonging to leading UDF activists. The intention was to purge the township of political organisations and activities which were 'holding the township to ransom', to create space for government reforms and negotiations, and to prepare for councillors to return to the township as Regional Services Councillors. The violence, which continued after January 1987, resulted in the deaths of many people from both the UDF and the *AmaAfrika*.³⁸¹

Covert Military Intelligence operations, Somerset East and Cookhouse: In late 1984, residents of Somerset East's African township were dissatisfied with their rents and focused their grievances on Joel Memese, Chairman of the KwaNojoli Community Council. On 11 February 1985, Memese fired a shotgun at a crowd stoning his house, wounding three youths. In the aftermath, violence escalated, with attacks on police officers and councillors, acts of arson, and police shooting and killing a number of youths. The schools in Cookhouse, Pearston, Jansenville and Fort Beaufort joined the boycott on 10 April. Two days later, meetings of 29 organisations, including COSAS, were banned. The councillors together with municipal police officers began to adopt increasingly 'hard-line' actions against residents. The vigilante movements in Somerset East and Cookhouse, linked in the case of Somerset East to Councillor Memese, were part of Project Vallex and Operation Katzen. These were covert projects of Military Intelligence (MI) aimed at creating conflict in black communities. Project Vallex was intended to create a counter-revolutionary force in the Eastern Cape, specifically in the towns around Cradock. Cradock was perceived to be the 'epicentre' of the 'revolutionary onslaught'.³⁸²

The small township of Bongweni, outside Cookhouse and some 80 kilometres south of Cradock, was torn apart by violence in 1986 when fighting broke out between UDF supporters and those aligned to the Kakana family. It was alleged that the Kakana family refused to join the UDF-affiliated Cookhouse Youth Organisation unless there was proof that the UDF's activities were legal; they were accused of being 'Le Grange dogs'. The violence began when residents boycotted a shop belonging to a member of the Kakana family. At least one of the Kakanas was either a police officer at the time of the conflict or joined the police soon afterwards. On 26 February 1986, UDF activist Gugwana Menzi was injured and his wife, Ms. Nokhaya Mina Menzi, was killed in an attack on their shop in Bongweni. An inquest implicated members of the Kakana family in the killing. In the following days, violent conflict between the Kakana family and UDF supporters ensued. Nine houses were gutted and there were running battles in the streets of Bongweni. Mabhuti Kakana (17) was stabbed to death in Ekuphumleni location, Cookhouse, during 1985. Subsequent attacks

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 100-101.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 103.

resulted in the deaths of Mpendulo Kakana, Zolani Meko, Batayi Kakana and Wheyiwheyi Kakana, a *kitskonstabel*.³⁸³

Vigilantes in Ciskei: The Ciskei authorities used vigilantes on several occasions, including during the July 1983 boycott of the homeland-owned bus company. Police, army and vigilantes were used to break the boycott by assaulting commuters who used taxis, private cars and trains and taxi drivers seen as being in opposition to the bus company. The vigilantes were given free rein during the bus boycotts and were able to use the stadium in Mdantsane as a venue for holding detainees. In 1987, Potsdam community leader Mr Zola Nozewu fell foul of vigilantes. Potsdam village, near Mdantsane, had been opposing homeland rule for some time. Ciskei police warned that Nozewu should stay out of politics or he would die. He was stabbed to death by vigilantes near his home on 24 July 1987, three weeks later. Other community members were injured when the vigilantes, known locally as 'Inkatha', went on the rampage. In September 1985, Ciskei police raided the Zwelitsha home of UDF activist Zalisile Matyholo and told his mother, Ms. Evelyn Matyolo, that they would kill him because he was the cause of unrest in Ciskei. Within days he was killed by a group of vigilantes.³⁸⁴

KwaZulu-Natal

Inkatha-UDF: In summary, Inkatha moved to consolidate its position in the province by relying increasingly on 'traditional' authority for control. Additional powers granted by the state consolidated its power base and control over the population. The 'Inkatha syllabus' entered the educational system; rents and transport became sources of revenue for the KwaZulu government and townships came under the control of KwaZulu. Townships earmarked for incorporation became centres of conflict. The KZP came into being, initially to serve as a state guard to protect KwaZulu government officials and property. Chief Buthelezi, as both chief minister and minister of police, soon called for greater powers and more resources for the KZP.³⁸⁵ The youth in UDF formations were at the forefront of the conflict. According to sociologist Ari Sitas, the youth saw "their violence ... as a counter-violence to the obvious violence of the 'other', the 'system', 'Inkatha'. They react to the actual or even potential capacity for violence of the 'other' by acting or pro-acting. The same, of course, can be said of Inkatha supporters or ordinary policemen. What is crucial here, though, is to stress that for 'comrades' the concept of defence or home-defending is central to their self-perception and actions."³⁸⁶ In characterising the extent and nature of the violence in Natal, Mike Suttcliffe and Paul Wellings observe that:

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 104-105.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 106-107.

³⁸⁵ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 174.

³⁸⁶ A. Sitas, "The Making of the 'Comrades' Movement in Natal, 1985-91", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3, Special Issue: Political Violence in Southern Africa, September 1992, 637.

The 1980s

...the most serious massacres of people during 1985-87 were directed against the UDF and COSATU affiliates. In April 1986 the national conference of the NECC was disrupted through the actions of vigilantes led by a senior Inkatha leader. During December 1986 the charred bodies of trade unionists were found near Pietermaritzburg. In January 1987 thirteen innocent people were brutally murdered because they were related to UDF youth activists. In March 1986 Inkatha members abducted, killed and dumped the bodies of nine students in a ditch in KwaMashu. And the killing of UDF and COSATU members in Pietermaritzburg during the last six months of 1987 numbered over 50.³⁸⁷

On 29 October 1983, four students and an Inkatha supporter were killed and many others injured in a clash between students and a group of approximately 500 Inkatha supporters at the University of Zululand (Ongoye). The students were opposing an attempt by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to use the campus for a ceremony to commemorate the death of King Cetshwayo. This event, known as the 'Ongoye massacre', was another decisive turning point in the relations between Inkatha supporters and those aligning themselves with the banned ANC.³⁸⁸ In the labour field too, the conflict between the two movements took organisational form through the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in 1984 (which soon aligned itself with the UDF and ANC), and the formation of the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) by Inkatha in 1985.³⁸⁹

One of the first clashes between UWUSA and a COSATU affiliate occurred at the Hlobane colliery, near Vryheid, one month after UWUSA was launched in mid-1986. Eleven miners were killed and 115 others injured in clashes between members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and UWUSA on 6 June 1986. On the day UWUSA was launched in May 1986, NUM members at Hlobane decided to work. Those who attended the rally reported that they were advised to leave the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and join UWUSA. Management formally recognised the new union, alienating members of NUM. On 6 June 1986, miners who went on strike after a shop steward was dismissed gathered in the company hall to attend a meeting with management. Two busloads of Inkatha supporters arrived, and allegedly began attacking the strikers in the hall.³⁹⁰

This incident was followed by another attack of Inkatha supporters on workers linked to COSATU. In 1985, Sarmcol workers went on strike in support of demands for recognition of their union, the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). Management claimed the strike was illegal and, in March 1985, fired all 970 workers. Tensions between MAWU members and the BTR SARMCOL management began in August 1983 when the employers refused to

³⁸⁷ M. Suttcliffe and P. Wellings, 'Inkatha versus the Rest: Black Opposition to Inkatha in Durban's African Townships', *African Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 348, July 1988, 331.

³⁸⁸ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 186-7.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 187.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 237.

recognise MAWU. In December 1984 the workers embarked on strike over wages. In April 1985, 1,000 workers voted unanimously in favour of a strike because of management's failure to recognise their union, during the course of which the 950 workers were fired. The workers, together with the civic organisation in the township of Phophomeni, where the bulk of the workforce resided, decided to embark upon a consumer boycott of white-owned shops in Howick and Pietermaritzburg. Inkatha opposed the boycott on the grounds that it would result in intimidation of residents not involved with the strike. Local youths responded by trying to force a stayaway, which aggravated the tense situation.³⁹¹ On 5 December 1986, Inkatha held a rally in the Mphophomeni (a UDF stronghold) community hall attended by approximately 200 Inkatha supporters. On leaving the hall, they spread out throughout the township, assaulting residents and damaging property. Four prominent MAWU members were abducted and forced into the community hall, where armed men in KwaZulu Police uniforms questioned and assaulted the union members. They were then bundled into a car and driven towards Lions River. Micca Sibiyi managed to escape, while the charred bodies of the remaining captives were found the following day.³⁹²

Conflict in Umlazi and KwaMashu: In August 1985, Victoria Mxenge, a member of the ANC underground and political activist, was brutally murdered outside her house in Umlazi.³⁹³ The assassination of Victoria Mxenge precipitated a virtual uprising in the townships around Durban. University students and school children embarked on massive demonstrations which were severely repressed by the police. In Imbali and Edendale, the detention of a student from Siqongweni High School, one of the local schools, prompted a school boycott, enforced by the youth in the name of the UDF. They also called for a consumer boycott in Pietermaritzburg as well as elsewhere.³⁹⁴ Shops, belonging mostly to town councillors, were looted and burned, houses belonging to police 'informers' were destroyed and the youth erected barricades in the streets to prevent residents from going to work. The rioting lasted a week, during which approximately 50 youths were killed, mostly by police. This aggravated an already tenuous relationship between the police and the youth. A group of vigilantes, led by an Inkatha councillor and member of the KwaZulu Legislative, allegedly attacked mourners at the memorial service for Victoria Mxenge at the Umlazi Cinema. Busloads of Inkatha supporters from the rural areas were brought into Durban. They carried out a series of attacks in the townships before leaving. After this incident, Inkatha forcibly took men from their homes to raid a number of houses where UDF elements were thought to be harboured. This was the beginning of vigilante attacks in which buses brought in heavily armed men, accompanied by police vans and army vehicles, to raid sections of townships

³⁹¹ Bekker, 'Capturing the Event', 61.

³⁹² TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 238-9.

³⁹³ For details on the assassination and its impact in Natal refer to N. Madlala-Routledge, 'What Price for Freedom? Testimony and the Natal Organisation of Women', *Agenda*, No. 34, Celebrating 10 Years, 1997, 62-70.

³⁹⁴ P. Denis, "'Men of the Cloth': The Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa, Inkatha and the Struggle against Apartheid", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 2, June 2008, 314.

looking for 'comrades'. Victims were abducted and brutally murdered outside their homes. The targets were mainly members of organisations affiliated to the UDF, students belonging to the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and trade unionists. 'Comrades' retaliated by burning houses of leading Inkatha supporters and of policemen. This unsophisticated war lasted about three months, during which time a number of families were attacked on the basis that they harboured 'comrades' on the one hand, or were 'supporters of the system' on the other. In the process many innocent people, including women and children, were brutally murdered. The first victim of this type of conflict, murdered allegedly by vigilantes, was Mokoena, a trade unionist living in V section in Umlazi. Inkatha also resorted to attacking or intimidating mourners at funerals. The bitter conflict between schoolchildren and Inkatha took another turn in 1988 when a group of thugs clashed with SRCs in KwaMashu. The conflict was caused by the constant harassment of scholars, including the rape of schoolgirls. The SRCs took up the matter of the alleged harassment which led to a bitter clash with the thugs, most of whom were well known in the community. The security forces saw them as allies against the UDF-affiliated KwaMashu Youth League which included the SRCs. These were the beginnings of the Amasinyora gang which terrorised the township for three years. Evidence of collaboration between Inkatha and the Amasinyora became public when the Attorney General of Natal ordered an investigation into the alleged assistance of the Amasinyora by members of the South African Defense Force (SADF), KwaZulu Police and Inkatha. By the time the Attorney General ordered the inquest, the Amasinyora had allegedly killed over 40 people in KwaMashu.³⁹⁵

Conflict in Claremont: In 1985, the government announced its intentions to incorporate Clermont into KwaZulu. This was strongly rejected by the inhabitants, particularly members of the advisory council, who acted as spokespersons for the residents. Relations between members of the advisory council and the local KwaZulu Member of Parliament, Samuel Jamile, were strained. The issue was complicated by local civic politics which included a campaign against an increase in transport fares imposed by the Durban Transport Management Board which operated buses ferrying commuters from the township. Between September 1985 and December 1987, the political rivalry in Clermont resulted in the killing of a number of civic leaders who opposed incorporation into KwaZulu. In one incident a petrol-bomb was allegedly thrown into a car in which three Inkatha officials were travelling, seriously injuring one man. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member, Samuel Jamile, was arrested following the attacks on those opposed to incorporation, and sentenced to life imprisonment for one of these murders. During the marathon trial which took over a year, evidence of complicity between the police and Jamile was led in court.³⁹⁶

Conflict in Lamontville: In late September, 1985, hundreds of Inkatha supporters attending a Shaka's Day Rally at Umlazi attacked the township of Lamontville. Between six and nine

³⁹⁵ Bekker, 'Capturing the Event', 59-60.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

people died in the attack – at the most six Inkatha members and three township residents. This attack was preceded by an attack on the township residents by residents of a nearby hostel. Police set up a semi-permanent camp in the township thereafter and running battles were fought with the police during the course of a school boycott, during which one student was shot dead by the police.³⁹⁷

*The Midlands war:*³⁹⁸ After attacks in Mphophomeni in 1986, local areas in and around Pietermaritzburg became increasingly polarised. The conflict in the Midlands area has been blamed on the reaction of Inkatha to the formation of youth and civic organisations in 1985 and Inkatha's recruitment drive.³⁹⁹ The tribal areas surrounding Pietermaritzburg had been strongly Inkatha-supporting. However, in the second half of the 1980s, many young people and adults began openly expressing sympathy with the UDF. Inkatha was in retreat in the Vulindlela Valley. Rumours spread that chiefs and indunas had fled for their lives. During 1987, as a result of their waning support, Inkatha embarked on a substantial recruitment drive in the Edendale and Vulindlela valleys. UDF supporters vigorously resisted Inkatha's attempts to make inroads into their areas. The conflict escalated dramatically from 1987 and came to be referred to as the Midlands War. At around this time, some 300 Inkatha recruits were trained and deployed as special constables in the greater Pietermaritzburg area in order to bolster the presence of Inkatha. Conflict initially broke out in the Edendale Valley (which included Imbali, Ashdown, Caluza, Harewood) and then spread into the Vulindlela valley.⁴⁰⁰ The violence was intensified by the success of a national stay-away in Pietermaritzburg called by the UDF and COSATU for 5 and 6 May in protest against the white general election held on the 6th. By the end of August about 80 people had been killed in the Pietermaritzburg area. The available evidence suggested that in most incidents of violence the aggressors were supporters of Inkatha.⁴⁰¹

After several attacks on UDF-aligned individuals, the first deaths in the war occurred around November/December 1987 when a group of Inkatha members led by Daluxolo Luthuli allegedly defended the house of Councillor Jerome Mncwabe from attack by a group of UDF supporters. Shots were fired on both sides, and about ten people were shot dead and many others injured. Following this attack, the Inkatha supporters under Luthuli gathered at Mncwabe's house and planned several counter-attacks. They then used petrol bombs in an attack on the home of a UDF supporter. Some people died in the attack, while others were

³⁹⁷ De Haas, 'Violence in Natal and Zululand, the 1980s', 2013, 114-5.

³⁹⁸ For an analysis of the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the townships at the time refer to N. Gwala, 'Political Violence and the Struggle for Control in Pietermaritzburg', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 3, April 1989, 506-524.

³⁹⁹ J. Aitchison, 'The civil war in Natal', in G. Moss and I. Obery (eds.), *South African Review* 5, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1989.

⁴⁰⁰ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 239-240.

⁴⁰¹ J. Wright, 'Background to political violence: Pietermaritzburg region 1987-1988', *Perceptions and Attempts: UKUBUYISANA in Southern Africa Today*, 7 November 2010, 3. Available at <http://www.benkhumalo-seegelken.de/suedafrika.html>.

injured and the house was badly burnt.⁴⁰² In January 1988, Inkatha mounted a counter-attack on Vulindlela in an attempt to recapture lost territory. The onslaught was codenamed 'operation clean up', and resulted in an attack by almost 15,000 men on Ashdown and Mpumuza. The rest of 1988 and the whole of 1989 were characterised by continual attacks and counter-attacks.⁴⁰³ For instance, on 21 May 1989, the Imbali home of COSATU shop steward Jabu Ndlovu was attacked by well-known Imbali Inkatha supporters, including Jerome Mncwabe. Jabu's husband, Jabulani Ndlovu, who opened the door, was shot 15 times. The attackers then set the house alight. One of the Ndlovu's two daughters tried to escape but was shot and forced back into the burning house. Jabulani died at the scene. Jabu and her daughter both died later as a result of their burns.⁴⁰⁴ In the period from September 1987 to February 1988 alone, about 500 people were killed in the fighting. Two-thirds of the victims whose political affiliations are known were supporters of UDF-linked organisations, and one-third of Inkatha.⁴⁰⁵

Inkatha-AZAPO, Mpumalanga Township, 1984-85: During 1984 and 1985 conflict broke out between AZAPO and Inkatha in Mpumalanga. These tensions became evident at a series of public meetings organised by both organisations. Increasingly residents shifted their allegiance away from Inkatha towards AZAPO (and later from AZAPO to the UDF), frequently accompanied by either threats of or actual violence. Soon after the outbreak of violence in Durban townships following the assassination of Victoria Mxenge on August 5, 1985, the AZAPO leadership came under attack. They were assaulted and their homes were burnt. AZAPO claimed that the names of their members appeared on a hit-list and they were being targeted by vigilantes. It was rumoured that the Inkatha Youth leader, Nkehli, was behind the attacks. These attacks threw AZAPO into crisis, and the organisation was not sure how to respond. The members of AZASM wanted to avenge the attacks. However, the leadership felt that it would be suicidal to engage Inkatha unless they had access to weapons. Finally, they decided to exercise restraint, unless Inkatha actually killed one of their members. In addition, they would retreat from the public life of the community. Nevertheless, relations between Inkatha and AZAPO continued to deteriorate. Attacks on the AZAPO leadership in Mpumalanga continued, and approximately six houses were attacked with petrol-bombs. AZAPO decided not to confront their increasingly violent tactics and withdrew from the organisational terrain.⁴⁰⁶

Inkatha-UDF conflict in Mpumalanga Township, 1987-89: The conflict in Mpumalanga soon became that between the UDF-aligned Hammarsdale Youth Congress, which had been

⁴⁰² TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 243.

⁴⁰³ Bekker, 'Capturing the Event', 61.

⁴⁰⁴ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 243.

⁴⁰⁵ Wright, 'Background to political violence', 4.

⁴⁰⁶ D. Bonnin, 'Legacies of political violence: an examination of political conflict in Mpumalanga Township, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa', *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 62, 2006, 67-8.

established in 1986, and the Inkatha youth.⁴⁰⁷ Between February and March 1987 alone, at least 13 HAYCO and five Inkatha members were killed. Inkatha-linked groups invaded the schoolyards and classrooms, seeking HAYCO members and publicly kidnapped them and/or executed them. The HAYCO leadership fled Mpumalanga, taking refuge in the Durban township of Clermont. In mid-July HAYCO members returned to Mpumalanga in order to defend their families from attack once the violence shifted from targeting individuals to include targeting households, and then to whole territories in 1988. A cease-fire was signed between Inkatha and the UDF in November 1989.

Limpopo

Mbokodo in KwaNdebele: The political conflict over independence and incorporation in KwaNdebele between mid-1985 and 1988 turned into a civil war between those resisting and a vigilante organisation, Imbokodo ('the grinding stone'). It was formed with the support of the South African government to assert the dominance of the KwaNdebele elite and to achieve the political goals of independence and incorporation. Its members carried out daring and brutal attacks in which hundreds of ordinary residents were viciously assaulted and publicly humiliated. At the TRC it was alleged that Imbokodo had been behind 17 deaths. 'Comrades' or ANC members are identified as alleged perpetrators in 24 killings. When Imbokodo began their raids, entire communities were targeted, leading to widespread and indiscriminate assaults on residents. The actions of Imbokodo were denounced by the royal family and were clearly unacceptable to the vast majority of KwaNdebele residents. Imbokodo was a central protagonist in the KwaNdebele conflict, and its members were both perpetrators and victims of the violence that engulfed and nearly destroyed the homeland.⁴⁰⁸

On 1 January 1986, a large number of Imbokodo members attacked the Moutse villages of Moteti and Kgobokoane. At least four Imbokodo members were killed in the attack, and approximately 360 Moutse residents abducted from their homes and taken to the community hall in Siyabuswa where they were subjected to up to 36 hours of torture and humiliation. On 28 April, Imbokodo members surrounded the Mandlethu High School in Vlaklaagte No. 1, leading to clashes between students and vigilantes. That night Imbokodo returned and engaged in a house-to-house raid in the village, targeting scholars. A number of youth were taken to Emagezini, where they were assaulted with a variety of weapons. Many were severely wounded. The father of one of the scholars abducted, Jacob Skosana, allegedly confronted various Imbokodo members about his daughter's whereabouts. That night a group of men abducted him from his home, and the next morning his body was

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 70ff.

⁴⁰⁸ TRC Report, Volume 3, Chapter 6 – Regional Profile: Transvaal, 652-3.

dumped back in the yard of his home, but surrounded by fire so that his family could not retrieve it immediately.⁴⁰⁹

At Skosana's funeral, the police fired on the mourners with birdshot, rubber bullets and tear gas, creating panic in the crowd. One person died when she was run over by a bus when its driver was overcome by the tear gas. That night, youths burnt businesses owned by suspected Imbokodo members and MPs in the KwaNdebele legislative assembly. Meanwhile, on 7 May 1986, P.W. Botha announced that KwaNdebele would take independence on 11 December 1986. An estimated 20,000 residents gathered on 12 May to discuss the issue, and made a few demands. The KwaNdebele cabinet promised to prepare a response for a report-back meeting scheduled for 14 May. The local magistrate prohibited the report-back meeting at the royal kraal. An estimated 25,000 people assembled the following day, unaware of the magistrate's prohibitions. Commuters were stopped by youths at barricades and redirected to the royal kraal, while Putco buses were commandeered. While the assembled crowds were still waiting for the KwaNdebele cabinet to arrive, security forces dispersed the meeting with tear gas and rubber bullets fired from a hovering helicopter and from several patrolling Casspirs. Chaos ensued, and the bodies of two men were later found at the royal kraal. A number of youths were abducted by Imbokodo members and taken to a makeshift detention camp in the Vaalbank area. Fifty-four youths were held there without food or water and were subjected to assaults by their Imbokodo guards. This was followed by a virtual civil war in KwaNdebele as 'comrades', Imbokodo and security forces engaged in running skirmishes.⁴¹⁰

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

Western Cape

- *Community House* – The location of the offices of many popular organisations and trade unions and the venue of many political meetings.
- *The various sites in the Women's Tour in the Western Cape, St. Francis in Langa, Samaj Centre (Indian temple/cultural place in Rylands), the home of Dorothy Zihlangu in Gugulethu, the home of Dorothy Mfacu in Gugulethu, and Tambo Village* – The women's tour highlights the struggles, political debates, challenges, trauma and achievements of women in the Western Cape. Despite the harsh apartheid laws and segregating of people, the United Women's Organisation (UWO, 1981-March 1986), the United Women's Congress (March 1986-1990), the Federation of South African Women Western Cape (re-launched in April 1987), and Women's Alliance and the National

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 653-4.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 652-6.

Women's Coalition (1992-1996) were able to mobilise and organise women from all races, classes and religious affiliations. At one stage UWO had more than 6,000 members from branches ranging from Gardens (white) to Gugulethu, Macassar to Muizenberg, Crossroads (an informal settlement) to Claremont. The tour starts at St Francis (Langa – a legendary place for education for African people after night schools were banned for Africans in the 1950s). UWO was launched here in April 1981. Here Dora Tamana gave her iconic speech in recognition of a period when only men spoke and not women. She encouraged women to speak: 'You have no houses, Speak, You who have no Schools, Speak...'. The tour then goes to the Samaj Centre (Indian temple/cultural place in Rylands) – again highlighting the solidarity with the Indian community as there were no available venues to hold meetings. The next stage is Gugulethu – the home of Dorothy Zihlangu (chairperson of UWO, and first president of FEDSAW-WC). Then it goes to the home of Dorothy Mfacu – another leader. This is followed by a tour of Khayelitsha – with a focus on the campaign, *Asiyiya iKayelitsha!* The tour culminates at Tambo Village – given the history of the village by women like Lydia Mhlangu (who challenged the local government for this land). They were all former residents of the KTC informal settlement. After nearly coercing local government to give them the land, women named the streets and designed the area, helped by an NGO, Development Action Group.

- *The Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town* – Site of the launch of the United Democratic Front in 1983.
- *The Luxurama Theatre (Wynberg)* – And other similar venues where meetings were held in the 1980s phase of the struggle. The Luxurama (The 'Lux') was built in Wynberg, Cape Town by the Quibell Brothers; it opened in 1964 under the management of Ronnie Quibell. For a while (1964-67) it was run as an 'open' entertainment venue, exploiting a weakness in the apartheid legislation of the time which made it possible to be used by visiting overseas artists such as Tom Jones, Engelbert Humperdinck, The Troggs, etc. who wanted to appear before non-segregated audiences. In 1967 it had to conform to apartheid laws, and Dusty Springfield cancelled her tour. Others (e.g. Adam Faith, Percy Sledge and Peaches and Herb) still performed there in the 1960s. Thereafter it became an occasional venue, showing low-grade films and used as a political meeting place by the United Democratic Front and other groups.
- *146 Church Street* – The house where Anton Fransch was killed.
- *The Gugulethu 7 Memorial.*
- *The Trojan Horse Mural.*
- *The Bongoletu Three shooting* – On 24 September 2012, a monument was unveiled in honour of the Bongoletu Three in Freedom Square, Oudsthoorn. On 17 June 1985, three children, Andile Majola, Fezile Hanse and Patrick Madikane, were shot dead at the house of an African security policeman by members of the Riot Unit. Several other youths were seriously injured but were taken into custody by police and subsequently charged with public violence. Xolile Lwana was shot in the head with birdshot, leaving

him permanently physically and mentally disabled. Police versions of the event and eyewitness accounts differ. Residents of Bongolethu argue that the shooting was essentially an ambush. Youth gathered at the house did not know that there were policemen waiting in the house. One constable stated that one youth actually went into the front room of the house, but the policemen did not reveal their presence. No warnings were issued and no warning shots fired. In addition, buckshot was used as opposed to the lighter birdshot. The police officers said they had acted in self-defence after a crowd attacked the township house that they were guarding. One policeman testified that one of the youths had sprinkled petrol onto the carpet of the house and that another had matches on him. In order to stop him from striking the match, the policemen in charge shot the child. The other two children were shot in the process of fighting the crowd which had gathered outside the house. After what became known as the 'Bongolethu Three' incident, the townships of Bongolethu and Bridgeton in Oudsthoorn remained in a state of ongoing revolt and political upheaval until the end of the year, with mass detentions and trials continuing in 1986. All African police were driven out of the townships during this period. In 1989, the graves of the Bongolethu Three were desecrated by unknown people.

- *Khayelitha Remembrance Square* – During the 1950s, the government replaced 2,000 African employees in the Western Cape with coloured and white workers, and pass laws were enforced by police trying to catch 'illegal' immigrant workers. However, the fast growing shanty towns on the edge of Cape Town were evidence that influx control was not really working. Central government imposed 'The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act' in 1952 which forced local authorities to set up 'emergency camps' where shanty dwellers could be 'concentrated and controlled', and permitted authorities to destroy 'illegal' shacks. In the late 1950s the destruction of shack settlements increased in areas as diverse as Hout Bay and Elsies River. Over 5,000 so-called 'bachelors' were forced to move into hostels, and thousands of 'illegals' – mostly women – were 'endorsed out' of the city. In 1959, despite vocal protest from many employers, the Native Affairs Department decreed that no more Africans could be employed for work in Cape Town. At the same time, the conditions in the Eastern Cape reserves were deteriorating and therefore migrant labour became a more significant lifeline for many families. The clearance of squatter camps continued throughout the sixties and seventies. In the 1970s a shanty town developed at 'Crossroads', near the airport. It began when workers were told to leave a white farm and move to 'the crossroads'. Finding only bush, they built shacks and established a community that afforded families more scope for creating individual, respectable homes than the hostels of Gugulethu. As Crossroads was considered a temporary camp by the authorities, eviction orders were made in 1975. However, these were not enforced because a Men's Committee and a Women's Committee had formed in order to fight this decision, the latter of the two being particularly successful at gaining support from within and outside the community. In 1977 a survey showed a total of 18,000 living at Crossroads. The Black Sash began to

support the 'Save Crossroads' campaign, and in 1978 it was declared an 'emergency camp' thereby obliging the Council to supply water taps and remove refuse for a small fee. The battle to save Crossroads from destruction became a major battle of will between the government and the opposition movements during the late 1970s and 1980s. However, tensions rose within the shanty town and violence erupted around the schism between supporters of Johnson Ngxobongwana as head of the residents committee, and those who contested his behaviour of favouritism and reward to his henchmen. In 1983 there were bloody fights in Crossroads that spread into the nearby areas of KTC and Nyanga. A group of older Crossroads residents resented the rising influence of UDF supporters or 'comrades'. A group of these men, the 'witdoeke', wore white armbands and formed an alliance with the police to fight against these young 'comrades'. The 'witdoeke' were sanctioned to use weapons, and in the attacks on neighbouring townships and the setting fire to all the shanty settlements in old Crossroads, they caused an enormous amount of violence and rendered 60,000 people homeless. Some residents moved 'voluntarily' to a tented town near Site C in Khayelitsha to avoid the violence. Meaning 'new home', Khayelitsha was intended by the government to provide housing to all 'legal' residents of the Cape Peninsula, whether they were in squatter camps or in existing townships, in one purpose built and easily controlled township. The plan was to create 4 towns, each with 30,000 residents in brick houses, a proportion of which were to be privately owned. Settlement began with a tented town – rows and rows of tents, to which Crossroads residents fled. By 1986 over 8,000 people lived in 4,150 'site and service' plots at Site C (site and service means demarcated plots, each with a tap and toilet), and a further 13,000 rented core houses in Town 1 (a core house is a small cement-brick structure that can be extended into a larger house). Yet, by 1990 the population of Khayelitsha was 450,000 and unemployment stood at 80%. Only 14% lived in core housing, with 54% in serviced shacks and 32% in unserviced areas. A handful of residents had electricity and most families had to fetch water from public taps. In conditions of overcrowding and lawlessness, unofficial councils elected by community members maintained social control in the neighbourhood, and enforced physical punishment upon adults and children who broke the local codes of behaviour.

- *Nelson Mandela's house in Victor Verster prison* – The government moved Nelson Mandela from the Constantiaberg private clinic in Cape Town, where he had been recovering from tuberculosis, to a house on the grounds of Victor Verster Prison, near Paarl, east of Cape Town, where he was given a large warder's house to live in. Mandela was transferred to the Paarl prison, now called the Drakenstein Correctional Centre, from the maximum security prison on Robben Island in 1988 in preparation for his release on February 11, 1990. The house that was built for Mandela in the village of Qunu near his hometown, Mthatha, in the Eastern Cape, is a replica of his prison house – at his request.

The 1980s

- *Bloubergstrand and Strand Defiance actions, 1989* – On 19 August, thousands of people set off to defy ‘whites-only’ beaches at Strand and Bloubergstrand in a high-profile act of ‘beach apartheid defiance’. Some groups were shot at with birdshot, others were sjambokked. There were multiple public protests in the following weeks.
- *Dulcie September* – Dulcie Evonne September was born on 20 August 1935 and grew up in Athlone, Cape Town. She qualified as a teacher in the mid-50s at a time when education had become one of the terrains of the struggle for liberation. This is what drove Dulcie September and like-minded activists to enter into politics and associate themselves with the liberation struggle. Thus, in 1957 she joined the Cape Peninsula Students’ Union, an affiliate of the Unity Movement of South Africa. In October 1963, because of her political activities, she was arrested and detained without trial. In 1964, she was charged with conspiring to commit acts of sabotage together with nine others. She was sentenced to five years’ imprisonment and on her release from prison she was banned for 5 years. She then left South Africa in 1974 to further her studies in Britain where she joined the ANC in exile. She soon got the recognition of the leadership of the ANC and in 1984 she was appointed Chief Representative of the ANC in France, Switzerland and Luxemburg. She worked very closely with the anti-apartheid movement in Britain and in France. She was assassinated on 29 March 1988 as she was about to open the ANC office in Paris.

Eastern Cape

- *Egerton Station* – Memorial erected in memory of those killed by Ciskei security forces during bus boycott, Zone 9 in Mdantsane, Buffalo City. In 1983 Mdantsane residents mobilised against Ciskei around the issue of bus fare increases and organised a lengthy bus boycott of the bus company partially owned by the Ciskei government. Ciskei Police reacted harshly and in trying to prevent commuters making use of the train at Egerton station, Ciskei Police opened fire, killing 11 people. In August, 4, 1983, 11 people were gunned down on this site. During this period there was a general political unrest in South Africa. In Mdantsane, the unrest came about when Mdantsane people boycotted partly state – owned Ciskei Transport Corporation (CTC) Company buses after the company had unilaterally fare increases in 1983. The Ciskei government embarked on a campaign to force people to board the buses. It used its ruthless security apparatus, backed by a vigilante group, to beat up those who did not want to board buses. Leaders of the bus boycott were harassed and detained without trial by the Ciskei security police.⁴¹¹
- *Queenstown Massacre Memorial* – The memorial, which was unveiled on 21 March 2002, is in honour of 11 people killed by police in the notorious Queenstown massacre of 17 November 1985. The Mlungisi community mobilised in 1985 to oppose the

⁴¹¹ Buffalo City, ‘Buffalo City Heritage Sites’, 9.

Community Councils initiated by P.W. Botha. They were especially angry concerning household evictions and the dilapidated Mlungisi infrastructure - intended to force Mlungisi people to move to Ezibeleni. A consumer boycott was launched on 12 August, leading to negotiations with the white business community. On 17 November 1985, during a report-back on the negotiations at Nonzwakazi Methodist Church, police surrounded the church in Casspirs. They lobbed teargas into the Church and fired through the windows. Eleven people including Lizo Ncana, the Chair of the Residents Association, were killed.⁴¹²

- *Middelburg Three Monument* – This memorial was erected in remembrance of those who died in Middelburg fighting apartheid. At 03:00 on 18 April 1986, apartheid forces in Middelburg attacked the home of Mlungisi Mtila, Chairperson of the Middelburg Youth Congress, in an attempt to kill him. The community launched counter-attacks on government-supporting community councillors. Papa Fikenesi, Xoli Diamond and Mpiyakhe Gwaza – known as the Middelburg Three – were killed in the fighting which ensued in KwaNonzame township, Middelburg.⁴¹³
- *Barkly East Heroes Memorial* – This composite memorial records the deaths in 1990, 1991 and 1992, of MK combatants who died in the nearby Barkly Pass as well as community members who were killed protesting. The shooting of community members celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela is also a reminder that apartheid police continued with their repression well after the country was beginning its transition to democracy. The memorial was officially unveiled on 21 March 2000.
- *Cradock Flame of Hope and Liberation* – This monument to fallen heroes in Cradock is a reminder of the heroes of the Cradock struggle. In addition to Calata and the Cradock Four, it also memorialises four sons of Cradock who left the country in 1960 to join *Umkhonto we Sizwe* and who perished with the Luthuli Brigade in the Wankie Campaign of 1968: J.J. Goniwe, Gandhi Hlekani, L.T. Melani and B.S. Ngalo.⁴¹⁴
- *Ikusasa Lethu Memorial (Burgersdorp Heroes Memorial)* – The memorial was unveiled in 2001 and honours six youth activists who were killed by apartheid state police during the period between 1985 and 1993. The student activists were Mpumelelo Mfundisi, Nowinki Mpoza, Nomathemba Lengs, Xolekile Mokheseng, and Fuzile Cingani – all from Mzamomhle, Burgersdorp. Mfundisi was a pupil at the Solanga Higher Primary School which was later named after him. He was shot dead by police while protesting against the then Mzamomhle mayor Ngxekeshe Mdyuba on 11 October 1985. Police shot dead Mokheseng during a protest against police patrols in townships on 7 March 1986. Mpoza and Lengs were shot on 16 June 1986, when they and other student activists engaged in a door-to-door campaign persuading students to fight against the Bantu Education

⁴¹² Chris Hani District Municipality, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 28.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

system. Cingani was shot dead by the police on 17 April 1993, during Operation Barcelona - a student protest against examination fees.⁴¹⁵

- *Heroes Park Molteno* – The memorial is in remembrance of those who died resisting apartheid in Molteno. A total of eleven community activists were killed by apartheid forces between 12 August 1985 and 13 November 1993. The first three, Richard Mbango, Shwalakhe Loliwe, Ncedani Smile, perished on 12 August 1985 which is commemorated annually under the name of ‘Molteno Day.’ That was the day student activists confronted police across the buffer zone which divided the African township from the white town, which escalated into an extended battle between police and students.⁴¹⁶
- *Hankey Massacre Heroes Memorial* – The Hankey Massacre Heroes Memorial was erected in memory of six members of Hankey Youth Congress who were shot dead by state security agents at Hankey on International Workers Day in May 1986: Siphon Siziba; Monde Mjijwa; Vuyo Katoo; Msondezi Sibengile; Vusumzi Landu and Sandile Mjacu.
- *Heroes of Steytlerville Memorial* – Located at the entrance of Vuyolwethu township in Steytlerville, this memorial is yet another physical reminder of the level of resistance to apartheid in small rural towns across the Eastern Cape in the 1980s and 1990s. It lists the names of Mzwandile Miggels, Johannes Witbooi, Andile Kobe and Thamsanqa Kasibe.
- *Nompendulo High School Memorial* – The memorial is situated in Zone 10, Zwelitsha. The political unrest in South Africa in the 1980s also affected the so-called independent homeland of the Ciskei. Zwelitsha Township saw its share of student protests and uprisings, underground political organisations and police brutality. The memorial at Nompendulo High School provides an opportunity to tell the narrative of the general student uprising of the 1980s. On 23 July 1985 a protest meeting was held at Nompendulo High School to force the authorities to accept a democratically elected student body. Student demands were drafted and handed over to the school principal. He did not cooperate, refused to address the students and called the police. The police demanded immediate dispersal, but the students refused. The Ciskei police then fired teargas and assaulted the students, which caused pandemonium. Many students were arrested. Fleeing scholars attempted to cross the Buffalo River, adjacent to the school. In doing so, at least three students drowned. A memorial commemorating the school tragedy was unveiled on 23 July 2000 on the school grounds by Rev M. Stofile, former Premier of the Eastern Cape.⁴¹⁷
- *Langa Massacre Memorial* – On the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, on 21 March 1985, the apartheid police opened fire on innocent people on their way to a

⁴¹⁵ News24, ‘Activists memorial unveiled’, 26 November 2001, website <http://www.news24.com/xArchive/Archive/Activist-memorial-unveiled-20011126> (site accessed 14 June 2013).

⁴¹⁶ Chris Hani District Municipality, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 13.

⁴¹⁷ Buffalo City, ‘Buffalo City Heritage Sites: Potential Tourism Sites’, 8.

funeral. This became known as the Langa Massacre. As events transpired, this was not to be an isolated incident. It was the first mass police killing in what turned out to be a year marked by other massacres: Queenstown, Mamelodi, Winterveld and Alexandra, as increasing resistance was met with bloody violence. The Uitenhage shootings evoked a national and international outcry, and the South African government, under pressure, appointed a judicial commission of enquiry under Judge Donald Kannemeyer to investigate the circumstances surrounding 21 March 1985. The police asserted that 17 people were killed and 19 wounded. Residents in the townships maintained that police had killed as many as 43 persons. The memorial in KwaNobuhle cemetery indicated 29 were killed and listed their names. Press estimates took all of these accounts into consideration in making their assessments that ranged from 19 to 43 dead. One of the eye-witness journalists, Jon Qwelane, still insisted that 42 people died at Langa. It is even more difficult to discern the number of wounded, especially as many of the wounded sought to avoid hospitals for fear of police or other state reprisal. A year after the Langa massacre, a memorial tombstone to those who died was unveiled in the KwaNobuhle Cemetery. The tombstone was vandalised in June 1987. In March 1994, on the eve of the first democratic elections, the memorial was re-erected. In 2000, in further recognition of the importance of this event, the Langa massacre memorial was upgraded by the municipality and provincial government. In 2010, on the 25th anniversary of the massacre a more substantial memorial to those who fell in 1985 was officially opened.

- *Alexandria Three Memorial* – The memorial in KwaNonkqubela Township, Alexandria, is in honour of three youths who were gunned down on 23 May 1986 during youth anti-apartheid demonstrations. The official unveiling took place on 4 August 2001.
- *1985 Duncan Village Massacre Memorial* – This monument honours those who were killed or injured in the 1980s in Duncan Village. In the 1980s the people of Duncan Village took up the call of the President of ANC, O.R. Tambo, that the masses of South Africa should make the structures and the system of the apartheid government unworkable. On 11 August 1985, people were returning from Rayi village near King Williams Town, where they had attended the funeral of a prominent human rights Lawyer, Ms. Nonyamazelo Victoria Mxenge (who had been assassinated by apartheid agents at her home in Mlazi, Durban). Angry mourners rose up in protest and set alight symbol of the apartheid regime - the Duncan Village Rent Office, other government buildings and the homes of local councillors who were seen as collaborators of the apartheid system. The township became the scene of the running battles between young people and police. The worst violence occurred on 14 August 1985, when young people of Duncan Village were attempting to destroy a bridge in order to prevent the police from entering the township. During the resistance at least 31 people were killed and many more were injured.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

- *Graves of Griffiths & Victoria Mxenge, Rayi* – The anti-apartheid activists and human rights lawyers, Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge are buried at Rayi, just outside King William’s Town. They were married in 1964 and moved to Durban. Their lives were much affected by frequent bannings, detentions and imprisonment, but they both courageously handled many high-profile political cases. They were both assassinated by the apartheid security force hit squads in 1981 and 1985, respectively.⁴¹⁹ The neat Garden of Remembrance and graves at Rayi serve as a reminder of the many victims of apartheid hit squads during this period and the courage and sacrifice of those who fought for the liberation of the country in different arenas.
- *Cradock Four Memorial* – The memorial serves as a reminder of the four UDF activists murdered by apartheid police. The four mass democratic movement activists Mathew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlauli, were stopped at a police roadblock near Blue Water Bay, abducted and murdered by apartheid security forces on 27 June 1985. Their brutal murder caused shock and outrage and led to an intensification of the struggle against apartheid. The memorial was erected in 2011 near the place where they were abducted.⁴²⁰
- *Ndondo Assassination Site* – Bathandwa Ndondo was born in 1963 and was brutally murdered in 1985). He became politically active while studying law at the University of Transkei and was elected as a member of the Student Representative Council. He was expelled during his third year, and became a fieldworker for the Health Care Trust in Cala. On 24 September 1985, he was arrested by police, acting under the direction of Vlakplaas Commander, Eugene de Kock. He jumped out of the police vehicle and made for the nearest house, belonging to Mrs Vikilahle. The police followed, shouting ‘Shoot the Dog!’ and Bathandwa perished. The responsible police headed for Barkly East where they celebrated with a braai and drinks, as well as receiving a reward of R500 each. Bathandwa’s death was a great shock to the Transkei elite which had, up to that time, been compliant with the regime, and is seen as a key event leading to the downfall of the Matanzimas.⁴²¹
- *30 October 1980 Government residence: Port Elizabeth House of Transkei Consul* – Damaged by a bomb; no injuries. Janet Cherry suggested the MK cell operating in PE from mid-1981 to mid-1983 undertook the bombing of the residence in Summerstrand of the Transkei consul.⁴²²
- *August 1981 Elliot Five* – This is the site where the remains of MK operatives were found after being buried secretly by apartheid security forces. After an operation in Butterworth, MK operatives were travelling in a car and encountered a security force road block near Elliot. In the ensuing gun battle on 7 August 1981, Zola Mqadi and

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

⁴²⁰ Nelson Mandela Bay, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 52.

⁴²¹ Chris Hani District Municipality, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 39.

⁴²² Janet Cherry, ‘No Easy Road’, 3-4.

Lungile Sifuba were killed. Others, including Lesetja Sexwale, escaped to the Barkly Pass where they killed by police a week later.⁴²³

- *28 June 1982 SAP & Government buildings: Port Elizabeth; Station Commanders office and New Law Courts damaged*⁴²⁴ As with other operations, a lot more research is needed.
- *26 January 1983 Government buildings: New Brighton Community Council offices Building* – Extensively damaged; one dead, five injured. Janet Cherry later described the bomb explosion at the PE Community Council/BAAB building on 26 January 1983. The MK cadre involved was killed when the bomb went off. He was Petros Bokala, known as James, a member of an MK cell operating in PE from mid-1981 to mid-1983. The cell was responsible for several operations, including an explosion on the Swartkops railway line on 6 April 1983. Other operations she described include a bomb placed at the Constantia Centre on 29 May 1982 (which was discovered before it exploded); a bomb discovered at the New Law Courts on 28 July 1982; the bombing of the residence in Summerstrand of the Transkei consul on 30 October 1980; an explosion on the railway line between PE and Uitenhage on 20 May 1981; and a bomb blast at the Constantia Centre on 8 August 1981 in which a number of people were injured.⁴²⁵
- *June 1985 Fuel Depot, Mthatha bombed by MK* – Operation in which Mthatha bulk fuel depot was completely destroyed, electrical power sabotaged and water from main dam cut off. The TRC records describe the three incidents as follows: ‘The bombing of the Umtata bulk fuel depot and sabotage of the Umtata water and electricity installations, both on 25 June 1985, resulted in no deaths or injuries. The Transkei enforced a nightly curfew for years after this and several trials resulted. After the bombing, the ANC sent MK commander Mzwandile Vena to Cape Town to replace an operative who had been arrested. Vena was also arrested in Cape Town and fought unsuccessfully against extradition to Transkei to face charges on this matter. The state alleged he had been assisted by Mazizi Attwell Maqokeza and Zola Dubeni. Dubeni was killed by police in Cape Town in March 1987 and Maqokeza was gunned down in Lesotho. In another trial, Zakade Alfred Buka was jailed for seven years for assisting the bombers; he had been tortured severely in detention.’ The publication *MK in Combat* (issued by the MK Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe), indicated a limpet mine at fuel tanks caused a massive fire in Mthatha; and another destroyed an electrical sub-station; and a third destroyed a water main between the water purification works and the city, leaving Mthatha without power and water for days. The limpet mines ‘completely destroyed the fuel depot, starting a fire which raged for nearly eight hours from shortly after 2 am until 10 am’. Other limpet mines were placed on two transformers at the power station which cut the electricity supply which in turn cut water and sewage pumps. In a third attack, a limpet mine cut one of the water mains and destroyed a small bridge near the dam.

⁴²³ TRC, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report*, Vol.3, 73-74.

⁴²⁴ Janet Cherry, ‘No Easy Road’, 3-4.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

Prime Minister George Matanzima blamed the ANC, describing the action as 'devilish, barbaric and cowardly' and reminded people it came on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter.⁴²⁶

- *31 July 1985 Mount Ruth Fire Fight with Security Services* – According to *MK in Combat*, 18, the skirmish took place on the old highway between King William's Town and East London on 31 July 1985. A SAP police was shot dead and another was wounded. Two MK combatant – known as Lucas and Eldridge – were killed.⁴²⁷ In other reports it was claimed SA security forces clashed with 'a heavily armed gang' and a SA security police man and two ANC cadres were killed. The police claimed to have seized a silenced AK47 and several limpet mines and that the cadres were on their way to EL's main power station when Ciskei intelligence tipped them off. In court proceedings in which the women in Mdantsane who sheltered them, Ms. Nontutuzelo Ndlazulwana of Zone 9 (charged with harbouring ANC guerrillas), it was revealed the shootout happened near the Mount Ruth railway station. Ciskei security police later seized three limpet mines and documents from the house. The report indicates three men died and two were wounded in the shootout.⁴²⁸
- *3 August 1985 Powerful explosion at Zwelitsha Magistrates Court* – This was fairly typical of many MK operations where a limpet mine was planted at a government building, timed to go off when there would be minimal casualties.⁴²⁹
- *19 February 1986 SAP personnel: Cambridge East SAP station* – This operation resulted in an explosion in the toilet block near Radio Control room inside the police station; no injuries. The limpet mine was placed in the Cambridge Police station by Marion Sparg.⁴³⁰
- *17 April 1986 Bomb blast on the 12 storey Botha Sigcau government building* – The building housed the headquarters of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) and Prime Minister. On the eve of the funeral of King Sabatha Dalinyebo, which Matanzima was highjacking. According to reports, the bomb was on the 5th floor and damage was caused to the 5th, 4th and 3rd floors. Four people were injured, one seriously.⁴³¹
- *18 April 1986 Economic sabotage: double limpet mine attack on Wild Coast Sun at Mzamba* – Two people fatally injured. According to TRC amnesty records, the attack was

⁴²⁶ TRC, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report*, Vol.3, 119; *MK in Combat* (issued by the MK Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, nod), 18, <http://www.disa.ukzn.ac.za/webpages/DC/Dav10n186.1681.5785.010.001.1986.5/Dav10n186.1681.5785.010.001.1986.5.pdf> (site accessed 31 May 2013). See also *Daily Dispatch*, 26 June 1985, 'Bombs blast Umtata'; *Daily Dispatch*, 28 June 1995, 'ANC blamed for Umtata blasts'.

⁴²⁷ *MK in Combat*, 18.

⁴²⁸ *Sunday Times*, 4 August 1985, 'Massive military campaign in Ciskei'; (*Daily Dispatch*, 25 January 1986, 'Evidence: mines found in house in Mdantsane'.

⁴²⁹ *Daily Dispatch*, 3 August 1985, 'Zwelitsha courts rocked by blast'.

⁴³⁰ See <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/marion-monica-sparg> (site accessed 31 May 2013).

⁴³¹ *Argus*, 17 April 1986, 'Bomb rocks PM's HQ in Transkei'. *Daily Dispatch*, 18 April 1986, 'Blast rocks Transkei government building'.

planned by Dumisani Mafu and carried out by Cdes Ndibulele Ndzamela, Pumzile Mayaphi and Eastern Pondoland regional commander, Attwell Maqheza, aka China.⁴³²

- *29 June 1986 Government buildings: Alice post office Explosion* – A bomb, placed in a telephone booth in Alice, exploded damaging both the magistrates court and post office; no injuries.⁴³³
- *15 July 1986 Skirmish with SAP: Mdantsane After a two-hour gun battle SAP kill one cadre* – The gun battle took place on 15 July 1986. The ANC cadre is not named in the media but is described as staying in a house in Zone 14 for a month before the shootout, and had been a student at the University of Transkei and had come to Mdantsane during the boycott of lectures. Ciskei police surrounded the house at about 10:30 a.m. and he defended himself for nearly two hours until he was overcome. Ciskei police claimed to have recovered an AK-47 and four empty magazines.⁴³⁴
- *11 July 1986 Battle between MK and SA and Ciskei security forces, from Breidbach to Zwelitsha* – The shootout between four ANC cadres and the SA and Ciskei security forces was on 11 July 1986. According to the *Daily Dispatch* at about 08:15 a.m., acting on information, South Africa and Ciskei security forces stopped a car near Breidbach. Four men got out and engaged them with firearms and threw a grenade which did not explode. One cadre was shot at the Breidbach intersection. The other three sped off in the direction of Fort Jackson, pursued by the apartheid security forces. They were stopped at a roadblock set up by the SAPS near the Fort Jackson off-ramp. Two of the cadres got out of the car into the bush. The third was found to have been fatally wounded in the car, which had been ‘riddled with bullet holes and both the front and rear windscreens were shattered.’ The cadres, armed with Tokarev pistols, AK-47s and hand grenades, continued to engage the police in a fire fight in the bushy ravine running down to the water-filled quarry until they were overcome and killed.⁴³⁵
- *29 July 1986 Attack on Madeira Road Police Station* – According to the amnesty application of Mr. Dumisani Mafu, the attack on the Madeira Road Police station took place on 29 July 1986. It resulted in eight fatalities and five people wounded. The police station was at the centre of repression in the Transkei in which arrested ANC members were tortured. The attack was planned and coordinated by Mafu in his capacity as commander and carried out by Mbulelo Ngona, Solly Talakumeni and Simphiwe Mazwai with assault rifles and hand grenades. The *Daily Dispatch*, carried a detailed report of the attack by three cadres with AK-47s and hand grenades on police station; and later that seven people were killed and 11 injured in the attack.⁴³⁶

⁴³² See granting of amnesty by TRC, <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/pr/2000/pr001213a.htm> (site accessed 15 June 2013).

⁴³³ *Daily Dispatch*, 26 June 1986, ‘Bomb blast in Ciskei town’.

⁴³⁴ *Daily Dispatch*, 16 July 1986, ‘Man dies after Ciskei shootout’.

⁴³⁵ *Daily Dispatch*, 12 July 1986, ‘Shootout on highway’.

⁴³⁶ See granting of amnesty by TRC, <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/pr/2000/pr001213a.htm> (site accessed 15 June 2013); *Daily Dispatch*, 31 July 1986, ‘7 die, 9 injured in Umtata’; *Daily Dispatch*, 2 August 1986, ‘No new leads in police station raid’.

- *January 1987 MK Battle with Transkei security forces, Mendu forest, Willowvale district* – The *Daily Dispatch* quoted a senior Transkei official as saying the Transkei Defence Force and Transkei Police clashed with guerrillas in thick forest at Mendu and that a number of arrests were made and weapons seized. A member of the Transkei security police from Butterworth was wounded in the arm during the fire fight.⁴³⁷
- *July 1987 Skirmish with SAP: Mdantsane in which two members of the police and one cadre were killed* – An MK cadre, Mr Mpumelelo Mbanjwa, in house No. 7401 in Zone 3 fired on two Ciskei policemen with AK-47 when they approached house, after large contingent of police with Casspirs had surrounded house at 11:30 a.m. He also threw a hand grenade before being killed. A Ciskei police commissioner claimed they seized two AK-47s, two limpet mines, and explosives. Three other Ciskei policemen were injured. Three South African security policemen were also in the skirmish. Three South African security policemen were also in the skirmish. In an article in the *Weekly Mail* it was reported he kept 17 Ciskei police vehicles at bay until he was killed. In a subsequent trial, Mr. Zwelakhe Bikitsha and Mr. Boyce Soci were charged with ‘harbouring a terrorist; for providing accommodation to Mr. Mathemba Vuso and another man. Mr. Boyce Soci was later acquitted. Bikitsha in his evidence claimed Mzwandile Soci had suggested he accommodate Mr. Mbanjwa. Bikitsha was also acquitted.⁴³⁸
- *25 and 27 January 1988 Siphiso Mazwai and other Guerrillas in Shootout* – The *Weekly Mail* reported two shootouts with South African and Transkei police – one at Mount Fletcher and one at Ugie on 27 January 1988. The incident at Mount Fletcher happened outside a supermarket owned by then mayor when police in a Kombi stopped a saloon car with an East London registration. Two suspected guerrillas escaped on foot, pursued by the police. One was reported as shot dead and the other was arrested two days later at Matatiele. The Mayor (V.T. Gqola) was also detailed by police in a wide crackdown, apparently mistaken for his former Robben Islander brother, Bafana Gqola. The report also revealed that two days before, in Ugie, two SA policemen were shot at by guerrillas in two cars when they were stopped by police, one constable was wounded.⁴³⁹
- *07 March 1988 Skirmishes with SAP: Queenstown* – SAP raid on house in Mlungisi; cadre resisted, wounded six SAP; cadre and a civilian killed by SAP.⁴⁴⁰
- *21 April 1988 Shootout between MK cadre and Ciskei security police at Lower Gqumashe, near Alice* – The incident occurred at about 04:00 when police approached the home. Two policemen were killed and another injured. Subsequently SA and Ciskei security police arrested, tortured and charged a UFH first year student, Mr Sicelo Hela. Mr

⁴³⁷ *Daily Dispatch*, 24 January 1987, ‘Alleged terrorists held at Mendu’.

⁴³⁸ *Cape Times*, 17 July 1987, ‘2 policemen, guerrilla die in shootout’; *Daily Dispatch*, 17 July 1987, ‘Police, suspect in Ciskei shootout’; *Weekly Mail*, 17-23 July 1987, ‘I saw a man lob a grenade at police... before dying in a volley of bullets’; *Daily Dispatch*, 4 February 1988, ‘Defence accuses policeman of false testimony’; *Daily Dispatch*, 5 February 1988, ‘Terror accused acquitted’; *Daily Dispatch*, 6 February 1988, ‘Jubilation in court as M’sane man acquitted’.

⁴³⁹ *Weekly Mail*, 5-12 February 1988, ‘Mid-day shootout with guerrillas at shopping centre’.

⁴⁴⁰ *Cape Times*, 8 March 1988, ‘Shootout at home in Queenstown’ reported a fire fight at home in Mlungisi.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

Lungekhaya Carrie was charged as an accomplice. Hela was acquitted after his statement to police made under torture was dismissed.⁴⁴¹

- *29 January 1989 Two houses in Mdantsane belonging to Ciskei security policeman attacked* – The policemen, who were implicated in the torture and murder of IDASA manager, Eric Mntonga, were attacked with AK-47 fire and hand grenades.⁴⁴²
- *Xalanga Heroes Memorial* – This memorial in Cala was erected in honour of Xalanga heroes of the liberation struggle: Batandwa Ndonga, Phumezo Nxiweni and Vuyani Namba. The memorial was officially unveiled on 27 May 2000.
- *Bilatye Heroes Memorial* – This memorial at Bilatye village near Lady Frere is in memory of those MK cadres from the area who were gunned down by SADF in the notorious Maseru Raid of 1982. It was erected after the exhumation and reburial of the remains of the Bilatye heroes in Lesotho. The remains of Trom and Dyantyi were reburied on 10 December 2000.

KwaZulu-Natal

- *The DCO Makiwane Hall* – Site of many meetings of popular organisations.
- *Resistance Park in Umbilo* – Park near the Mazisi Kunene Museum. The 1946 Passive Resistance site is a national monument that has been renamed the Garden of Remembrance for all those who were banished, exiled and imprisoned during the campaign of resistance between 1946 and 1948. Based on non-violence, it was a militant opposition to apartheid and racism. The resisters met at Nicol Square (known popularly as Red Square) in central Durban. From there they proceeded to the passive resistance site, on the corner of Gale Street and Umbilo Road, where police arrested more than 2,000 people. They were kept in police cells at Umbilo police station for the night and then placed in Durban Central prison. Former President Thabo Mbeki and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh unveiled a plaque at the park in 2006. The unveiling was part of the centenary celebrations of the founding of Gandhi's Satyagraha philosophy in South Africa in 1906.
- *Diakonia Centre* – Site of meetings of the UDF, etc. In the 1970s, the late Archbishop Denis Hurley shared his vision of an ecumenical organisation to work for justice in the Greater Durban Area. He was motivated by his awareness that the church should have been doing much more about apartheid: but how could churches which were themselves divided have any impact on the problem, unless they first overcame some of their own barriers? He wanted Durban to take the lead in setting up an inter-church structure that would concentrate on the sufferings of ordinary people. It was a dream that the church would become more than a pious club for the middle-class and return to

⁴⁴¹ *Weekend Mail*, 22-28 April 1988, 'Two Ciskei police die in gun battle'; *Cape Times*, 22 April 1988, 'Two Ciskei security cops killed in shootout'; *Star*, 22 April 1988, 'Two Ciskei policemen shot dead'; *Cape Times*, 14 September 1988, 'Student gets off terror charge'.

⁴⁴² *City Press*, 29 January 1989, 'Three Ciskei police die following alleged punishment'.

its roots as a radical organisation with its focus on those at the bottom of the pile – the ordinary workers, rural peasants, unemployed, and homeless. So Archbishop Hurley started discussions with the other church leaders in Durban, looked for the right person to head up this work and founded Diakonia – using a Greek word which means serving the people. The time was March 1976, and the person was Paddy Kearney, who continued to serve Diakonia until 2004. The main task of Diakonia has always been to help people in the churches to get involved in issues of injustice and human rights violation. In the 1970s and 1980s the root cause of most problems in South Africa was the apartheid system. So Diakonia became involved, for example, in supporting those struggling with housing issues and the threat of forced removals. Its staff worked with other allies supporting the right of the people of Clairwood not to be moved by publishing an illustrated pamphlet describing the situation and encouraging churches to offer support to what was a successful effort to stay. Churches in the Pinetown region became involved in protest against the forced removal of people from St. Wendolin's, starting a petition for church people to sign, holding services, and taking part in the marches and meetings that culminated in the threat of removal being lifted. Training in setting up and effectively running Social Action Groups was a key method used by Diakonia as the struggle intensified in the 1980s. 'Black' church groups became involved, for example, in supporting the emerging trade unions in their struggles for a living wage, or raising awareness about the need for an efficient, affordable transport system for people removed far from their workplaces. 'White' groups became involved in the End Conscription Campaign, trying to end the forced fighting of young white men against their own fellow South Africans, or campaigned for a 'No' vote in the white election for a tri-cameral parliament. And across the divided race groups Diakonia mobilised support for those held in detention without trial and organised church services protesting against those killed in detention.⁴⁴³

- *Anti-South African Indian Congress Campaign (a plaque at the offices of the House of Delegates in Stanger Street (Stalwart Simelane Street))* – In 1961 Indians were officially recognised as a permanent part of the South African population and the Department of Indian Affairs was established with a white minister. Until then, the government had intended to return them to India. Anti-apartheid organisations such as the South African Indian Congress opposed the formation of the department, which they saw as part of the apartheid structure, reinforcing policies of segregation and control. But more moderate organisations such as the South African Indian Organisation (SAIO), although critical of the formation of the department, wanted to be recognised as the representatives of the Indian community. Recognising that some Indian leaders were amenable to government's policy of separate development, the apartheid government invited these individuals to discuss the establishment of a National Indian Council to work with the department. Held in Laudium on 10 December 1963, the conference

⁴⁴³ www.diakonia.org.za.

resulted in the council's establishment. It was a body that would make recommendations to the government about matters affecting Indians – in essence it was meant to serve as a link between the government and the Indian community. The establishment of the council attempted to ensure that militant demands were averted and Indians were brought within the fold of apartheid structures. However, many in the Indian community rejected the body as they viewed it as a puppet for the government. The National Indian Council was re-established as the South African Indian Council in 1965. Until 1974 the SAIC was comprised only of government nominated individuals. In 1974 the body was reconvened with a new system whereby half the members were elected by Indian people. The SAIC was still without legislative powers and thus, even with its new formation, it was seen as a useless advisory body whose recommendations were never taken seriously by the Nationalist Party government. The newly revived Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and the South African Indian Congress objected to this new government-backed body, calling for universal franchise in a unitary state. By the late 1970s even council members expressed frustration at their impotence. Opposition to the SAIC had been growing within the anti-apartheid movement. Other developments galvanised opposition to the Council. The Anti-Constitutional Proposals Committee (ACPC) was established in May 1979 to oppose Council elections as well as the government's plans for a three-tier parliament with white, coloured and Indian houses. Opposition to the elections saw the government postpone its plans, but eventually the date was set at 4 November 1981. On 6 June 1981, a meeting was called in Lenasia, Johannesburg to discuss how the Indian community should respond to the upcoming elections for the SAIC. From this meeting, the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee (TASC) was established to oppose the SAIC elections. At the same time, similar bodies were formed in the Cape and by the NIC in Natal. The committees actively campaigned for a boycott of the SAIC and the election. These boycotts began in August and were kicked off with a series of public meetings. On 19 August 1981 a meeting of 3000 people was held in Lenasia and it became the biggest Indian political rally since the 1950s. This was followed by mass leafleting, press statements and house-to-house visits; prospective candidates were threatened with embargoes against their businesses if they stood. On 10 and 11 October 1981, 110 organisations, including the NIC, the Anti-SAIC committees, trade unions and sports organisations, met in Durban. The conference rejected the government's policy of separate institutions of representation and adopted the Charter for Change which proposed guidelines for a democratic South Africa. The first SAIC elections were held on the appointed date, 4 November 1981. Of the 45 members of the Council, 40 were up for election with the other five being nominated. Some 297 040 Indians out of a population of 350 000 eligible voters registered to vote in the SAIC elections. However, on the day of the election only 10.5% of the registered voters cast their ballot.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴⁴ www.diakonia.org.za.

- *The Campaign against the Tri-cameral Parliament* – In the late 1970s a commission headed by Erica Theron was appointed to improve the lot of so-called coloured people in South Africa. The report of the Theron commission (1977) was reviewed by a parliamentary select committee, which accepted the reforms proposed, which was now gazetted as the Constitutional Bills. On 8 May 1980 the committee tabled its report suggesting the creation of a tri-cameral parliament to include limited representation of coloured and Indian people but excluding African people. At the annual Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council conference on 23 January 1983, Dr. Allan Boesak proposed united resistance to the new constitutional dispensation. The conference called for the launch of a united front to co-ordinate the mass campaigns against the Tricameral Parliament. TASC leaders proposed that a committee be formed to look into the feasibility of establishing such a front. The result was the launching of the UDF six months later. The first purpose of the UDF was to oppose the constitution and the Koornhof Bills. In mid-December 1983, the UDF held its first national conference in Port Elizabeth to discuss its strategy towards possible referendums for the Indian and coloured communities after the white population had endorsed the adoption of the new constitution at an all-white referendum on 2 November 1983. At the centre of discussion was whether members should participate in these racial referendums and register a 'no' vote; totally boycott the referenda; or allow each region freedom of choice. The conference was unable to reach a decision and regions indicated that they wanted to consult their membership. The UDF conference unanimously accepted that if elections were held instead of referendums, it would call for a boycott.⁴⁴⁵ A decision, taken by the UDF national executive on 25 January 1984, called for a non-racial referendum, a boycott of ethnic referendums, but left the way open for affiliates to take part in them if this was appropriate in terms of 'local conditions'.⁴⁴⁶ However, with evidence of mounting opposition to participation in the tri-cameral constitution, Indian and coloured leaders opting for participation persuaded the government to abandon the idea of referendums for their communities. Elections for the coloured and Indian chambers in the new tri-cameral parliament were scheduled for the end of August 1984. The UDF and its affiliates, together with other major anti-apartheid movements, decided on a boycott campaign. UDF volunteers distributed thousands of pamphlets and conducted house-to-house campaigns, while rallies were held in several centres. The results of the elections indicate the widespread opposition to the new dispensation: the official percentage poll in the coloured election was 30% and in the Indian election 20%. The UDF put the figures at 17,5% and 15,5% respectively.
- *The Chesterville Four* – Vlakplaas operatives killed four members of the Chesterville Youth Organisation in an undercover operation using askaris in May/June 1986. The

⁴⁴⁵ SAIRR Survey 1983, 61.

⁴⁴⁶ Statement of the UDF National Executive Committee, January 1984. Cited in Howard Barrell, 'The United Democratic Front and National Forum: Their Emergence, Composition and Trends', in *South African Review* 2, 18.

deceased were Russell Mngomezulu, Muntuwenkosi Dlamini, Russell Mthembu and Sandile Khawula. In the November 1989 inquest into the deaths of the four men, a Durban magistrate found that the police, who had fired between 67 and 88 rounds at the victims, were acting in reasonable self-defence. Vlakplaas operatives Willie Nortje, Izak Daniel Bosch and Colonel Eugene de Kock were responsible for their deaths.

- *The Quarry Road Four* – On 7 September 1986, members of the Security Branch in Quarry Road, Durban, killed four men believed to be part of an MK cell in Durban: Blessing Mabaso, Thabane Memela, Percival Luvuyo Mngobhozi and Mbongeni Zondi. A quantity of illegal weapons was found in the vehicle in which the four deceased were travelling. The police claimed the four deceased were responsible for an attack on a home in KwaMashu on the previous day as well as an AK-47 and hand-grenade attack on a home in Umlazi on 22 August 1986, in which Evelyn Sabelo, wife of Inkatha member Winnington Sabelo, was killed and her four children injured. Durban inquest magistrate, F M Vorster, found that police were justified in killing the four men.
- *The Midlands war* – After the strike and killings of COSATU members in Mphophomeni in 1986, local areas in and around Pietermaritzburg became increasingly polarised. The tribal areas surrounding Pietermaritzburg had been strongly Inkatha-supporting, governed by Inkatha-supporting amaKhosi and indunas. However, in the latter part of the 1980s, many young people began rebelling against tribal authorities and openly expressing sympathy with the UDF. Many adults also renounced their Inkatha membership. Inkatha was in retreat in the Vulindlela Valley. Rumours spread that chiefs and indunas had fled for their lives. During 1987, as a result of their waning support, Inkatha embarked on a substantial recruitment drive in the Edendale and Vulindlela valleys, bordering on Pietermaritzburg. They were assisted by a number of 'Caprivi trainees' who had been deployed in the area from late 1986. UDF supporters vigorously resisted Inkatha's attempts to make inroads into their areas. The conflict escalated dramatically from 1987 and came to be referred to as the Midlands War. At around this time, some 300 Inkatha recruits were trained and deployed as special constables in the greater Pietermaritzburg area in order to bolster the presence of Inkatha, particularly in the Edendale Valley, KwaShange and other sections of Vulindlela. Conflict initially broke out in the Edendale Valley (which included Imbali, Ashdown, Caluza, Harewood) and then spread into the Vulindlela valley. Strong allegations emerged of collusion between Inkatha and the SAP in attacks on UDF supporters. UDF members were detained in their hundreds while, at most, a handful of Inkatha supporters were detained.
- *The Trust Feed massacre* – Trust Feed is a town in Umgungundlovu District Municipality in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa. On 3 December 1988, a group of people, mostly women, gathered in the Sithole homestead for the wake of a man who had died of natural causes. They were unexpectedly attacked at 3 a.m., by assailants who kicked doors and randomly shot at anything that moved or talked in the house. The attack, later dubbed by the press, the 'Trust Feed Massacre' left 11 people dead and two

The 1980s

seriously wounded. The youngest victim was a 4-year-old boy and the oldest a 66-year-old woman.

- *Mpumalanga (Hammarisdale)* – Inkatha/ANC conflict and the Summerhouse attack.
- *Stadium where Griffiths Mxenge was murdered* – On 19 November 1981, Griffiths Mxenge was assassinated. He was abducted, stabbed and hammered to death. His mutilated body was found next to the Umlazi stadium.
- *Home of Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge in Umlazi* – Mrs Mxenge was brutally murdered in front of her children on the driveway of her home in Umlazi (V Section).
- *MDM Defiance campaign and invasion of white beaches* – On 2 August 1989, the MDM organised and implemented a major national campaign in which acts of civil disobedience were generally encouraged throughout the country.

North West

- *Huhudi Township, outside Vryburg* – Huhudi became a focal point for resistance to its planned incorporation into the Bophuthatswana homeland. A Huhudi Civic Association (HUCA) was formed in 1985 and it later affiliated to the UDF. It was comprised of five significant office-holders. Darkey Africa was its publicity secretary, Hoffman Galeng was the president, Jomo Khasu the secretary, while Khotso Cruitse and Bushy Maape were additional executive members. HUCA essentially sought legal ways of challenging the removal of Huhudi, coupled with a rent boycott, in which it was ultimately successful—the removal never happened. Perhaps even more importantly, HUCA stimulated the formation of other civic associations in the vicinity. A site (perhaps the Town Hall) should be selected for a commemorative stone or similar symbol.
- *Mmabatho Stadium Coup of 1988.*

Limpopo

- *The Winterveld Massacre* – On March 12, 1986 the Bophuthatswana police opened fire on 5,000-10,000 strong crowd gathered at City Rocks sports ground in Winterveld. The City Rocks meeting was called by the youths to discuss detentions, police brutality and rent hikes. The official number of people killed on that day is said to be 12. However, according to the residents of Winterveld, the number of people who died during the killings may have been about 50. What started as a peaceful gathering, turned into a bloodbath when the police opened to the demonstrators. There was mayhem and a stampede when shots were fired with the protesters running in different directions escaping from a volley of bullets from the police. Some of the protesters sought refuge in the nearby houses. The police followed them and killed more protesters who were hiding in the nearby houses' wardrobes, underneath the beds and toilets. Many were arrested and the fate of some remains unknown to the present day. Speaking at the site on September 6, 2003, the acting Premier of North West, Mr. Jerry Thibedi stated that:

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

As we plant these trees today we must remember our heroes and heroines. These trees must serve as a monument that remind us of our people who gave up their lives for a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa. The trees that we will be planting here are in memory of 12 people who were killed by the then Bophuthatswana government here at the City Rocks in Winterveld. I want to pay my special respects today to the families of the victims and to their friends and comrades. Your blood indeed nourished the trees of liberation-we salute you.

- *Resistance to independence in KwaNdebele and Lebowa.*
- *Peter Nchabeleng* – Peter (Petrus) Nchabaleng was president of the Northern Transvaal region of the UDF. He was convicted of sabotage in 1962 and served eight years on Robben Island. He died in detention on 11 April 1986, a day after he was detained in Lebowa. It is alleged that he was tortured while he was in custody. Before his arrest, Nchabeleng received a letter bomb containing his son's school results. He refused to open the letter and directed his son Maurice to return it to the principal. According to Maurice, the principal was aware that the envelope had contained a letter bomb. After he escaped this bomb trap he was arrested by police at his home in the presence of his wife Gertrude. Two days after he was arrested his wife received the devastating and shocking news that her husband had died in hospital. The cause of his death was undisclosed. However, his son who testified before the TRC's human rights violations committee in Pietersburg, gave a different version from the one given by the police. Maurice testified 'he was told by a security branch policeman that his father had been killed in the room and was ordered to wash his hands in his father's blood before he ate'. He was buried in Apel, Sekhukhuneland. The funeral was attended by 20,000 people.
- *Peter Mokaba* – Peter Mokaba was born on 7 January 1959 in Polokwane, where he did both his primary and high school education. During the 1976 uprisings, Mokaba became a leader of school boycotts, which led to his expulsion from school. He nevertheless managed to complete matric on his own in 1978 and then went on to enrol with the University of the North in 1980. He was detained under the Terrorism Act in 1977 and again in 1982 and was convicted for a number of his underground activities as a member of MK and served his sentence on Robben Island. His sentence was suspended in 1984 and he went on to work for the UDF. He became the first president of the South African Youth Congress in 1987, which later became the ANC Youth League again after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990. Mokaba became a Member of Parliament in 1994 and served as the deputy minister in the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. He was also elected as a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC in

1991, in 1994 and again in 1997. By the time he died he had been elected by the ANC to head their preparations for the 2004 election campaign.⁴⁴⁷

- *Alf Makaleng gravesite* – Student leader and member of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) Alf Makaleng was detained in June 1986 and two years later died in police detention.
- *Solly Matshumane gravesite at Motetema graveyard* – Motetema township, located 11 kilometres outside the town of Groblersdal, is one of the townships that experienced intense political violence. Added to that was the fact that near the township was a police training academy that could have been easily used to suppress any form of insurgency. The Soweto generation of the area included Thabang Makwetla and Stanley Mathabatha. From the older generation were cadres like Brian Jantjie Kabini, who was one of the first MK members. In the mid-1980s, when the struggle against apartheid intensified, the youth of the areas formed the Motetema Youth Congress. Some of the Youth Leaders at the time included Patrick Koma, Danny Msiza, Stanley Mathabatha, Moshe Ntuli, and Lionel Seloane. These often relied on the services of Priscilla Jana for their court cases and legal battles. In March 1986 members of the Youth Congress gathered at a local soccer field for a disciplinary hearing of one of their own. The security branch descended on the scene and demanded the youth to disperse. It was during the altercation that one of the policemen cocked his gun and fired at the youth, wounding two of them, including Solly Matshumane. Some of the youth, including Matshumane, were arrested on the scene and thrown behind bars where they were tortured. Those who managed to escape raised the alarm resulting in the burning of police houses in the township. The wounded Matshumane later died in police custody and that on its own resulted into political turmoil. Matshumane, who was a student at Ramohlakula High School in Motetema, became the first victim of political violence in Motetema. On the eve of Matshumane's funeral, many ANC supporters came from as far as Johannesburg to pay their final respect, but most of these were arrested and some were killed. The next day (funeral day) more youth were killed in the township and some disappeared without a trace. In total, about 20 youth were killed.
- *Colbert Mukwevho* – Hailing from Thohoyandou in Venda, whoMokwevho, as he is known to his fans, started singing as a backing vocal for Chicco Thwala. He has been in music for almost three decades. Colbert is a devoted Rasta man who was inspired by the works of Bob Marley and other reggae legends. Mokwevho, who sings reggae in his mother tongue (Tshivenda), aims to send his powerful messages to the local people in the Venda area and other regions in Limpopo. Colbert released many reggae albums and he is/was also known as Harley and the Rasta Family. Mokwevho is known for singing about social issues which affected the local people who support his music. He is recognised for the role played in his music.

⁴⁴⁷ www.sahistory.org.za.

Chapter 19

The liberation struggle and heritage sites in the 1990-1994 period

Introduction

On 2 February 1990, President F.W. De Klerk made an historic announcement in parliament that he would be unbanning political organisations and releasing political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela. This brought about a radical change in the internal political situation, and during the next few years the dominant political activities were the return of exiles and the reconstitution of the exiled liberation movements inside the country; and negotiations for a new political dispensation. However, both processes were key factors behind an escalation of political violence that characterised the period from 1990 to 1994. In large part, this political violence was a continuation of the violence of the previous decade. In some respects, however, there were significant differences.

In terms of liberation heritage, this period is marked by a variety of different features that relate more to violence between groups, and the efforts of the security forces and homeland authorities to undermine open political activity and the revival of ANC and ANC-aligned organisations (the campaign for open political activity). An unusual feature was the activities of the Pan Africanist Congresses' military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, during the period. In addition, various acts of defiance are dealt with in this chapter to highlight some of the incidents of this type during the period under study that deserve memorialisation.

This chapter is divided into two sections: the first dealing with the history of the liberation struggle; and the second dealing with potential heritage sites.

The history of the liberation struggle

Interneecine political violence

In some of the provinces, the new political environment arising from the 2 February announcement opened up resistance to the existing local authorities and an upsurge in demand for services. In consequence, communities began to confront conservative local authorities, often leading to violence and a number of deaths. The unbanning of the liberation movements also paved the way for these organisations to re-establish structures inside the country and to mobilise for support. This had a number of dire consequences, including conflict between members of the liberation movements and those of organisations that had legally operated inside the country prior to February 1990; between

members of the different liberation movements; between members of the liberation organisations and vigilante groupings; and between supporters of the Bantustan administrations and members of the liberation movements. Some of these features of the internecine violence had more to do with the challenge of carving out space for free political activity, and are dealt with in another sub-section of this chapter.

Conflict with local authorities

Western Cape

In the Western Cape, after the unbanning of organisations in 1990, local communities began protests against conservative local authorities. These protests were sparked largely by the unbanning of organisations and the beginning of negotiations at the national level, a process that was not matched at the local level. Local communities attempted to challenge both the lack of change in local government, as well as ongoing racist and discriminatory practices. The conflict was felt throughout the Western Cape, but was most marked in Khayelitsha and the Boland.¹

Conflict in Khayelitsha: After the unbanning of the ANC and PAC, the liberation movements rapidly developed a strong base in Khayelitsha where black local authorities became the focal point of political mobilisation and conflict. Most of the violence was directly associated with the former witdoek leaders active in the 1980s. ANC branches and activists also experienced violent conflicts with the Lingeletu West town councillors, who had ruled Khayelitsha virtually unchallenged during the late 1980s. ANC branches embarked on strenuous campaigns to dislodge this town council, which they considered illegitimate. Significantly, however, the Lingeletu West town councillors were armed with weapons, had the logistical support of Lingeletu West town council resources such as transport and communications, and used the Lingeletu West security guards and the special constables as their armed guards.²

Mayor Mali Hoza led the councillors elected in October 1988, who became increasingly associated with violent attacks on members and supporters of the liberation movements. They were also linked to attacks on their former allies – pro-government witdoek colleagues such as Prince Gobingca, Isaac Gwiliza and others – from whom they had split during the 1988 municipal elections.³

¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter TRC), *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report (hereafter The Report)*, October 1998, Volume 3, Chapter 5 – Regional Profile: Western Cape, 487.

² *Ibid.*, 488.

³ *Ibid.* For another account of these events refer to Goldstone Commission Report, 'Report on violence at Crossroads Camp, March-June 1993'. Available at www.anc.org.za.

On New Year's night in 1990, one of Hoza's headmen shot two youths when toyi-toying crowds passed his house. Men in a white kombi, allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West town councillors, drove around on the night of 9 February 1990 and fired indiscriminately at crowds of Site C residents celebrating the imminent release of Mandela. Kwenzekile 'Sixteen' Ngcuka was shot and injured along with others. On 14 November 1990, Sibulelo Piliso was shot dead and Shepherd Kaya Ndevu injured when, according to Ndevu, a councillor and others opened fire on them. On 7 March 1990, four councillors attempted to shoot the chairperson of the ANC-aligned Civic Association, Michael Mapongwana. He escaped injury but a woman was wounded.⁴

On 4 August, several thousand residents participating in a march called for the immediate resignation of all town councillors and presented the town clerk with a memorandum. Police opened fire on the demonstrators with shotguns, tear gas and rubber bullets. Shortly thereafter, Khayelitsha was given full city council status by the Cape Provincial Administration (CPA), becoming the first Black Local Authority in the Western Cape. This action further entrenched the permanent status of the Lingeletu West Town Council at a time when its legitimacy was being fundamentally challenged. In addition, a retrospective service charge, a 100 per cent increase on the amounts paid earlier, was imposed on all Khayelitsha residents. Residents immediately embarked on a rent and bond boycott, and the housing offices of the Lingeletu West Town Council were burnt.⁵

Nomsa Mapongwana, the wife of civic chairperson Michael Mapongwana, was killed in a night-time attack on their home on 18 October. Shots were fired into the front and back windows of their bedroom, and petrol bombs were thrown through the windows. Mapongwana dragged his children and wife into the kitchen where they sheltered under a table until the shooting stopped. Mapongwana then found that his wife was dead.⁶ This outraged the community, which planned a mass protest march to the Lingeletu West offices for 25 October. The night before the march, the Lingeletu West offices were damaged in an explosion. The authorities denied permission for the 20,000 people waiting to march on 25 October. Defiant marchers regrouped repeatedly under fire while lengthy negotiations between the police commander, the head of the Riot Unit and civil-rights lawyer Dullah Omar took place. It was decided to call off the morning march.⁷

Police nevertheless fired on groups which were dispersing, and by the end of the day at least eight people were dead and up to 80 wounded. Witnesses of both the attacks on the Mapongwana home and on the marchers claimed that balaclava-clad men were involved. Mpumelelo Manityi Dyantyi was shot and killed and his brother Melford shot and wounded

⁴ *Ibid.*, 489.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 489-90.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 490.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 491.

in Site C by three men, including Lingelethu West councillor Michael Gubayo. The vehicles and residences of police personnel were also attacked.⁸

On 1 November, Khayelitsha was declared an unrest area and placed under curfew. Thereafter, several staff and councillors of the Lingelethu West council were attacked. A senior Lingelethu West administration official Harold Ntlangwina was abducted from his home, tried by a 'kangaroo court' and 'found guilty' of murdering Mapongwana. He was hacked to death and set alight, after he allegedly produced a hit list of 20 local activists headed by Michael Mapongwana. In an apparent counter-attack, men in a councillor's vehicle killed a member of a community patrol, Rogers Ngxumza.⁹

A number of Lingelethu West council employees were injured in a petrol bomb attack on their vehicle on 15 November; another employee, Wiseman Mdube, was ambushed and shot dead while driving in Site C, and councillor Alfred Nqoboka was chased and stabbed to death on 1 December, though newspaper reports expressed uncertainty if the killing was politically motivated. After 1990, this period of public revolt and open conflict between the liberation movements and the Lingelethu West town councillors subsided into persistent skirmishes between the groups and more covert forms of attack.¹⁰

The Boland War: A new wave of revolt erupted in some Boland and winelands towns from 1990 when residents embarked on a number of protest actions in what came to be known as the 'Boland War'. On 11 April 1990, exactly one month after the release of Nelson Mandela from prison, police fired tear gas and pellets into the hall where black residents from Robertson had gathered, injuring about 120 people. Robertson residents embarked on a consumer boycott in early May 1990 to highlight their grievances about rents, segregated civic amenities and essential services, and called for the resignation of the management committee. Several people were shot dead in subsequent protest actions during the year, including Johannes Jones on 2 July and Jacques de Bruin on 22 November.¹¹

On 22 April 1990, residents of Zolani, Ashton staged a march against housing conditions. A month later, they joined hands with residents of Oukamp, a coloured township, in protest against what they termed 'continued racism in Ashton'. They demanded that the municipality should open public facilities to all races and improve the townships' facilities. Their protest actions were accompanied by a consumer boycott.¹²

Ten people were injured on 26 June 1990 when police fired teargas and birdshot at a group of demonstrating Ashton residents. A few days later, protesting Oukamp residents and

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 491-2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 492.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 520-1.

¹² *Ibid.*, 521.

bystanders were fired upon by police, resulting in several injuries. On the following day, about 70 people were arrested and others seriously injured after police broke up yet another protest march. On 24 November 1990, police fired on members of the newly formed Wolseley Civic Organisation (WCO) participating in a peaceful placard demonstration concerning local grievances. The body of Edward Booysen, who was shot dead by police some time later that evening, was found in a gutter the following morning. On 3 August 1992, Ntozelizwe Stulo Mbovane was shot and killed and six other people injured when riot police opened fire on a group of about 300 ANC supporters at Grabouw. A police spokesperson said the man had been shot because he had thrown a half-brick at a Casspir after the crowd was ordered to disperse.¹³

Conflict in Mossel Bay: In Mossel Bay, the Town Council consistently dealt with the management committee, an illegitimate apartheid body in the eyes of the residents. Street protests and confrontations with police took place in July 1993. Two people were shot dead during the conflict. These incidents of violence were investigated by the Goldstone Commission which found that the violence developed out of local socio-economic issues such as the housing shortage, the disconnection of electricity, the eviction of tenants and the rent boycott. The conflicts lasted for three days resulting in two deaths, numerous injuries and several arrests.¹⁴

Eastern Cape

Northern Areas massacre: 49 people died in the Northern Areas townships of Port Elizabeth between July 1990 and July 1991.¹⁵ The Northern Areas are a number of coloured townships which, by the beginning of the 1990s, were under the control of the Labour Party dominated Northern Areas Management Committee (NAMC). An alternative structure led largely by UDF activists, the Northern Areas Co-ordinating Committee was formed in 1990 to co-ordinate organisations on the grievances of the different townships. On 2 July 1990, several residents marched under the banner of the NAMC to the offices of the Department of Housing of the House of Representatives to demand services and in protest against a rent increase and a housing crisis. The police fired teargas on the crowd, sparking a wave of violence in the area. On 7 August a rent protest was also met with a police response. Over the next five days, the community was in uproar with rioting taking place, and police responding by shooting and arresting people. By 15 August, 48 people had been killed. Pat

¹³ *Ibid.*, 521-2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 519-520.

¹⁵ P. Gibbs, 'Political identity and democracy formation in the eastern Cape, 1990-1994', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990-1996*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013, 318.

Gibbs contends that this conflict is similar to that between African residents of the townships against illegitimate local authorities.¹⁶

Other conflicts with local authorities: A series of conflicts also emerged in some of the African townships of the Eastern Cape over the continued existence of Black Local Authorities (BLAs). Violence erupted in Steynsburg in 1990 between members of the Steynsburg Youth Congress and the local authorities which resulted in the deaths of three people, while five died in Graaf-Reinet. In Cradock, a mass march into town on 20 October 1992 in protest against BLAs led to the death of John Vuyisile Mboya at the hands of the police.¹⁷

Limpopo

Conflict between residents and local authorities: The opening up of the political process from the 1990s gave residents the opportunity to begin to form civic organisations and openly oppose the local authority system, as well as raise other issues of concern such as value added tax (VAT), high rent tariffs and so on. Conservative white town councils responded to these campaigns by cutting off water and electricity supplies to many black townships. Hundreds of thousands of residents were left without water. Sewage systems broke down and some townships were blacked out at night.¹⁸

During 1990, there were a series of clashes between police and residents in the Northern Transvaal towns of Messina and Nancefield over protests against Black Local Authorities (BLAs) and a campaign opposing VAT which was initiated by the recently formed Messina civic association. On 10 March 1990, Wilson Ndambale was shot dead by police in Nancefield during a protest against BLAs. His death led to the launch of a consumer boycott and a week-long stayaway. During the course of the conflict, there were a number of arson attacks on the homes and vehicles of councillors. On 4 August 1992, Ms. Sarah Sekhwana, a mother of three small children, was shot and blinded by a member of the SAP in Messina during a protest march against the implementation of VAT. Ms. Sekhwana was on her way to run an errand when she was caught up in the march. She was shot at point-blank range by a policeman sitting in a van. Sarah Sekhwama lost her sight in one eye as a result of the shooting.¹⁹

Conflict between organisations

Western Cape

¹⁶ TRC, *The Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 29 October 1998, 322-3.

¹⁷ Gibbs, 'Political identity and democracy formation in the eastern Cape, 1990-1994', 318-9.

¹⁸ TRC, *The Report*, Volume 3, Chapter 6 – Regional Profile: Transvaal, 727-8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 728

The civic movement's inter-organisational conflict: The 1990s were marked by intense rivalries and conflicts within the civic movement in the Western Cape. There were a number of different civic structures in the province: the Cape Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) in the coloured areas; the Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) in the urban African townships; the Hostel Dwellers Association (HDA) in the hostels; and the Western Cape United Squatters Association (WECUSA) in the squatter areas. Efforts to bring these structures into a single region of the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) in the early 1990s were bedevilled to the point of near failure as entrenched leaders tried to retain their constituencies.²⁰

WECUSA was launched in 1989 as an alliance of pro-ANC squatter leaders, but hostile relations developed with the WCCA following the increasing incorporation of formerly conservative squatter leaders into WECUSA, particularly Prince Gobingca and Conrad Sandile, who were openly regarded as agents by the liberation movements. This was exacerbated by the privileged relationship that WECUSA came to enjoy with the CPA and the IDT (Independent Development Trust) by virtue of their 'traditionalist' image and modus operandi. This gave rise to conflict between SANCO, WCCA and WECUSA over political control of the informal settlements. The main centres of the conflict were Khayelitsha from 1991 onwards and Strand and Somerset West. A further dimension emerged when WECUSA members began working with Lingeletu West town councillors from 1991.²¹

During April and May 1991, serious conflict broke out between the civic-aligned residents and WECUSA in Macassar, Khayelitsha. Refugees from Crossroads living in a tent settlement known as Green Point were being moved to a new area called Macassar. WECUSA member Jerry Tutu was accused by residents of Green Point of selling the upgraded serviced sites to non-Green Point residents. They suspected that Tutu was allocating these sites, to which they were entitled, to his own followers. The ANC and the WCCA began actively mobilising against WECUSA. At least ten people were killed in the conflict, including three adults and a baby who died when gunmen opened fire on two shacks on 7 April 1992 and set them alight. A man and a woman were hacked and wounded. A month later, two people were shot dead and a third was necklaced.²²

In the Strand area, the Lwandle Township was a SANCO stronghold. WECUSA developed a base in the neighbouring squatter camp of Waterkloof. Tension was caused by a development project for the site and by the alleged refusal of WECUSA to allow ANC membership in its area. A WECUSA leader allegedly went to Waterkloof and urged people to join WECUSA and gain funding for development. He also reportedly urged them to destroy

²⁰ TRC, *The Report*, Volume 3, Chapter 5 – Regional Profile: Western Cape, 493.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, 493-4.

the ANC and ANC Youth League.²³ Hostility towards WECUSA also stemmed from its continued use of the 'headman' system. In Philippi, residents revolted against WECUSA member Christopher Toise, the traditional leader of the area, and he was forced to flee the area in early 1993 and take refuge with other evicted squatter leaders holed up in Crossroads. This largely signalled the demise of the 'traditional' squatter leadership style epitomised by WECUSA.²⁴

The conflict between WECUSA, SANCO and the WCCA ultimately led to the establishment of WECCO (Western Cape Civic Organisation) in 1993. The new organisation brought together a range of anti-ANC civic structures as a counter to SANCO. The launch was addressed by Themba Khoza of the IFP.²⁵

Anonymous 'balaclava' violence: From 1991 the Western Cape experienced numerous incidents in which anonymous individuals wearing balaclavas carried out attacks. These could be linked to supporters and members of the Lingelihle council, a group of 40 former special constables employed by the council who had been dismissed, criminal gangs, taxi groupings, and members of ANC Self-Defence Units (SDUs). The one dominant common feature is that the attacks were carried out against rival organisations. Some of the main incidents are covered below.

On 22 July 1992, Nelson Sithole and Mandla Tshuku were led into their house by two balaclava-clad men dressed like policemen, carrying rifles. They ordered the 13 people present to lie down. They demanded to know who Nelson Sithole was. When they recognised Sithole, they took him to another shack where he was shot dead. The family of ANC chairperson Solomon Tshuku was attacked in their Site C home on 15 August 1991. His wife, Nophumzile, and four of their children were killed by a group of balaclava-clad men who then set the shack alight.²⁶

On the night of 18-19 February 1992, ANC members Nontsiki Florence Falakhe and Temba Boto and their children Portia and Tumeka Falakhe were killed when their shack was set alight in D Section, Site C. Another person was found in the vicinity dying of gunshot wounds in the neck. During July, August and September 1991, a series of attacks took place predominantly in Site B in which around 250 shacks were razed, at least 15 people killed, 100 injured and about 1,000 people left homeless. Common features in many of the statements include the sighting of whites amongst the group and the use of Afrikaans. Survivors stated that more than 50 men, armed with guns, pangas and petrol bombs had invaded the area. At least 18 people were treated for panga wounds.²⁷

²³ *Ibid.*, 494.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 495.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 499.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 499-500.

At least three people were killed on 18 December 1991 when an attempted assassination of ANC member Nomonde Dinwa turned into a wider attack. Dinwa identified some of the attackers as members of the Lingelethu West town council. Those killed were Agnes Maseti, Lumkile Maxiti, and Shadrack Jongikhaya Witbooi. Several others were wounded.²⁸

Conflict in Crossroads: Between 1990 and 1993, conflict centred on the upgrading and development process, political allegiances and traditional leadership styles. From 1991, these issues increasingly intersected with the taxi wars.²⁹ During 1989, early stirrings of rebellion against Ngxobongwana escalated into open warfare between Ngxobongwana and his former strongman, Jeffrey Nongwe. The revolt was mainly fuelled by the crises generated by the upgrading process in the late 1980s, and new measures introduced in 1992. The local squatter community was angered because private developers built homes that were beyond their financial means and were therefore sold to outsiders, and the homes in the CPA's Unathi project were awarded to residents who had settled their unpaid service charges in full. Relatively few residents had done so, nor could they afford the rents. As a result, many of the Unathi homes also went to outsiders. Residents were angered further when informed that the 'Crossroads Housing Fund', initiated by Ngxobongwana from 1986 was depleted, allegedly on lawyers' fees and other administrative costs. All residents had been paying regular contributions.³⁰

In October 1989, Nongwe, supported by 14 of the 19 headmen in Crossroads laid charges of fraud against Ngxobongwana. Open conflict erupted from November 1989, continuing into 1990. In the many attacks, it was estimated that around 30 people were killed and approximately 1,000 homes destroyed. In September 1990, Ngxobongwana was forced to flee to Driftsand near Khayelitsha with several hundred supporters. Nongwe, by then aligned with the ANC, took control of Crossroads. In one flare-up in February 1990, Nelson Mandla Mahlentle and his grandson Sonwabile, aged six, were burnt to death in their shack. Thando Magwa's shack was burnt and destroyed as were numerous others. Alport Singqoto was shot and injured in an attack and Longo and Twana were killed.³¹

Despite his new ANC allegiance, Nongwe displayed the same autocratic practices as Ngxobongwana. From October 1990, occupants and homes in the new Unathi section were attacked, burnt and looted. It soon became apparent that the 'headman' style of political control had been transplanted into the ANC through Nongwe. The youth took up the opposition against the corruption of Nongwe and his administration. In March 1991, a separate ANC branch was launched in Unathi and Depoutch 'Whitey' Elese elected as chairperson. Elese was a young MK-trained returnee activist. Both Nongwe and the SAP

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 500.

²⁹ For an analysis of the taxi wars refer to J. Dugard, 'From Low Intensity War to Mafia War: Taxi violence in South Africa (1987 - 2000)', *Violence and Transition Series*, Vol. 4, May 2001.

³⁰ TRC, *The Report*, Volume 3, Chapter 5 – Regional Profile: Western Cape, 502.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 502-3.

were aware of his MK training and background. Approximately 108 houses in the Unathi development were destroyed and tens of people were killed in the 1991 conflict. Boysie Ntsethe was shot, and on 13 August 1991, police shot Xolile Danster in the head in Unathi, Crossroads. Bidekile Sogqiba was also shot and killed.³²

A wave of conflict broke out from April to August 1993. In June 1992 the Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) started the development of other phases at Crossroads with the intention of upgrade Sections 2 and 3 as part of Phase Three. This was done in consultation only with Nongwe, who was regarded as the popular leader at the time. It was expected of him to inform his followers about the plans and to persuade them to move voluntarily to temporary alternative sites at Lower Crossroads. a meeting of the residents of Section 2 was called by Nongwe on 2 March 1993 at which the move to Lower Crossroads was discussed. There can be no doubt that the people of Sections 2 and 3 had voiced their opposition to moving. Within days after this meeting, violence erupted with shootings and houses being torched in Section 2. Sporadic violence continued up to the end of June.³³

Seven or eight of Nongwe's supporters took part in a major arson attack which took place on 15 April 1993. SAP and SADF members were said to be present but did nothing to stop it. Another large burning occurred on 29 May, destroying approximately 60 shacks. At least 55 people were killed and nearly 100 injured between March and July 1993. In one of the first killings, activists Joyce Ndinise-Elese, Timothy Soga and Sicelo Pauli were shot dead in an attack on their home on 19 March 1993. The intended target of the attack was Unathi ANC leader Depoutch Elese. Mandla Maduna, one of Nongwe's assistants, was later convicted of the murder.³⁴

After the Goldstone Commission hearings, from August 1993 to early 1994, there was a period of relative calm with only occasional incidents of violence. Amos Nyhakatyha was attacked in February 1994, forcing him to move to Khayelitsha where he was later murdered. At the time he was said to be meeting Nongwe with others from Boys Town in an attempt to broker peace in the area. At the time of reporting, many of the key players in the conflicts appear to have remained active in recurring bouts of violence.

Attacks by SDUs on ANC members: With the escalation of attacks on liberation movement supporters from 1990, several local communities, especially in Khayelitsha and Nyanga, set up self-defence units. SANCO played a major role in this process, and the community collected funds to purchase ammunition or weapons for the SDUs. The SDUs were often headed by MK members with at least some external training, although many were post-

³² *Ibid.*, 503.

³³ Goldstone Commission Report', 'Report on violence at Crossroads Camp'.

³⁴ TRC, *The Report*, Volume 3, Chapter 5 – Regional Profile: Western Cape, 504.

1990 recruits trained in Uganda. Local youth were also recruited into SDU structures and were given some training locally or in Transkei.³⁵

In 1993, the Trevor Vilakazi SDU, made up of Lulama Sifile, Current Rhumbu, Jeffrey Molebatsi Moshumi and others, began to engage in activities outside the control of the ANC. Lacking access to weapons from the ANC, the group established links with Prince Gobingca (allegedly related to Sifile) in the second half of 1993. It began killing ANC members in Khayelitsha. The unit also established links with the African Democratic Movement (ADM) leader Titus Mcoiyana and received firearms from him. Members of the SDU together with Mcoiyana and others carried out attacks on ANC members in the Ciskei.³⁶

Intra-organisational conflict in Plettenberg Bay: During internal conflict within the liberation in Plettenberg Bay, UDF leader and ANC member Nelson Maseko was attacked by ANC youth in Bossiesgif township, Plettenberg Bay, on 24 March 1990. He was chopped on the head with an axe. Maseko subsequently died in hospital as a result of head wounds. The Maseko family had to flee permanently to Knysna. Three ANC members, Alfred Sishuba, Alfred Jacobs and Elvis Faku, were charged with the murder but were acquitted in the George Regional Court on 13 March 1991.³⁷

Eastern Cape

Fort Beaufort and Steynsburg ANC/PAC 'feud': Conflict broke out between the PAC and ANC in Fort Beaufort in February 1993 resulting in the death of three men in separate incidents. They included ANC member Zwelenkomo Alfred Swartbooi, who died in Adelaide hospital because of multiple head injuries caused by a sharp object. Political intolerance between the PAC-aligned Pan Africanist Student Organisation (PASO) and the ANC-aligned COSAS appears to have been a motivating factor in the violence of this period. Political intolerance between ANC and PAC members also became violent in Steynsburg in 1993. According to the PAC organiser in the area, Michael Zalimpi Meje, during March and July 1993, the ANC 'tried to intimidate people to change membership from PAC to ANC'. His home was attacked and burnt by ANC supporters, despite at one stage being guarded by police.³⁸

Uitenhage AmaAfrika/ANC conflict: The bloody conflict between the vigilante group *AmaAfrika* and supporters of the UDF, which began in 1986/1987 and flared up again in late 1989, continued into the 1990s. Gladstone Kathazile Sibeku was killed in the conflict between 1 and 6 February 1990, and Mxoleli Pityana was hacked to death by *AmaAfrika* on

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 511-2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 513.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 520.

³⁸ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 123-4.

13 February 1990. Lawrence Mcebisi Willen was shot dead at a rally in Uitenhage on 23 February 1990. It is not clear whether he was shot by the South African Police (SAP) or by members of *AmaAfrika*. The homes and businesses of Kaliman Jackson Befile and Pumezile Befile were burnt down by UDF/ANC-members in February 1990. Temba Tembani was shot and stabbed to death by *AmaAfrika* supporters in 1990, while *AmaAfrika* member Thembekile Plaatjies was found dead on 4 September 1993.³⁹

Transkei: In the Transkei, violence between ANC supporters and supporters of tribal authorities followed attempts by the unbanned organisations to organise, often as a result of local intolerance of opposition. In Pondoland, many people of Xopozo village in Flagstaff were killed and many were left homeless or physically injured in conflict between the ANC and a group led by Chief Samuel Mdutshane. Dlayikeza Tonga, Vulindlela Mbaligontsi and Masundula Kala all died in the clashes. There were several others with serious injuries.⁴⁰

Conflict between Ciskei government supporters and the ANC: In the months immediately after the Gqozo coup of 4 March 1990, there were good relations between the Ciskei authorities and the ANC and its allies. This situation deteriorated by mid-1990, with conflicts revolving in particular around the homeland government's support of the system of rural government involving chiefs and headmen as opposed to the ANC and its allies' preference for a system of residents' associations. In July 1991, Brigadier Gqozo launched the African Democratic Movement (ADM), which was drawn into the conflicts between Ciskei and ANC.⁴¹

The conflict became increasingly violent from 1991, and from April to August 1991, a state of emergency prevailed in the Whittlesea district of Ciskei; and in late October, a state of emergency was declared throughout Ciskei which lasted until mid-November. Clashes increased during 1992, particularly during August, a month before the Bhishe massacre of 7 September. After the massacre, conflict between the two groups seems to have increased for a few weeks. The worst of the violence appears to have subsided by the end of that year. Most of the attacks seem to have involved arson, burnings or stoning aimed at security forces on the one side and at prominent ANC-alliance members on the other.⁴²

The main targets of the attacks were Ciskei government supporters, namely chiefs, headmen, policemen, soldiers, private security force members associated with the government, and other government employees; no ANC victims were identified. Generally clashes appear to have been between Ciskei government supporters on the one hand and ANC supporters on the other. There were also clashes in some areas between ANC and PAC

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁴² *Ibid.*

members, with ANC members perceiving PAC members to be allied with the ADM. Thus clashes recorded as being between PAC and ANC members may have been perceived by at least one of the groups involved as being a conflict between ADM and ANC members.⁴³

One of the earliest of these clashes took place in May 1990 when Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) members broke up a meeting at Ndakana near Stutterheim and assaulted those attending. The meeting had been called to protest against the re-imposition of the headman system and against conflict within the community over the recent stabbing of an ANC supporter. By August 1992, revenge attacks were taking place and communities were being split by political intolerance. In Tendergate in the Hewu district of Ciskei, there was tension between ADM and ANC members. The home of ADM member Richard Xabendlini was attacked in mid-August and he died later of his injuries. An ANC member in Tendergate, Alfred Welile Oliphant, was accused of involvement in this killing by his one-time close friend, CDF member Bennie Lumko. Oliphant was arrested and charged with Xabendlini's killing. At the end of August, Oliphant's home was set alight and he was shot dead as he tried to escape the flames. Edwin Lumko, Bennie Lumko's father, was convicted of the killing and sentenced to an effective three years' imprisonment, but the Oliphant family believes that he took the blame for his son. Tendergate ANC member Tembilizwe Dywashe was also allegedly killed by ADM members at that time.⁴⁴

The Bhisho massacre of 7 September 1992 (see below) set off an undeclared all-out war in Ciskei. A week after the massacre, Jimmy Kula, a headman and ADM member from the Msobomvu area of Middledrift, was stabbed to death and his home torched by ANC supporters. It was apparently in retaliation for the Bhisho massacre. The home of Ms. Victoria Jwaxa was burnt down after she attended Kula's funeral. On 15 October, people believed to be Ciskei soldiers attacked a home in Msobomvu and shot dead Elby Ngayithini Ngece, apparently mistaking him for another family member they were searching for. Several others were injured. Mthetho Ngece, SANCO member and chair of the local ANC Youth League, was apparently the attackers' intended target. The attack may have been in retaliation for the attacks on the Kula family and their supporters.⁴⁵

On 22 September, Ndodiphela Maseti, a former headman from the Middledrift area who had joined the ANC, was killed by ANC-aligned youths. He might have been targeted because he had once been a member of Upper Gqumashe Tribal Authority. Zukile Makhaphela and Ludumo Mati were in the group that stoned and burnt Maseti because of their anger over the headman system.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 133.

At the end of 1993, a hit squad, apparently linked to the ADM, began to target ANC members and individuals who had spoken out against the ADM. On 23 December 1993, ANC member Mongezi Martin Ndudula was shot and fatally wounded outside his home in Dimbaza. On 9 January 1994, ANC members Khangelekile Tanana was shot dead and Thembani Moyeni shot near Peddie. About two weeks later, the family of Zongezile John Gamzana at Phakamisa near King William's Town was attacked at night, leaving three people injured. ADM chairperson Titise Mcoiyana, Peace Force security employee Vuyisile Madikane, former MK member Jeffrey Moshumi, civil servant Dinga Somtsora and CDF member Mongezi Reuben Solani subsequently faced 37 charges including murder, attempted murder, armed robbery and weapons charges relating to incidents in December 1993 and January 1994.⁴⁷

KwaZulu-Natal

The Seven Day War: From the 25–31 March 1990, the communities in the lower Vulindlela and Edendale Valleys, south of Pietermaritzburg, were subjected to an armed invasion by thousands of heavily armed men from the rural, Inkatha-supporting areas higher up in the valleys. Over seven days, 200 residents in the lower valley were killed, hundreds of houses looted and burnt down and as many as 20,000 people forced to flee for their lives. The communities most seriously affected were Ashdown, Caluza, Mpumuzu, Gezubuso, KwaShange, and KwaMnyandu.⁴⁸

In the late 1980s, communities in the Edendale and lower Vulindlela valleys were pro-UDF/COSATU, whilst those living in Upper Vulindlela tended to be more rural, traditional and pro-Inkatha, living under Inkatha-supporting chiefs and *indunas*. Most UDF supporters who had initially lived in the upper Vulindlela area had fled down to Edendale by 1989. People living in the upper parts were obliged to travel through lower Vulindlela and Edendale to get to Pietermaritzburg and frequently had shots fired or stones thrown at them by the UDF supporters. The tension between the two areas increased dramatically with the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990.⁴⁹

During February and March 1990, buses carrying commuters from the Vulindlela area were stoned by young UDF and ANC supporters as they drove through Edendale, damaging buses and injuring passengers. Some deaths were also reported. At a meeting at King's Park Stadium, Durban, on Sunday 25 March 1990, Mr. David Ntombela addressed a gathering of Inkatha supporters and warned that, should buses passing through Edendale be stoned again, steps would be taken against the culprits, that is, UDF and ANC supporters in that area. That afternoon, buses carrying Inkatha rally-goers travelled through Edendale and

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁴⁸ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 259.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

were again stoned, injuring passengers and damaging the buses. Roadside skirmishes were reported between the Inkatha supporters and Edendale residents. At least three people were killed, including UDF supporters Sihle Brian Zondi and his aunt Ms. Grace Gabengani Zondi, at the Mabeza store.⁵⁰

The next day, Monday 26 March, Inkatha supporters from Vulindlela could not get to work in town because no buses were running on that route. According to Mr. T. Mbanjwa, a group of well-armed men descended from a hill. Shots were fired and some people were attacked with pangas and assegais, as well as traditional weapons. The scale of the attack intensified dramatically the next day. Large groups numbering up to 2,500 men from the Inkatha-supporting Sweetwaters and Mpumuza areas descended into the lower Edendale Valley. The men were armed with traditional weapons as well as firearms. Residents came under heavy fire and many houses were burnt and looted. In a revenge attack on residents of Payiphini, Mpumuza by UDF supporters later that night, one person was killed and 19 homes set alight.⁵¹

On Wednesday 28 March 1990, David Ntombela held a meeting of Inkatha supporters at his house in the Elandskop area, after which he instructed a member of the SAP Riot Unit to pick up a large group of special constables in a police vehicle and take them to Gezubuso. Ntombela then instructed the constables to proceed on foot with a large group of armed men to KwaShange, and instructed a member of the Riot Unit to follow the group in his vehicle. At KwaShange, the special constables and the group of armed men attacked residents and killed 15 people, looted and set fire to an unknown number of houses and drove away cattle belonging to residents of that area. Ntombela instructed a member of the SAP Riot Unit who was present not to interfere with what was going on at KwaShange. The household goods removed from residents' houses in KwaShange were loaded onto the vehicle used by the Riot Unit and taken to Ntombela's house. Cattle taken from residents were driven to Ntombela's house.⁵²

Riot Unit members fired on ANC people without provocation, and off-duty special constables joined Inkatha supporters in the violence.⁵³ By the end of the week, an estimated 20,000 people had been displaced from their homes.⁵⁴

IFP Hit-squad Activity: Hit-squad activity became widespread in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990s. Hit-squad operations undertaken by the 'Caprivi trainees' and other political networks were predominantly supportive of the IFP, drawing in officials of the KwaZulu government and police force, as well as senior politicians and leaders of the party. A hit

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 259-60.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 260.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 260-1.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 266.

squad led by Brian Gcina Mkhize was responsible for the murder of two UDF activists in New Hanover in 1990. The two activists, Vusi Ngcobo and Bonowakhe Gasas, had been shot and left to die in a mielie field in Swayimane on 6 January 1990. Witnesses said that the killing was carried out by one white and three black men wearing light blue shirts similar to the SAP uniform. The four men had been seen arriving at the home of KwaZulu Member of Parliament Thanduyise Psychology Ndlovu in a yellow police van and then proceeding from Ndlovu's home in a white Crusade with a private registration number. Special constable Welcome Muzi Hlophe (aka 'BigBoy' Hlophe), SAP Lance Sergeant Peter Smith, KwaZulu government driver Abraham Shoba and a fourth unknown man were responsible for the killings.⁵⁵

Hit-squad activity spread to the Esikhawini area, near Richards Bay, in 1991. The township was predominantly ANC-supporting and the IFP were losing support. One of the sections of the township was an IFP stronghold and was regularly attacked by ANC supporters. At a certain stage, local Inkatha leaders approached the Inkatha leadership in Ulundi because they were concerned that they were losing the struggle against the ANC in the township. In 1991, as a result of these concerns, Daluxolo Luthuli summoned Gcina Brian Mkhize, a 'Caprivi trainee' who was in the employ of the KZP and was posted to the Esikhawini Riot Unit in 1990. At the meeting Mkhize instructed to take action against the ANC in Esikhawini.⁵⁶

Initially, the plan was that he would join with Inkatha youth who were already attacking ANC-dominated areas. He worked with, amongst others, Nhlakanipho Mathenjwa, Lucky Mbuyazi and Siyabonga Mbuyazi. The youth were unable to halt the ANC attacks on Inkatha members, and a few months later a decision was made to form a more sophisticated hit squad. Those proposed were Romeo Mbuso Mbambo, a KZP member, Israel Hlongwane, who had been involved with Luthuli in the violence in Mpumalanga, and Zweli Dlamini, a 'Caprivi trainee' who had also been involved in violence in both Clermont and Mpumalanga. KZP Constable Victor Buthelezi and at least two other 'Caprivi trainees' were also included in the hit squad. Not all members of the hit squad participated in every attack.⁵⁷

Mkhize was the leader of the group, and between 1991 and August 1993, the hit squad killed an unknown number of people in the Esikhawini area and was also responsible for a number of killings and attempted killings elsewhere, particularly in the Sundumbili/Nyoni, Mandini and Eshowe areas. The targets were all ANC leaders, members or sympathisers. The hit squad was responsible, *inter alia*, for the following killings: Naphtal Nxumalo, Nathi Gumede, April Taliwe Mkhwanazi, Sgt. Dlamini, Sgt. Khumalo, John Mabika, and four young MK members killed at a *shebeen*. In addition to targeting particular individuals for

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 269-70.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 270-1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 271.

assassination, the hit squad carried out dozens of random attacks on *shebeens*, bus stops, buses and streets where ANC supporters were known to gather. On some nights, the hit squad would carry out two or three attacks on different targets.⁵⁸

April Taliwe was a shop steward of a COSATU-affiliated trade union and was employed at the Mondi paper mill in Richards Bay. He was also an active member of the ANC. Prior to his death, he had received a number of threats. On the morning of his death, he told his wife that, if he died, she should know that Gcina Mkhize would be one of the suspects. Mkhize, Mbambo and Dlamini all implicated themselves in the killing.⁵⁹ Sgt. Khumalo, a KZP member stationed at Esikhawini, was killed on 8 May 1992 by members of Gcina Mkhize's hit squad. Khumalo had been identified for assassination because he was suspected of being an ANC member and of leaking details of dockets to the local ANC leadership.⁶⁰

Sgt. Dlamini, a KZP member stationed at Esikhawini, was shot dead on 19 June 1993 by Israel Hlongwane, who was accompanied by Romeo Mbambo, Mthethwa and Gcina Mkhize. In 1995 Mkhize, Mbambo and Hlongwane were all found guilty in the Durban Supreme Court of killing Dlamini. Dlamini was identified for assassination by the local IFP leadership because he was supplying the Goldstone Commission with information regarding the hit-squad activities in Esikhawini. He was also thought to be an ANC supporter as he was allegedly selling ANC T-shirts.⁶¹

Members of the Esikhawini-based hit squad led by Gcina also planned to murder the local ANC leader, Sam Nxumalo. Nxumalo appeared to have been warned of the planned attack, because when he saw the operatives he telephoned the SAP who arrived within minutes. The operatives left, deciding to return later. When they returned that night, the hospital was full of policemen, so they postponed the proposed attack.⁶²

Israel Hlongwane was involved in several killings and attempted killings in the Sundumbili area during 1992 and 1993. The local IFP leaders provided him with a list of the names of people they wanted him to kill. There were about fifteen names on the list. Hlongwane's victims include Siduduzo Cedric Khumalo (an ANC scholar whom he shot dead on 31 October 1992), Siphon Thulani Xaba (also known as 'Gindinga', ANC leader at Odumo High School), Themba Mkhukhu and Mncedisi Kalude (two scholars from the Tugela High School shot dead on 7 August 1993), Daludumo Majenga (shot dead on 29 March 1993) and Canaan Shandu (a COSATU official).⁶³

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 272

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 272-3.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 274.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 274.

Bheki K. Mzimela, an induna located in Chief Mathaba's area of Nyoni, was alleged to be sympathetic towards the ANC because he supported the ANC's call for a ban on the carrying of traditional weapons. Mathaba enlisted the help of the Esikhawini-based hit squad led by Gcina Mkhize to kill Mzimela. Three members of the hit squad, namely Mkhize, Zweli Dlamini and Israel Hlongwane, together with Jerry Mdanda and a man identified only as Dumisani, went to Induna Mzimela's home on the night of 23 March 1992 and shot him dead.⁶⁴

Self-defence units (SDUs): Sifiso Nkabinde, the person responsible for the establishment of one of the largest self-defence units in the country, was recruited by the SAP Security Branch in 1988 as a registered source. His task was to monitor political activists and inform the police about the movements of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres. Nkabinde posed as an ANC member and led one of the most powerful SDUs in the Natal Midlands. He mobilised support in areas further afield, including Impendle, Bulwer and Mooi River, by providing weapons to ANC members in these areas. In response, his counterparts in the IFP, namely Ndadlazi Paulos Vezi (IFP leader, Patheni), David Ntombela (IFP leader, Pietermaritzburg), Phillip Powell (KwaZulu Natal urban representative, Midlands, and later IFP senator), Dumisani Khuzwayo (IFP organiser, Ixopo) and Gamantu Sithole (IFP leader, Ixopo) began to mobilise IFP supporters. Violence in these areas flared.⁶⁵ For instance, Khuzwayo was implicated in the murder of 15 ANC youths who were putting up posters for a voter education workshop in the Mahehle village near Ixopo on 18 February 1994.⁶⁶

Internal conflict within SDUs: Conflicts arose within the SDUs in the Richmond area in the early 1990s owing to the perceived favour given to the Magoda SDUs, the area in which Nkabinde had his home. Initially the conflict revolved around the fact that Magoda members were sent on training whilst other areas were not given this opportunity. In addition, in 1990 the SDUs had access to a limited supply of AK-47s and R-4s, which had to be shared amongst areas. This created conflict within the structure. The weapons were held by people from eMaswazini, who were deployed to other areas to defend them from IFP attacks. Throughout the early 1990s, conflict between the Magoda SDUs and other Richmond SDUs arose over a variety of issues. At the end of 1992, Nkabinde called a meeting to discuss tensions within the SDU. SDU members complained that Nkabinde's bodyguard and senior SDU member, Mr Bob Ndlovu, dispensed ammunition only to the Magoda area and that Nkabinde visited only Magoda and not Ndaleni and Isomozomeni. A further complaint was that Nkabinde helped Magoda SDU members to get released when arrested, but did not do this for other SDU members in Richmond.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 274.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 298-9.

⁶⁶ M de Haas, 'Violence in Natal and Zululand, the 1990s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990-1996*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013, 915.

⁶⁷ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 300-301.

The question of refugees from the IFP stronghold of Patheni also led to conflict within the Richmond SDUs. At a meeting with Nkabinde, it was stated that the Patheni refugees would be safe in the area. After this meeting, however, the Magoda SDU held their own meeting and decided that they would forgive all the refugees except their leader, Zomwakhe Nzimande. The latter was subsequently killed in Richmond by Magoda SDU members. Among the other reasons for the conflict were: the dispute over money that was collected to send SDU members for training in the Transkei, but was withdrawn and used by Nkabinde; Nkabinde's role in preventing a strike at a supermarket at which Ndaleni SDU members were employed; and Nkabinde's allegation that he had a list of police informers, on which the names of some Ndaleni SDU members appeared.⁶⁸

Several people were killed during the course of this conflict. Zmokwakhe Sibongiseni Mfana Phungula was the Richmond SDU commander and outspoken in his criticism of Nkabinde. He suspected that Nkabinde was a police informer because the Magoda SDU members walked around town openly displaying their firearms and, when they were arrested, Nkabinde would secure their release by speaking to the police. Phungula was killed, together with M.L.A. Mhlongo, by an informal 'people's court' on 8 October 1993. Shortly afterwards, Julius Mkhize, the newly appointed chairperson of the Richmond ANC branch, was forced to flee to Georgetown where he was killed, allegedly by SDU members.⁶⁹

Mnandi Phoswa was murdered on 29 December 1993 by Bob Ndlovu and others, and Mzwandile Mbongwa was murdered on 20 March 1994 along with Musi Ximba, Mzo Mkhize and Mfaniseni Latha. A pamphlet circulated beforehand accused Mbongwa of being an informer for military intelligence. SDU members alleged that Nkabinde and Bob Ndlovu were responsible for the planning of the murder.⁷⁰

Political assassinations in KwaZulu-Natal: A large number of senior community members, including professionals, church leaders and party leaders, were assassinated during the 1990s. In some cases, the individuals' links with party politics were tenuous. Imbali priest and chairperson of the Pietermaritzburg Council of Churches, Reverend Siphon Victor Africander, was shot dead on 4 May 1990. IFP supporter Toti Godfrey Zulu, from Imbali, was convicted in 1991 but was later acquitted on appeal. Imbali councillor Jerome Mncwabe was shot dead at his daughter's home in Imbali on 16 May 1990. He was 38 years old at the time. It is suspected that he was killed in revenge for the killing of Reverend Africander. In what could have been a revenge attack for Mncwabe's killing, Imbali resident Baveni Philemon Ngcobo was shot dead the next day. Mncwabe's son Nhlahlazi Luthuli was arrested in connection with Ngcobo's killing. However, he was acquitted after the state's key witness, a policeman who had witnessed the killing, was himself killed. On 23 May 1990,

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 300-301.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 301-2.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 302.

Imbali resident Ndleleni Anthony Dlungwane was killed in his home. The attackers blamed him for Mncwabe's assassination. Sean Awetha was arrested in connection with Dlungwane's death but was later released.⁷¹

Dr. Henry Vika Luthuli, a young medical doctor was shot in the consulting room at his Esikhawini home on the night of 2 August 1990. Although he was not a member of any political organisation, he used to treat many scholars who were victims of the conflict. Vlakplaas policeman Thembinkosi Dube was responsible for the killing of Dr. Luthuli.⁷²

IFP leader Arnold Lombo was shot dead on 31 October 1990 at the Joshua Doore furniture shop, Pietermaritzburg, where he was employed. Four ANC members were arrested in connection with the killing. They are Siphon Motaung, Bhekimpindle Dlamini, Nhlanhla Sibisi and Johannes Sithole. Motaung was a trained Umkhonto we Sizwe member, and claimed that the assassination was planned and directed by his superiors 'in the furtherance of the political struggle waged by the ANC against the apartheid regime that existed at the time'.⁷³

On the night of the 25 February 1991, the President of CONTRALESA, Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, was shot dead as he drove up the driveway of his central Pietermaritzburg home. Maphumulo was a chief from the Maqongqo/Table Mountain area, east of Pietermaritzburg. He had survived numerous previous attempts on his life and had fled from Table Mountain with his family in 1990 after their house was burnt down. His killing has still not been solved. Maphumulo had been president of CONTRALESA since 1989. He had previously been harassed by policemen and askaris and had led a campaign calling for a commission of enquiry into the violence in the Natal Midlands.⁷⁴ According to De Haas, attempts to secure the area for Inkatha led to a large number of deaths of both ANC and Inkatha supporters. This included the killing of 6 school students from an IFP area in an attack on a group of 14 students traveling in a bakkie on 2 March 1993.⁷⁵

IFP Central Committee member and KwaZulu MP for Umlazi, Winnington Sabelo, was shot dead in his Umlazi shop on 7 February 1992. A customer was also mistakenly killed in the shooting. At the time of his death, Sabelo was a member of the local peace committee and as such was involved in a number of peace initiatives in the community. Sabelo's wife, Evelyn, was killed in an attack outside their home in August 1986. His killing was investigated by the SAP. The KZP suspected ANC member S'bu Mkhize of involvement in the killing. The police visited the Mkhize home and searched for weapons, and found a firearm belonging to Mkhize's father. They took his father in for questioning, and his father was

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 280.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 281.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 281-2.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 282.

⁷⁵ De Haas, 'Violence in Natal and Zululand, the 1990s', 910.

killed in the police station. S'bu Mkhize himself was killed in July 1992 during a shoot-out with police at Isipingo.⁷⁶

S'khumbuzo Ngwenya Mbatha (more commonly known as S'khumbuzo Ngwenya) was the chairperson of the Imbali ANC branch, member of the ANC Regional Executive Committee and a field worker at PACSA. He was assassinated on 8 February 1992. He was shot dead while leaving a restaurant in central Pietermaritzburg after dining with PACSA colleagues and visiting American academics. Ngwenya had been deeply involved in spearheading various peace initiatives in the Pietermaritzburg area during the late 1980s, although his efforts were severely hampered by several detentions and a banning order. Imbali mayor Phikelele Ndlovu, deputy mayor Abdul Awetha and a sixteen year-old were arrested on 9 June 1992 in connection with Ngwenya's killing. However, charges were dropped when the state's key witness refused to testify after allegedly being threatened.⁷⁷

On 27 October 1992, ANC Natal Midlands Deputy Chairperson Reggie Hadebe was shot and killed when the car in which he was travelling with other senior ANC officials was ambushed outside Ixopo. Hadebe was returning from a Local Dispute Resolution Committee meeting together with ANC Midlands Region Executive member Shakes Cele and ANC official John Jeffries. Cele sustained slight wounds while Jeffries escaped without injuries. The attack was carried out by members of the KZP.⁷⁸

Professor Hlalanathi Sibankulu, a member of the ANC Midlands Executive Committee and long-standing trade union and civic leader from Madadeni, was killed in November 1992 in Madadeni Township, outside Newcastle. His body was dismembered and burnt in his car. Sibankulu was a highly energetic trade unionist, political and civic activist, and one of the most prominent residents of this large township. He had been detained several times in the late 1980s by the Newcastle Security Branch. He successfully brought two interdicts against the police after being tortured in detention. In 1988, Sibankulu was charged with treason, along with fellow union activist Mandla Cele, but was acquitted after a 14-month trial. It appears that KZP members may have carried out the killing.⁷⁹

Claire Stewart, a British citizen and trained agriculturist who ran a community project in KwaNgwanase in the Manguzi area of KwaZulu-Natal, was assassinated on 10 November 1993. Stewart's active membership of the ANC led to an IFP boycott of the project after a speech made by senior IFP official, Prince Gideon Zulu. She was abducted by unknown persons while driving to a meeting. Her body was found on 24 November 1993 in the Ingwavuma area, with bullet wounds to the head.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 282.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 282-3.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 283-4.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 284.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 284.

On 22 November 1993, Michael Mcetywa, the Pongola ANC Chairperson, was assassinated by a local IFP member Emmanuel Mavuso. Mavuso was subsequently convicted and sentenced to 25 years for the murder. However, he evaded custody after being given bail pending an appeal. A co-conspirator alleged that Mcetywa's murder had been planned by the IFP leadership in Piet Retief and members of the Piet Retief Security Branch.⁸¹

North West

Conflict in Bophuthatswana: In Bophuthatswana, workers, youth and community activists demanded Chief Minister Mangope's resignation and the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa. The Bophuthatswana government reacted with defiance. Mangope asserted that 'Bophuthatswana will be independent one hundred years from now'. On 7 February 1990, the first protest march involving approximately 80,000 people was held in Garankuwa. The marchers, many carrying ANC flags, called for reincorporation and urged Mangope to resign and join 'democratic forces' in creating a non-racial and unitary South Africa. Between seven and eleven people were injured when Bophuthatswana security forces fired tear gas and rubber bullets at the marchers.⁸²

Violence reached a peak on 7 March when Bophuthatswana troops opened fire on protesters, killing eleven people and injuring 450. Residents of Garankuwa, Mabopane, Soshanguve and Winterveld were marching to the Odi magistrate's court to present a petition demanding reincorporation into South Africa and the resignation of Chief Mangope 'within 100 hours'. The crowd numbered between 50,000 and 100,000 people. After the petition was presented, the crowd set fire to an army truck. Fifteen minutes later, Bophuthatswana troops fired at the crowd. Shooting with tear gas and rubber bullets is alleged to have continued for an hour.⁸³

The launch of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in the region led to considerable unrest and miners embarked on a series of strikes. The unrest led to the deaths of nine people and the destruction of 51 huts by vigilantes allegedly hired by management at the Wildebeestfontein mine in 1991. Fourteen people died in further violence at the Impala mine in 1992.⁸⁴

The reluctance of Bophuthatswana to introduce political reforms and adjust to the changed political context culminated in a strike by civil servants in January 1994. Within days of Mangope announcing that he would not participate in the country's first democratic

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 285.

⁸² TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 6 – Regional Profile: Transvaal*, 734.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 734-5.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 735-6.

elections in April 1994, Bophuthatswana's civil servants began striking. Events eventually led to the invasion of Bophuthatswana by members of the right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging (AWB).⁸⁵

Limpopo

Conflict in Venda: During the 1990s, the conflict in Venda centred primarily on witchcraft and medicine murders, which had become increasingly politicised during the 1980s. During the 1990s, protests against witchcraft were closely linked to the rejection of the homeland government, which was believed to be responsible for or complicit in this practice. Protests against the homeland government led to a military coup on April 1990 in which Chief Minister Ravele was ousted.⁸⁶

Between January and March 1990, about 20 people were reported to have died during anti-witchcraft unrest. People accused of being involved in medicine killings or being witches and wizards were hacked or burnt to death. After a rally in Venda capital, Thohayandou, celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, more than 50 houses were burnt down and hundreds of people had to flee their homes. Many of the victims were elderly.⁸⁷

Tshililo Jackson Mulaudzi, a pensioner in his early seventies, was accused of being a wizard by 'comrades'. His house was burnt down during this period. Thari William Masithi was attacked by a group of youths, which accused him of practising witchcraft, turning people into zombies. His house was burnt down on 11 February 1990, and his mother, Ms. Nyamukamadi Masithi, was trapped inside and burnt to death.⁸⁸

A number of people were killed or injured during clashes with the Venda police over the issue of witchcraft. Asivhanga Rueben Mugivhela was shot dead by Venda police whilst he was amongst a group of men who went searching for an old man who had mysteriously disappeared. Joyce Bongwe was also allegedly shot dead by the Venda police in March 1990. She had left home to attend a political meeting organised by the youth. Her body was found the next day with a bullet wound in her head.⁸⁹

Campaign for open political activity

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 736.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 731.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 732.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 732.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 732.

While a number of the bantustans, in particular KwaNdebele and the Transkei, had embraced the unbanning of the liberation movements and their leadership had aligned themselves with these movements, the Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana were areas where there was resistance to the creation of new structures. At the time, these homelands were hostile towards the ANC. Chris Hani put it as follows:

In areas like KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, the puppets of the regime are not even allowing the movement to operate freely. It is very difficult for the movement to organise a meeting in KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana or Ciskei. In other words the regime will bring about maximum disruption of our activities, so that we don't even have the opportunity to set up an apparatus.⁹⁰

In some respects, the conflict led to the creation of 'no-go' areas, where rival political organisations were not allowed to organise.

Eastern Cape

The Bhisho massacre: The massacre took place in September 1992 in Bhisho, the capital of the then Ciskei. The months before the incident had seen a marked increase in tension in the Ciskei, with numerous violent clashes between ANC supporters and Ciskei government supporters. By September 1992, the ANC was running a national campaign to demand free political activity in homelands, targeting Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu in particular.⁹¹

The ANC had for some time been insisting that the National Party-led government take responsibility for resolving the violence in the country, while accusing the De Klerk's administration of complicity in fomenting the clashes. 'We are saying the violence on the scale of Boipatong happens because the government is doing nothing about violence,' stated. 'It is allowing 200-300 people to march; provocation, which he would not allow if 200-300 members of the ANC or SACP marched. We are saying that it is inconceivable in our minds that people could march to sleeping Boipatong, kill women and children and go back to the KwaMadala Hostel without being detected.'⁹²

The ANC subsequently embarked on a non-violent campaign of mass action (mainly street protests and labour strikes) to force concessions from the De Klerk government. The campaign was aimed at the introduction of an all-party interim government to oversee the transition to a post-apartheid era.⁹³ In the process, however, militants in the ANC had been

⁹⁰ O'Malley Archives, Interview with Chris Hani conducted by Pdraig O'Malley, 15 July 1992, at www.nelsonmandela.org.

⁹¹ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 136.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ J. Hamill, 'South Africa: From CODESA to Leipzig?', *World Today*, Vol. 49, No. 1, January 1993, 12-14.

given scope by the Tripartite Alliance – the ANC, the SACP, and COSATU – to take action. On 3 September the ANC sent a letter to De Klerk demanding the removal of Brigadier Gqoza and his replacement by an interim administration that would allow free political activity in the homeland. De Klerk refused. The result was the Bhisho massacre in September 1992, during which ‘homeland’ soldiers fired on some of the 70,000 ANC supporters who entered a stadium near Bhisho, the capital of the ‘independent’ Ciskei homeland, during a protest march. Twenty-eight people were killed. In addition, a soldier was shot dead by mistake by a colleague and a protestor injured in the shootings died a few days later from his injuries.

The march started at the Victoria grounds in King William’s Town. The front of the crowd reached the Ciskei border in the middle of the day, and found a razor-wire barrier preventing direct access to Bhisho itself. To the left, a dirt road led off the main road into the Bhisho stadium, which the courts had given the marchers permission to use. Behind the razor-wire barrier were Ciskei police, some in armoured vehicles, and a long line of soldiers stretching down the road opposite the stadium. More soldiers could be seen on the distant rooftops of some of the Bhisho buildings. At the razor-wire barrier, a group of ANC officials, including Chris Hani and Cyril Ramaphosa, stopped for discussions with National Peace Secretariat officials, while the main body of the march began to move into the stadium. An SADF helicopter, a SAP helicopter and a small white airplane monitored proceedings from above.⁹⁴

The main body of marchers had gone into the stadium and a group, including Ronnie Kasrils, ran out of the stadium towards Bhisho in contravention of the court ruling on where the march could go. This group was shot at by soldiers stationed there. The shooting was apparently then picked up by most of the rest of the soldiers down the lines. No warning of intent to fire was given. People were killed at the point where marchers broke out of the stadium, inside the stadium, and at the razor-wire barrier.⁹⁵

KwaZulu-Natal

In this province, the violence between organisations (discussed above) often had the effect of creating no-go areas for the rivals.

Hostel Violence: In the early 1990s, Inkatha undertook a vigorous recruitment drive in township hostels. Until that time, relations between hostel-dwellers and township residents had been cordial. However, this changed after February 1990 when township residents began joining the unbanned ANC. Hostels became Inkatha’s point of entry into the township: all hostel residents were compelled to join Inkatha or leave. Inmates were required to attend all functions organised by Inkatha. Hostels became Inkatha strongholds

⁹⁴ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 138.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 139.

and no-go zones for township residents. Strangers entering the hostels were frequently suspected of being from the township and were killed. On the other hand, the townships were identified as ANC strongholds and were no-go zones for the hostel-dwellers. Hostel-dwellers travelling through the township to get to and from the hostel were frequently attacked by township youth.⁹⁶

The township of Bruntville, near the farming town of Mooi River in the Natal Midlands, had an adjoining hostel whose residents were predominantly Inkatha-supporting and members of UWUSA. In contrast, the township residents were predominantly ANC-supporting and members of COSATU. On 8 November 1990, 16 township residents were killed by approximately 1,200 hostel-dwellers and other Inkatha supporters, who were allegedly brought into the area to assist in a pre-dawn attack. About 1,500 people, mainly women and children, fled their homes.⁹⁷ Violence continued throughout the following year, and, on 24 April 1991, the chairperson of the Bruntville ANC, Mr Derek Majola, and his wife Mavis were killed when four armed men wearing balaclavas attacked their home. Their four-year-old daughter was seriously injured in the attack.⁹⁸

On the night of 3–4 December 1991, 18 people were killed when large groups of IFP hostel-dwellers launched two large-scale attacks on houses and residents in the township. Many allegations were made that the police were reluctant to intervene in the attack. Late that night, SADF members conducted a weapons raid throughout the township. In the early hours of the next morning, the hostel-dwellers launched a second attack on the township residents.⁹⁹ A total of 19 people were killed, 18 of wounds inflicted by weapons other than firearms (assegais, knobkierries, pangas and bush knives). A total of 50 people were killed that year in Bruntville and Mooi River.¹⁰⁰

Party strongholds/'no-go zones': The rural and urban areas of Natal and KwaZulu were divided into party political strongholds or what became known as 'no-go zones'. Townships were divided according to sections; rural areas according to valleys, rivers, ridges or roads. It was impossible for people to be non-partisan without fearing for their lives and those of their families. Those people without strong party affiliations had no choice but to support the party in whose stronghold they were living. They were required to join the party, attend its gatherings and participate in its marches, night 'camps' and patrols. Failure to do this could be fatal. Many indiscriminate attacks were carried out by men from one stronghold on people living in a stronghold of an opposing party. Often the victims were non-partisan but were labelled as IFP or ANC simply because of where they lived.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 285-6.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 286.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 287.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 287.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 289.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 291.

Sokhulu, a rural area north of Richards Bay, was split into an ANC-supporting section and an IFP-supporting section soon after the unbanning of the ANC. Many reports were received of armed men from the IFP side launching attacks on people living in the ANC side. People from the ANC side who went across to the IFP side were killed. On 2 February 1992, Caleb Fana Mthembu and his brother-in-law, both from the ANC side, went to buy an ox in the area considered to be IFP. They were both shot dead.¹⁰²

Bergville is a small farming town in the foothills of the Drakensberg and is surrounded by a tribal area falling under the IFP-supporting chief Maswazi Hlongwane. The area became a strong Inkatha enclave. An attempt by some ANC youths to launch an ANC branch in February 1993 was aborted after IFP supporters allegedly intimidated them. A second attempt was made to launch a branch on 20 June 1993. The ANC organisers sought permission from the magistrate to hold the gathering at the Woodforde soccer stadium and were issued with a permit to do so. They also informed the Bergville SAP station commander and peace monitors of their intention to hold a rally to launch a branch. When the ANC members began arriving at the soccer stadium for the launch, they found a group of IFP supporters gathered nearby. The IFP supporters were armed with traditional weapons and guns. It was clear to all that a confrontation was looming. The police spoke first to the group of IFP supporters and then to the ANC leaders. They told the ANC to disperse, saying that the gathering was illegal because they had not received permission from Chief Hlongwane. After much deliberation and negotiation with the police, the ANC decided to disperse. While they were dispersing, gunshots and shouting filled the air. The ANC soon discovered that IFP supporters had barricaded all the access routes from Woodforde. Despite the presence of the security forces, six ANC members were killed. That night a number of homes were torched and as many as 60 ANC-supporting youths fled the district. It was several months before they were able to return to their homes.¹⁰³

The northern Natal township of Ezakheni was largely ANC-dominated, with the exception of C1 section which was said to be IFP, between 1992 and 1994. Residents of C1 section had to pass through E section to catch taxis and buses to and from the township, and were frequently attacked. On 31 October 1992, a group of IFP supporters attacked mourners attending the funeral of a prominent ANC member. Two mourners, Thula Alson Nhlabathi and Baloni Richard Msimango, were shot and stabbed to death and a number of houses were set alight and looted. On 9 July 1993, after weeks of mounting tension, IFP supporters attacked E Section before dawn, killing ten ANC supporters, injuring at least eleven others and burning houses. The attack lasted a few hours and bodies were found over a two-kilometre radius. The raid appeared to be in revenge for the attacks on IFP commuters passing through E Section. The incidence of violence increased in the months following the

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 291.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 292.

massacre. Scores of houses were burnt down and hundreds of residents forced to flee. The Ndakane High School, situated between C1 (IFP) and C2 (ANC) Sections, was temporarily closed because of conflict between staff and students coming from different sections of the township.¹⁰⁴

The political conflict in the Richmond area which had flared up in the latter half of the 1980s was largely characterised by conflict between ANC and IFP supporters, although there was a strong element of faction fighting. The communities worst affected were Patheni, the IFP stronghold led by local IFP leader Mbadlaza Paulos Vezi, and Magoda and Ndaleni, ANC strongholds led by Sifiso Nkabinde. The conflict was alleged to have been further fuelled by a 'third force', said to include local right-wing farmers and certain members of the Richmond SAP. This 'third force' not only fuelled the conflict between the two parties but split the organisations internally, pitting former allies against each another. The IFP-ANC conflict escalated in 1990, erupting into full-scale violence in January 1991. The fighting culminated in the so-called 'Battle of the Forest' on 29 March 1991, in which 23 IFP supporters, including women and children, were killed and the ANC regained control of the major portion of Ndaleni area. A number of prominent IFP leaders in the area were attacked and/or killed: Ndodi Thusi, IFP leader of Ndaleni and family members were killed; Chief Dingiziwe Ndlovu, KwaZulu Legislature member was killed in Ixopo and Chief Majozi (IFP leader) was attacked several times. On 21-23 June 1991, groups of heavily armed IFP supporters attacked ANC supporters in Ndaleni, Magoda and Townlands. Fourteen people were killed and nine others injured in attacks on seven homesteads in Ndaleni.¹⁰⁵ In addition, an estimated 20,000 people were displaced during 1991 in the so-called Richmond war.¹⁰⁶

On 26 March 1992, nine IFP supporters were killed, several others injured and many homes burnt down in an attack on the Gengeshe community. Two ANC supporters, Mandlenkosi Tommy Phoswa and Mafuka Anthony Nzimande, were responsible for the killings.¹⁰⁷

In Umlazi, 15 women and three children were killed and 28 other people injured in an attack on the ANC-supporting Uganda informal settlement on 13 March 1992. Two of the children were still toddlers; one was decapitated. The attackers included a large number of KZP members and IFP supporters from the Unit 17 hostel complex in T Section, Umlazi. Residents reported that a large contingent of KZP members was seen escorting hundreds of Inkatha supporters to the pre-dawn attack. The attackers withdrew after the SAP arrived on the scene. This was the third such attack in two months by hostel-dwellers and the KZP in U-section, Umlazi, though the casualties in the previous incidents had not been as high.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 293.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 293-4.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 294.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 295.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 295.

At Bomela, on the lower South Coast, twelve IFP-supporting youths were massacred on 4 September 1992 at the home of the local IFP Women's Brigade leader, Ms Thokozile Dlamini, on the eve of an IFP Youth Brigade conference in Ulundi. Children had gathered at the Dlamini home to rehearse songs they were intending to perform at the conference. At about 19h00 or 20h00 a group of armed men wearing camouflage stormed the Dlamini home and opened fire on the children, who fled in all directions.¹⁰⁹

At Folweni, in the Umbumbulu district south of Durban, twenty IFP supporters were killed in an attack on a religious ceremony on 26 October 1992. A group of 15 unidentified assailants armed with AK-47 assault rifles attacked predominantly IFP-supporting persons attending a sangoma's (traditional healer's) party at the homestead of IFP member Mbonwa Sabelo. The assailants, wearing SADF uniforms and balaclavas, opened fire on people in two huts in the Sabelo kraal. Eighteen people were killed in the attack and two died in hospital. Another 33 people were injured.¹¹⁰ In 1990, local ANC-supporting businessman Siphon Mkhize had been shot and killed by IFP strongman Siphon Mvuyane. The area had been experiencing conflict between ANC-aligned groups and Inkatha from the 1980s. Mkhize's son, S'bu Mkhize carried out a number of revenge attacks, including a grenade attack on a police station in 1990 after the killing of his father, two attempts on Mvuyane's life, a limpet mine attack on an Inkatha house in which six people died, and the murder of Inkatha strongman Ngcongco. However, he was killed July 1992, a few months before the attack in Folweni.¹¹¹

In 1992, following the Bhishe massacre, the ANC stated its intention to march on Ulundi in support of its demand for free political activity. Chief Buthelezi responded by calling on all young men from KwaZulu to be sent by their *indunas* for training as warriors to resist the ANC invasion. In the Nqutu district on the North Coast, a meeting of *indunas* was called which was also attended by Prince Gideon Zulu, who allegedly said they would search for and kill traitors in the Nqutu area as had happened at Isandhlwana. Many of the *indunas* under Chief Molefe failed to comply with the call to take up arms and were threatened with punishment and fined. A few weeks later, on the night of 8 November 1992, a group of armed men attacked several homesteads under Chief Molefe's jurisdiction. At least three people were killed, including Molefe's senior *induna*, and several huts burnt to the ground. Police were called, but made no attempt to detain the attackers. Two people were subsequently arrested, including the younger brother of one of the deceased. He was kept in detention without charge from 9 to 30 November and on his release laid charges against police for wrongful arrest.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 296.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 296.

¹¹¹ De Haas, 'Violence in Natal and Zululand, the 1990s', 889-90.

¹¹² TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 297.

On the night of 7 November 1993, eleven ANC-supporting youths were killed and a number of others injured in an attack on Chief Molefe's homestead. A large ANC rally had been planned for that day and was to have been held in the Nqutu stadium. However, during the week preceding the rally the ANC said it had received information that the IFP was stockpiling weapons and planned to attack the gathering. The rally was called off. That same night, 60 to 80 gunmen wearing balaclavas attacked Chief Molefe's homestead, killing the eleven youths. One of the chief's sons, Tsepo Molefe, was among the deceased; the chief escaped with injuries. He subsequently fled the area and never returned to his home.¹¹³

North West

Mass defiance in Bophuthatswana and the 1994 coup: The ANC's Organising Committee also noted in October 1990 that in Bophuthatswana 'harassment has reached such a high pitch that practically all branches launched have been immobilised. Members are arrested and dismissed from their [places of] work.'¹¹⁴ Johannes Rantete adds that the ANC was denied access to public facilities such as community halls and stadiums in KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.¹¹⁵ The chief minister of the Bantustan, Chief Lucas Mangope, even went so far as to align himself with conservative forces in the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG), made up of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the whites-only Conservative Party, and the Ciskei Bantustan. Together with Bophuthatswana, this coalition came together as the Freedom Alliance in mid-October 1993 in opposition to the ANC, as well as the Nationalist Party and apartheid government.¹¹⁶

It appears that the ANC was reluctant to pressurise Bophuthatswana, and it fell on other organisations to take up the struggle against the denial of free political activity. A number of popular organisations were formed in Bophuthatswana in the period after 1990, including the Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum (MAREF), formed in March 1990, and the Anti-Bop Coalition. The period was also marked by a continuation of conflicts from the preceding decade. These include opposition to an 'illegal' tribal leadership in the Poking area and by the Batlhaping people in the Taung district, and the struggles against incorporation in Braklaagte and Leeufontein.

In the case of Phokeng, as indicated in the previous chapter, the wife of the kgosi who had been forced to go into exile, Kgosisgadi Semane, was deported from the area because she

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 297-8.

¹¹⁴ Cited in T. Sellström, *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa, Volume 2, Solidarity and Assistance 1970-1994*, Uppsala, Nordic Africa Institute, 2002, 826.

¹¹⁵ Rantete, 'Facing the Challenges of Transition: A Critical Analysis of the African National Congress in the 1990s', MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1994, 20.

¹¹⁶ A. Manson and B. Mbenga, 'Boputhatswana and the transition into the North West Province', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990-1996*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013, 476-7.

continued to reject Bophuthatswana citizenship. Another kgosi was appointed by the apartheid government. About 400 villagers marched to Pretoria on 19 March 1990 where they handed over a petition calling for the deportation order of Kgosigadi Semane to be revoked. On 21 March, one person was killed and three injured when police fired on protestors near the Kgosigadi's house. The Batlhaping also had a kgosi imposed on them when their kgosi rejected Bantustan citizenship. The heir-apparent, Samuel Mankurwane, fled Taung posing as a corpse in an ambulance in December 1990. The community carried out a number of acts of defiance thereafter, culminating in the shooting of two villagers in February 1993.¹¹⁷

However, the key issue during the period under study was Mangope's resistance to re-incorporation and his opposition to the ANC. On 7 March 1990, at least 11 people died when Bophuthatswana police fired on a crowd of people protesting for re-incorporation. As the protests and violence spread, a state of emergency was declared in 1990. More importantly, however, the ANC had to operate virtually clandestinely in Bophuthatswana during this period. People were arrested, and others deported from the region for being ANC members. It also refused to give the ANC permission to hold rallies.¹¹⁸

Students at the University of Bophuthatswana engaged in a series of sit-ins and boycotts to protests against the lack of political freedom throughout 1992. In August, 93 students were expelled. In May 1993 the University was closed indefinitely. Other tertiary institutions and many schools were closed a few weeks later in anticipation of 16 June commemoration activities. In mid-1993 Mangope threatened to fire all public servants who were members of the ANC. In December 1993 he refused to accept draft legislation of the CODESA Negotiating Council to return South African citizenship to the homeland citizens. He also refused to participate in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) established by the negotiations process to administer the country in the interim period before the April 27, 1994 democratic elections. The government also announced that it would not participate in the forthcoming elections.

Bophuthatswana civil servants' fears that the government was unable to pay their salaries because of its intransigence in the face of the developments in the negotiations process was the spark that led to the downfall of Mangope. From February 1994 they embarked on a strike. They also demanded the re-incorporation of the Bantustan. Nurses and teachers also went on strike. On 9 March three people were killed when police opened fire on students demonstrating in support of the civil servants' strike and calling for Mangope's resignation and transfer of powers to the TEC. The next day the Bantustan was invaded by members of the AWB who had come out in support of Mangope. In the next two days of fighting, in which Bophuthatswana Defence Force members were fired upon by, and fired on members

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 480-2.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 484-6.

of the AWB, 37 people died. Two members of the AWB were killed by members of the BDF in an incident that was captured on camera and shown on news channels throughout the world. The South African Defence Force subsequently took control of the bantustan's security, and on 13 March Mangope was removed from office.¹¹⁹

Limpopo

Mass defiance in Lebowa: In 1990, residents of the Lebowa Bantustan embarked on a campaign of mass defiance to bring down facets of the administration. The leading force here was teachers, who took a decision in September to defy the 'illegitimate' education authorities. The actions taken included stopping inspectors from accessing schools and defiance of rules for teachers in supervisory positions such as signing time books, filling in leave forms, noting lesson plans in workbooks, and attending the department's in-service training sessions. Time books and workbooks were dumped at the circuit offices. This created an anarchic environment in schools, which, Sekibakiba Lekgoathi argues, 'was probably effective in destabilising an illegitimate Lebowa bantustan regime'. This was complemented by a series of class boycotts.¹²⁰

The counter-revolutionary activities of the state

KwaZulu-Natal

SAP killing of ANC members: Two well-known ANC members in KwaSokhulu were killed by a member of the Empangeni SAP Murder and Robbery unit in August 1992. Former Detective Warrant Officer Hendrik Jacobus Steyn was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment for the killing of Simon Bongani Msweli and Michael Mthethwa. During the early hours of 14 August 1992, members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) surrounded the house where Msweli and Mthethwa had spent the night. A battle ensued, the details of which are not certain. Witnesses allege that the two men were dragged into a nearby SAPPI forest where they were viciously assaulted. It appears that the SADF then loaded the two men into their vehicle, allegedly to take them to hospital. The SADF vehicle was intercepted by Steyn who dragged the men out of the vehicle and shot them both dead. In his amnesty application, Steyn, an IFP member, said that he felt it was necessary to 'eliminate' the two men in order to stabilise the area.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 490-7.

¹²⁰ S.P Lekgoati, 'Political transformations in the bantustans of Lebowa and KwaNdebele', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990-1996*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013, 440-467.

¹²¹ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 250.

Security force killing of MK members: MK members Charles Ndaba and Mbuso Shabalala, who were both involved in Operation Vula, were abducted by Durban Security Branch members on 7 July 1990. The Security Branch claimed that Ndaba was one of their informers and was arrested by mistake by members who did not know this. He helped them to arrest Mbuso Shabalala. After the Security Branch had taken Ndaba and Shabalala into custody, the government announced that any Operation Vula operatives that were under arrest would not be prosecuted. Not wanting to release the two men, the Durban Security Branch members decided to kill them, which they did on 14 July 1990. The bodies were dumped into the Tugela River mouth.¹²²

Goodwill Mbuso (aka Neville Sikhakhane) was a former ANC member who had undergone military training with MK in Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania and Swaziland. On his return in 1989, he apparently surrendered to the police. He began working as an askari with the Natal Security Branch. At some time during 1991, certain members of the Security Branch decided that Sikhakhane was a threat to the security of their operations. He was seen in Swaziland on a number of occasions while on leave, creating the suspicion that he might be working for the ANC as a double agent. Vlakplaas operative Willie Nortje carried out the assassination in Greytown on 21 January 1991.¹²³

KZP/IFP killing of ANC/UDF members: Two UDF activists, Raphael and Winnie Mkhize, were killed in an attack on their KwaMakhutha home in the early hours of 9 March 1990. Their son, Duduzi Mkhize, was wounded. In May 1990, eight people, including four KZP members, were arrested in connection with the killings, namely Constables Patrick Mbambo, Wellington Mncwango, Mohande Whu and Cyril Ngema.¹²⁴ Two of the KZP police officers who had been arrested in connection with killing the Mkhizes – Wellington Mncwango and Mohande Whu – were convicted in January 1992 in connection with the attempted murder of KwaMakhutha community leader Mkhanyiseni Eden Mngadi. Mngadi, the secretary of the KwaMakhutha Peace Committee, was shot three times in a 02h00 attack on his home on 13 March 1990, just four days after the killing of Raphael and Winnie Mkhize.¹²⁵

Following the killing of the Mkhize couple and the attempt on Eden Mngadi's life, a general stayaway was called for 14 March to call for the withdrawal of the KZP from KwaMakhutha. More than 15,000 KwaMakhutha residents marched to the KZP station and handed over a memorandum to Colonel Cele of the KwaMakhutha KZP. The memorandum listed incidents that had taken place during the first two weeks of March 1990: not responding to emergency calls; insulting and assaulting residents and conniving with warlords who were

¹²² *Ibid.*, 257.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 252.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

accommodated at the police barracks; disrupting funeral vigils; failing to take action against vigilantes; constantly raiding the homes of UDF members.¹²⁶

The KwaMakhutha home of UDF/ANC supporters David and Maria Bhengu was attacked on 19 January 1990, allegedly by KZP and IFP members including Mvuyane. Maria and their two children, Siphelile and Hlengwa, were shot dead. David Bhengu survived by escaping through the window. The house was looted.¹²⁷ A school pupil, Austin Zwane, was shot dead in his Lamontville home on 7 August 1990 by a group of four KZP members, led by Mvuyane. After killing Zwane, the policemen forced his friends to load his body into the police van.¹²⁸ By the end of August 1990, according to Mary de Haas, Mvuyane was alleged to have killed at least 15 people in eight months. He was among a group of eight policemen who killed three youths guarding the house of lawyer Kwenza Mlaba in October 1990.¹²⁹ Mfanafuthi Khumalo was shot by Mvuyane in Umlazi on 26 April 1992, when he was 16 years old. Khumalo was sleeping over at a friend's home when Mvuyane and a colleague came looking for him. Mvuyane told the other youngsters to leave and remained behind with Khumalo. After shooting Khumalo in the leg, Mvuyane gave him a knife and told him to stab himself. After stabbing himself 5 times, Khumalo was then shot in the arm by Mvuyane.¹³⁰

In April 1990, KZP Constable Khethani Shange shot and killed KwaMashu ANC activist Themba Gumede. At the night vigil for Gumede, a group of about 25 people dressed in KZP uniforms arrived. They ordered the mourners to lie down and opened fire on them, injuring three people. On 29 May 1991, Shange was convicted of killing Gumede and attempting to kill three mourners at the vigil. He was sentenced to 27 years' imprisonment.¹³¹

A reign of terror in the Lamontville, Umlazi and Malukazi areas in the south of Durban was led by a local business and Inkatha Councillor, Edward Shoji, and his sons from early 1990. They were supported by members of the KwaZulu Police. A number of people were killed in all three areas, including a 14 year old youth killed on 28 January 1990. In March 1990 alone, about 53 people died in Umlazi and in the surrounding informal settlements – Ekuthuleni, Chimurenga, Uganda, and Zamani.¹³²

The internal activities of the liberation movements

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 252-3.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 254.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 254.

¹²⁹ De Haas, 'Violence in Natal and Zululand, the 1990s', 885.

¹³⁰ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 254.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 255.

¹³² De Haas, 'Violence in Natal and Zululand, the 1990s', 885-7.

APLA and PAC actions¹³³

Western Cape

Cape Town became a significant field of operation for APLA in the 1990s. From December 1992 to December 1993, a series of APLA attacks targeted both civilians and security force personnel. On 26 December 1992, two armed men opened fire on the Stakes restaurant, injuring several persons while a further two operatives waited in the car outside. APLA operative Andile Shiceka was the commander of the operation, and Thandabantu Samala was one of the operatives who participated in the attack for amnesty for this incident.¹³⁴

The St. James' Church Massacre: On Sunday 25 July 1993, two APLA operatives burst into the evening service at St. James' Church in Kenilworth. They fired machine guns and threw two hand-grenades covered with nails at a congregation of over a thousand people. Eleven people were killed and 56 injured. The attackers escaped in a waiting car which had been hijacked earlier. The congregation was racially mixed and those killed included four Russian sailors. Initially the PAC and APLA denied responsibility for the attack. However, a person claiming to be the Regional Commander of APLA claimed responsibility. This suggests that the operation was the decision of a local commander rather than an attack planned by the High Command. APLA operatives Gcinikhaya Makoma, Thobela Mlambisa and Basie Mkhumbuzi carried out the attack. Mlambisa drove the vehicle while Mkhumbuzi acted as 'security' outside with the vehicle. Sichumiso Nonxuba entered the church and physically attacking the congregants. Makoma, Mkhumbuzi and Mlambisa were recent APLA recruits. They did not know the details or target of the operation until they arrived at the scene, claiming that, as commander, Nonxuba directed them to the target.¹³⁵

Heidelberg Tavern: On 31 December 1993, three women were killed and six people injured when two APLA operatives walked into the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory and fired at patrons, while other operatives waited in the car outside. The attackers also threw a hand grenade covered with nails into the room, though this failed to explode. José 'Joe' Cerqueira was shot dead by the attackers when he ran out of a neighbouring tavern into the street.¹³⁶

The same rifles were used in the attacks at the Heidelberg Tavern and the St. James' Church five months earlier. The internal commander of APLA, Carl Zimbiri, later confirmed that the

¹³³ Other relevant sources here are T. Lodge, 'Soldiers of the storm: A profile of the Azanian People's Liberation Army', in J. Cilliders (ed.), *About Turn: The transformation of the South African Military and Intelligence*, Halfway House, Institute of Defence Policy, 1995; T. ka Plaatjie, 'Internal political and administrative re-organisation of the PAC and negotiations in the 1990s', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, 1990-1996*, Pretoria, UNISA Press, 2013, 1097ff.

¹³⁴ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5 – Regional Profile: Western Cape*, 506.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 506-8.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 506-8.

operation was carried out by an elite APLA unit called 'The People's Concern'. Humphrey Luyanda Gqomfa, Vuyisile Brian Madasi, Zola Prince Mabala, Theo Thobile Mabusela, Nkosinathi Michael Siyolo and Richard Madoda Dala carried out the attack. The order for the operation came from Sichumiso Nonxuba and Letlapa Mphahlele. Bulelani Siphon Xuma also claimed to have been amongst those who gave the order. The group was deployed from the Transkei and arrived in Cape Town during November 1993. They linked up with Siphon Xuma and other local PAC regional leadership which provided logistical support, arms and ammunition. The actual attack involved six individuals, namely Maxeba, Madasi, Gqomfa, Sibeko, Mabala and Monwabisi Jantjie, who drove to the Tavern. Gqomfa was one of those who went to the entrance of the tavern and opened fire on the patrons inside. He also shot and killed José Cerqueira.¹³⁷

Other PAC or APLA-linked attacks: The unit involved in the Heidelberg attack was also responsible for two attacks on security force targets on 17 December 1993. A group of five cadres opened fire on the Nyanga Defence Force base, injuring two people. Later that night a similar attack was launched on the Lingeletu West police station in Khayelitsha. No one was injured. During the night of 27 August 1993, shots were fired at a Translux bus as it passed through Beaufort West. Eight people were injured. Thembinkosi Henge carried out this attack, allegedly ordered by the late Sichumiso Nonxuba. On 6 December 1992, a group of security guards at a Khayelitsha railway station were attacked by a group of armed men with R4 rifles and an AK-47. One guard was shot dead and another wounded. APLA operative Andile Shiceka carried out the attack, stating that they believed the uniformed guards were policemen. He cites several others as having been involved.¹³⁸

The Killing of Amy Biehl: In August 1993, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (PASO) was engaged in a joint campaign of street protest with COSAS. Student actions involved the widespread stoning of vehicles. ANC condemnation of the campaign was ignored. There were also, at that time, calls for an end to the use of the slogans, 'One settler, One bullet' and 'Kill the farmer, Kill the boer' associated with the PAC and ANC respectively. On 25 August 1993, American Fulbright scholar Amy Elizabeth Biehl (26) drove into Gugulethu to drop off some fellow students. Youths stoned the car, injuring Biehl and bringing the car to a stop. She and the other occupants of the car fled, with a group in pursuit continuing to stone and stab her. Several PASO members returning from a PASO meeting in Langa were also at the scene and played a leading role in the actual killing. Four PASO members, Mongezi Manqina, Vusumzi Ntamo, Mzikhona 'Easy' Nofemela and Ntobeko Ambrose Peni were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for the murder. Their motivation for the killing came primarily from the PASO meeting they were returning from, and that their

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 508.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 509-510.

actions were in accordance with the slogan 'One Settler, One Bullet'. They claimed to have received some basic training from APLA.¹³⁹

Eastern Cape

APLA's 'Operation Great Storm', 1991–94: From late 1991 until the elections in April 1994, APLA, the armed wing of the PAC, claimed responsibility for various armed actions aimed primarily at police officers and whites. A number of these took place in the Eastern Cape. The SAP told the Goldstone Commission in January 1993 that there had been about 46 armed attacks ascribed to APLA nationally during 1991–92; about 40 per cent of these occurred in the Eastern Cape. In April 1993, APLA commander Sabelo Phama announced that 1993 was the year of APLA's 'Operation Great Storm': the attacks of these years were generally regarded as being part of this operation.¹⁴⁰

Eastern Cape incidents from this period reported to the Commission include: the early 1992 attack on the Wilgespruit farm at Lady Grey near Aliwal North and an attack on police at Lady Grey; the 15 August 1992 attack on an Umtata police station, including theft of weapons; the 13 March 1994 attack on members of the Baha'i faith in Mdantsane; and the March 1994 attacks on a minibus near Fort Jackson and on a minibus at the Da Gama factory outside East London, in which a police officer and two attackers died.¹⁴¹

Some of the attackers were linked to the 1993 attacks on the St James Church and Heidelberg Tavern in Cape Town and some were linked to various attacks on farmers and police in the Free State. Some of the same APLA members were involved in the attacks in the Lady Grey area in early 1992, the August 1992 attack on the Umtata police station, and various armed robberies in the Transkei.¹⁴²

The first major attack carried out by APLA in the Eastern Cape during this period was on the golf club at King William's Town on 28 November 1992, where a wine-tasting party was in progress. Four people died. APLA member Tembeleni Tandekile Xundu participated in this attack. The Highgate Hotel in East London was attacked on 1 May 1993. Neville Beling, Karl Andrew Weber and Ms. Doreen Rousseau were permanently disabled as a result of the attack. Deric John Whitfield was one of five people killed.¹⁴³

A Spur restaurant in Queenstown was bombed on 3 December 1992, a few days after the King William's Town attack. One man died. Les Barnes was seated at the table where the bomb had been placed; his friend died and he was seriously injured. APLA claimed

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 510-511.

¹⁴⁰ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, 145-6.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 146-7.

responsibility at the time. On 20 March 1993 the Yellowwoods Hotel at Fort Beaufort was attacked by armed men. A student, Johan Jerling, was killed. APLA acknowledged responsibility for the attack.¹⁴⁴

On 8 October 1993 the SADF carried out a raid on the home of an Umtata PAC member, Sigqibo Mpendulo, in which five youths, including a 12 year-old child, were shot dead. The SADF claimed at the time that it had attacked an APLA base.¹⁴⁵

KwaZulu-Natal: APLA member Nboba Mgengo was responsible for a bomb explosion on a bus in central Durban on 30 November 1993. On 17 January 1994, three men were killed in a shoot-out with policemen in Pine Street in central Durban. Two of the deceased were allegedly attackers; the other may have been a bystander. The police alleged that the SAP satellite office at the Pine Street parking garage was attacked on that day by APLA members armed with AK-47s, 9mm pistols and a grenade. The SAP had allegedly received prior warning of the operation and had therefore deployed a number of policemen ready to counter the attack. One of those killed in the ensuing shoot-out was Mosheen Jeenah, a student at ML Sultan Technikon and an alleged APLA member. The PAC denied involvement in the incident. Evidence led at the inquest alleged irregularities in the initial investigation. Two policemen who had been present during the shooting claimed they were fired on first and only then did they return fire. However, no AK-47 or handgun bullets (alleged to have been fired by the deceased) were found in the Pine Street satellite office. One APLA and two PAC carried out an attack on the Crazy Beat Disco Club in Newcastle on Valentine's Day 1994. Ms. Gerbrecht van Wyk was shot dead and several others injured during the attack. Bongani Golden Malevu, Andile Shiceka and Walter Falibango Thanda had been sent by their commanders in the Transkei to Newcastle to 'identify areas where whites gather'. They targeted the disco because it was frequented by white patrons. Thanda and Shiceka were both involved in several APLA attacks in the Cape Town area for which they also applied for amnesty.¹⁴⁶

Significant Acts of Defiance

The Bophuthatswana hunger strike

By the beginning of the 1990s, 147 individuals were still in prison for the role they played in the 1988 attempted coup. On 15 June 1991, 23 of these prisoners embarked on a hunger strike to draw attention to their plight. They considered themselves political prisoners, although they were convicted of high treason. A week later the number in the strike

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 148.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹⁴⁶ TRC, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 323.

reached 68. After two weeks, several were hospitalised, suffering from kidney problems and the loss of eyesight. Nelson Mandela visited them a month after the start of the hunger strike, and the protestors decided to suspend the strike. It was immediately announced by the Bophuthatswana authorities that the prisoners would serve their full sentences. The hunger strike was implemented again on 27 August. Less than a half a month later, on 12 September, Mangope announced that 19 prisoners would be released. The strike continued, and some went on strike for 65 days when Mangope relented and announced the release of the remaining 126 prisoners. Although one hunger striker, Babusang Monana died during the hunger strike and another not long after his release, it was hailed as a victory for the strikers.¹⁴⁷

Existing or potential heritage sites and key individuals around which heritage sites can or have been developed

Western Cape

- *All conflicts areas in the 1990-1994 period where major deaths occurred.*
- *Sites of APLA attacks, including site where Amy Biehl was killed.*

Eastern Cape

- *Dikidikana Heroes Memorial* – Memorial built to pay homage to victims of Brigadier Gqozo's Ciskei state security agents who had been brutally shot and killed in August 1992 in Dikidikana village.
- *Bhisho Massacre Memorial, Graves of Bhisho Massacre Victims* – The Bhisho massacre took place in 1992, just two years before the African National Congress (ANC) came to power. In an attempt to force the Ciskei to agree to re-incorporation into South Africa, some 60,000 protesters marched to the Bhisho stadium. They were confronted by about 500 Ciskei soldiers loyal to Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who opened fire on them. After about two and half minutes of automatic gunfire by the Ciskei, 28 people were dead and hundreds were injured. The graves of most of the victims are in the new cemetery at Ginsburg.
- *Port Elizabeth Northern Areas Uprising* – In August 1990, the Northern Areas of Port Elizabeth, against a backdrop of severe socio-economic problems, rose up and mobilised around the issue of rent increases and opposition to the Labour Party, which had entered into the National Party's tricameral parliament. The police response led to six days of violence and rioting which left more than 50 people dead and 400 injured. A

¹⁴⁷ Manson and Mbenga, 'Bophuthatswana and the transition into the North West Province', 488-90.

memorial telling the story of the uprising is located in the Paapenkuil cemetery at Korsten.¹⁴⁸

- *Birthplace of O.R. Tambo, Nkantolo* – A Garden of Remembrance was initially constructed at Nkantolo, the birthplace of the ANC President Oliver Reginald Tambo in 1999. It was subsequently upgraded and a memorial was unveiled by then President Thabo Mbeki in 2006. It is now undergoing a multi-million Rand development which will be a suitable memorial to a leader of the stature of O.R. Tambo.
- *Birthplace of Nelson Mandela, Mvezo* – The birthplace of former President Nelson Mandela at Mvezo was originally identified as one of three sites forming the Nelson Mandela National Museum, along with Qunu and the main museum building in Mthatha. The remains of the rondavel in which he was born was protected as a heritage site. Further development since then has created a site from which the story of this extraordinary leader can be told.
- *Chris Hani Memorial, Sabalele* – SACP leader and MK Chief of Staff Martin ('Chris') Hani was born at Sabalele A/A about 20 km from St. Marks mission in Cofimvaba district. The original homestead in Lower Sabalele, where he was born, is now deserted. Visitors are normally directed to the later homestead of the Hani parents in Upper Sabalele. In 2013, a Multi-purpose Centre was built to honour his memory.
- *Nkonkobe Garden of Remembrance* – The Nkonkobe Garden of Remembrance was officially unveiled on 15 March 2003 and is located on the old market square in the centre of Alice. It is intended as a symbol of reconciliation and unity, in honour of all people in the Nkonkobe area who sacrificed their lives for national liberation.
- *Sites of APLA attacks.*

KwaZulu-Natal

- *The Seven Day War* – From 25–31 March 1990, the communities in the lower Vulindlela and Edendale Valleys, south of Pietermaritzburg, were subjected to an armed invasion by thousands of heavily armed men from the rural, Inkatha-supporting areas higher up in the valleys. Over seven days, 200 residents in the lower valley were killed, hundreds of houses looted and burnt down and as many as 20,000 people were forced to flee for their lives. The communities most seriously affected were Ashdown, Caluza, Mpumuza, Gezubuso, KwaShange, and KwaMnyandu.
- *The Nquthu massacre memorial* – Tombstones have been erected at the graveyards of the victims of the Nquthu massacre which took place a few months before the first democratic elections in April 1994. Local traditional leader Inkosi M Molefe, who survived the massacre at his father's house, described how a meeting that was held at his father's house on November 7, 1993 to discuss the postponement of a planned rally turned into a bloodbath. The shooting lasted for at least 20 minutes with two gunmen

¹⁴⁸ Nelson Mandela Bay, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 56-57.

systematically moving from one room of the house to another killing anyone they found. Sixty to eighty gunmen wearing balaclavas attacked Chief Molefe's homestead, killing the eleven youths. One of the chief's sons, Tsepo Molefe, was among the deceased; the chief escaped with injuries. He subsequently fled the area and to this day has not returned to his home. He is now destitute. To date, no one has been charged in connection with the massacre.

- *Conflicts in all other parts of the region where major deaths occurred, e.g. Umlazi.*

North West

- *Garankuwa march for re-incorporation* – On 7 February 1990, the first protest march involving approximately 80,000 people was held in Garankuwa. The marchers, many carrying ANC flags, called for reincorporation and urged Mangope to resign and join 'democratic forces' in creating a non-racial and unitary South Africa. Between seven and eleven people were injured when Bophuthatswana security forces fired tear gas and rubber bullets at the marchers.
- *7 March 1990 march to Odi magistrate's court* – Violence reached a peak on 7 March when Bophuthatswana troops opened fire on protesters, killing eleven people and injuring 450. Residents of Garankuwa, Mabopane, Soshanguve and Winterveld were marching to the Odi magistrate's court to present a petition demanding reincorporation into South Africa and the resignation of Chief Mangope 'within 100 hours'. The crowd numbered between 50,000 and 100,000 people. After the petition was presented, the crowd set fire to an army truck. Fifteen minutes later, Bophuthatswana troops fired at the crowd. Shooting with tear gas and rubber bullets is alleged to have continued for an hour.
- *Mine workers' strike* – The launch of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in the region led to considerable unrest and miners embarked on a series of strikes. The unrest led to the deaths of nine people and the destruction of 51 huts by vigilantes allegedly hired by management at the Wildebeestfontein mine in 1991. Fourteen people died in further violence at the Impala mine in 1992.
- *The hunger strike* – By the beginning of the 1990s, 147 individuals were still in prison for the roles they played in the 1988 attempted coup. On 15 June 1991, 23 of these prisoners embarked on a hunger strike to draw attention to their plight. They considered themselves political prisoners, although they were convicted of high treason. A week later the number in the strike reached 68. After two weeks, a number were hospitalised, suffering from kidney problems and the loss of eyesight. Nelson Mandela visited them a month after the start of the hunger strike, and the protestors decided to suspend the strike. It was immediately announced by the Bophuthatswana authorities that the prisoners would serve their full sentences. The hunger strike was implemented again on 27 August. Less than a half a month later, on 12 September, Mangope announced that 19 prisoners would be released. The strike continued, and some went on strike for 65

days when Mangope relented and announced the release of the remaining 126 prisoners. Although one hunger striker, Babusang Monana, died during the hunger strike and another not long after his release, it was hailed as a victory for the strikers.

- *AWB invasion.*

Limpopo

- *Nancefield consumer boycott and resistance* – During 1990, there were a series of clashes between police and residents in the Northern Transvaal towns of Messina and Nancefield over protests against BLAs and a campaign opposing VAT which was initiated by the recently formed Messina civic association. On 10 March 1990, Wilson Ndambale was shot dead by police in Nancefield during a protest against BLAs. His death led to the launch of a consumer boycott and a week-long stay away. During the course of the conflict, there were a number of arson attacks on the homes and vehicles of councillors. On 4 August 1992, Ms Sarah Sekhwana, a mother of three small children, was shot and blinded by a member of the SAP in Messina during a protest march against the implementation of VAT. Ms. Sekhwana was on her way to run an errand when she was caught up in the march. She was shot at point-blank range by a policeman sitting in a van. Sarah Sekhwana lost her sight in one eye as a result of the shooting.
- *Mass defiance in Lebowa* – In 1990, residents of the Lebowa Bantustan embarked on a campaign of mass defiance to bring down facets of the administration. The leading force here was teachers, who took a decision in September to defy the 'illegitimate' education authorities. The actions taken included stopping inspectors from accessing schools and defiance of rules for teachers in supervisory positions such as signing time books, filling in leave forms, noting lesson plans in workbooks, and attending the department's in-service training sessions. Time books and workbooks were dumped at the circuit offices. This created an anarchic environment in schools, which, Sekibakiba Lekgoati argues, 'was probably effective in destabilising an illegitimate Lebowa bantustan regime'. This was complemented by a series of class boycotts.

Conclusion

Conclusion

The liberation struggle has given rise to hundreds of heritage sites throughout the country, which together form the basis of local, municipal, district, provincial and national liberation heritage routes. Many of the sites have a specific geographical location and/or structure(s), while many others do not. In terms of the former, this is clearly the case for the early wars of resistance, rebellions, uprisings, massacres, freedom trails, significant military confrontations between guerrillas and security forces, graves of freedom fighters, houses of significant leaders, significant buildings and sites where activities of the liberation movements were conducted, etc. However, in terms of the latter, there are many events that cover a wide geographical area such that no single site or structure can be identified that epitomises these events. Examples here include the many communities that experienced years of extensive repression and resistance which have no heritage site memorialising this history (e.g. the Vulindlela community outside Pietermaritzburg which experienced years of political violence from 1987 in what has been termed the Midlands War, and the June 16th uprising in places like Cape Town which drew in thousands of activists over wide geographical spaces and resulted in the deaths of many).

Sabine Marschal, a Professor in Cultural and Heritage Tourism at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, noted in 2006 that:

Since the advent of the post-apartheid period, South Africa has been preoccupied with the identification and celebration of heritage. Bronze busts and statues on pedestals depicting 'struggle heroes' are being erected or proposed throughout the country; new public monument structures, often incorporating or accompanied by a museum, are being built; and memorials commemorating apartheid-era activists and victims of shootings have mushroomed.¹

She adds that at the time of writing there were 70 such projects. Elsewhere she writes that:

A range of "massacre memorials" has been built throughout the country, including the Hector Peterson Memorial in Soweto, the Sharpeville Massacre, the Bisho Massacre Memorial, or the Langa Massacre Memorial in Uitenhage, to name a few.²

She identifies a number of other heritage projects:

¹ S. Marschal, "Commemorating 'Struggle Heroes': Constructing a Genealogy for the New South Africa", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2006, 176-7.

² S. Marschal, 'Reordering the Past: Monuments and Architectural Heritage in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Repenser les limites: l'architecture à travers l'espace, le temps et les disciplines*, Paris, INHA (Actes de colloques), 2005. Available at <http://inha.revues.org/1691>.

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

The modest homes of several struggle icons have been turned into a museum. This includes the Mandela residence in Soweto, Albert Luthuli's house in Groutville, or John Dube's house in Inanda. Bronze statues on pedestals are proliferating throughout the country (e.g. of Nelson Mandela; Steve Biko; Gandhi; Albert Luthuli; Solomon Mahlangu; John Dube, etc.). Group memorials are dedicated to those who sacrificed their lives – usually young, always male, political activists whose death is associated with a tragic event and brutal murder by the security forces. The dramatic story of the deathly incident and the complex narrative of their lives are condensed into one succinct, catchphrase label: the Gugulethu Seven, the Cradock Four, and the Pebco Three. The quest for freedom is reflected in such heritage sites as Freedom Valley in Inanda, Freedom Square (recently renamed Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication) in Kliptown, the planned Freedom Square in Port Elizabeth, Freedom Square in Pietermaritzburg, and most notably Freedom Park, this eminent African counterpart of the infamous Afrikaner Nationalist Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria.

Not only are new monuments being erected and new heritage sites identified and developed all over the country, but many existing ones are being (re)interpreted to fit in the new meta-narrative. Old buildings associated with past humiliation and suffering have been appropriated and their identity redefined through a conscious, symbolically meaningful inversion of their original function. In Johannesburg, for example, a hostel building in Newtown, formerly housing black migrant workers under most appalling conditions, was turned into a Workers' Library: a site of former oppression has become a site of potential empowerment. In Durban, the former headquarters of the Department of Native Administration, where rural Africans had to submit to humiliating administrative procedures and medical examinations for their application to work and live in an urban area, now houses the KwaMuhle Museum. This new museum is dedicated to preserving and representing the history, experiences and acts of resistance, of precisely those previously urban black communities, thereby validating their lives and making their voices heard.³

This is a fairly reasonable review of developments in the liberation heritage sector between 1994 and 2006. Nevertheless, no attention is given to the wars of resistance and the slave era, including such monuments as the Battle of Isandlwana Monument.

This Report forms part of the meta-narrative she writes about, and in it we have identified some of the key elements of this meta-narrative that relate to liberation heritage sites. The objective of this conclusion is not to summarise the key findings, but to make a few recommendations that arise from the research undertaken, including workshops and seminars held during the course of the study. We therefore recommend the following:

³ *Ibid.*

Conclusion

- This Report is not a definitive study of the relevant aspects of the liberation struggle, and must be seen as a 'living document' that changes as additional input is obtained from various quarters. Therefore, it must be made available for public review, and comments and suggested changes must be requested from the general public. There is also room for more research on the history of the liberation struggle than was allowed during the course of this study.
- The list of potential liberation heritage sites and prominent individuals around which heritage sites have or could be developed in this Report is not exhaustive, and further consultation and research is required.
- The relevance of each of the sites and prominent individuals identified is subjective, and it requires consultation with communities to determine their relevance for inclusion in the National Liberation Heritage Route.
- All the heritage sites and prominent individuals identified in this study will not necessarily meet the criteria for inclusion in the National Liberation Heritage Route. Many would form part of relevant local and provincial Liberation Heritage Routes, and Heritage Precincts should be established where possible to enhance the potential of meeting the criteria for inclusion.
- The narratives for potential heritage sites in the Report is relatively limited, and additional research is required for the selected heritage sites.
- The selected heritage sites should have a plaque or plaques that contain the narrative (i.e. is the relevant history) which determines its relevance as a liberation heritage site.
- A series of liberation struggle memorials should be established throughout the country consisting of plaques that contain the history of resistance and repression in that community (e.g. the Midlands War in Vulindlela) and/or of the event(s) being memorialised (e.g. the 1976 uprising in Cape Town), as well as the list of names of people who died during that event or series of events.
- Where events (such as the 1976 uprising in Cape Town) have occurred over a wide geographical area, plaques containing relevant information on these events should be placed in the Freedom Squares that exist, or should be developed in major cities and towns.
- Centres of Reflection/Memory should be established in each Province and/or major city that serve both as repositories and resource centres for memory on the liberation

The Liberation Struggle and Heritage Sites in South Africa

struggle. These Centres could be new establishments, or already-identified liberation heritage sites that could easily serve the purpose of collecting, storing, exhibiting and displaying, and distributing (to other liberation heritage sites) relevant liberation history artefacts and archival material (photographs, documents, etc.).

Appendix 1

Appendix 1

Selection criteria for Grade 1 (National) Heritage Sites

Grade 1 Heritage Resources are heritage resources with qualities so exceptional that they are of special national significance which applies to any heritage resource which is:

1. Of outstanding significance in terms of one or more of the criteria set out in Section 3(3) of the National Heritage Resources Act, that is:
 - (a) its importance in the community, or pattern of South Africa's history;
 - (b) its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;
 - (c) its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;
 - (d) its importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of South Africa's natural or cultural places or objects;
 - (e) its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group;
 - (f) its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period;
 - (g) its strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;
 - (h) its strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in the history of South Africa; and
 - (i) sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa.
2. Authentic in terms of design, materials, workmanship or setting; and is of such universal value and symbolic importance that it can promote human understanding and contribute to nation-building, and its loss would significantly diminish the national heritage.

Appendix 2

Appendix 2

Selection criteria for World Heritage Sites

The following are the criteria for selection of World Heritage Sites of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO):

- i. to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- ii. to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
- iii. to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared;
- iv. to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
- v. to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
- vi. to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
- vii. to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
- viii. to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
- ix. to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
- x. to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

The protection, management, authenticity and integrity of properties are also important considerations.

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