

# The National Liberation Heritage Route

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## Introduction

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 latter's 33<sup>rd</sup> 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 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 Bisho 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 Liberation Heritage Route, 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 carried high the banner through unprecedented international solidarity.<sup>1</sup> 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, and 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 research for the National Liberation Heritage Route is being 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 is 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 current focus of the research is on five provinces: the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and North-West Provinces. The starting point of the research has been the history of the struggle for liberation. The research methodology includes 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 is 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 presently under way is 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, the houses and gravesites of key individuals in the liberation struggle, freedom trails, and other sites memorialising significant acts of repression and/or popular resistance. For the purpose of the research, the history of the liberation struggle was divided into three phases: (1) the wars of resistance

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

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 1959; and (3) the liberation struggle from 1960 to 1994. Due to time constraints, the focus here is on the first and last phases. In addition, the period 1990-1994 in the last phase is excluded, as are the numerous sites where armed actions of the liberation movements occurred in the period 1980-1990.

## **The liberation struggle and heritage sites, 1652-1910**

In the first phase, the focus is on the Khoikhoi wars of resistance in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the slave revolts in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and organised political resistance in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> 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, Isandlwane, Rorke's Drift and Ulundi, the Langalibalele revolt and the Bambhata rebellion in KwaZulu-Natal; and the various wars of resistance of the Bapedi, Venda, Ndebele, Tsonga and Bagananwa during the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Limpopo Province.

### ***The Khoikhoi Wars of Resistance in the Western Cape***

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 Khoikhoi in the Cape Peninsula consisted of three communities: the Goringhaiqua, the Gorachouqua and the Goringhaikona, which together were between 45,000 and 200,000 people in the mid-1600s. The commander of the new arrivals, Jan van Riebeeck, granted land to nine company employees along the Liesbeck River, thereby encroaching on land which the Khoikhoi used for grazing. The Khoikhoi responded by breaking down the hedges the Dutch built to exclude the Khoikhoi and their livestock from this area. The first Khoi-Dutch war broke out in 1659 when the Dutch accused the Khoikhoi of harbouring runaway slaves the settlers had brought in to work on their farms. The war, which ended in 1660 and drew in the Goreinghaikona under their leader Autshumato, the Goringhaiqua under Gogosa and Doman, and the Gorachouqua, took the form of a guerrilla war in which the Khoikhoi stole the settlers' plough-oxen and attacked farms. The war ended when the Khoikhoi requested a truce.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> S. Mati, "Western Cape Historical Narrative: Khoi Wars of Resistance to 1910", draft paper prepared for the *Unsung heroes and Heroines Project*, 2013.

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.<sup>3</sup>

### ***The slave revolts in the Cape***

The first group of 174 Angolan slaves was brought to the settlement in the Cape on the 28 March 1658, followed by another group of 228 originally from Dahomey (now Benin) on 6 May 1658. Thereafter, slaves were brought to the Cape from Bengal, the Malabar and Coromandel coasts of India, Ceylon, the Indonesian archipelago, Mozambique, Mauritius and Madagascar. In January 1766, one group of slaves mutinied while being transported on the slave ship *Meermin* from Madagascar to the Cape. The slaves, led by Massavana and Koesaaij, overpowered the crew and ordered the ship to turn back to their homeland. However, the crew successfully deceived them and headed for Struisbaai in the Cape Colony, where a militia of settler farmers eventually forced them to surrender.<sup>4</sup>

In October 1808, a group of slaves led by Louis of Mauritius and four other slaves initiated an uprising. The plan was to march from the rural districts all the way to Cape Town, gathering slaves on the way, where 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 mobilizing slaves on the farm Vogelgevang north of Malmesbury. By the time the group reached Salt River, they had grown into a group 350 strong. At Salt River they were met by detachments of infantry and cavalry and the group surrendered without a fight.<sup>5</sup>

In February 1825, a second slave uprising was initiated on the Houdenbek farm at the foot of the Koue Bokkeveld Mountains. A slave by the name of Galant and a Khoikhoi labourer by the name of Isaac Thys led a group of twelve slaves and Khoisan labourers in an attack on the farm. They killed the farmer and two other people before escaping into the surrounding

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> "1808: The Day Cape Town was turned Upside Down", Iziko Museums of Cape Town. 16 October 2008. <http://www.iziko.org.za>; P.T. Mellet, "Two world events that influenced the Cape slave uprising. Cape Slavery Heritage: Slavery and Creolisation in Cape Town. [cape-slavery-heritage.iblog.co.za](http://cape-slavery-heritage.iblog.co.za); P.T. Mellet, Cape Slavery Heritage: Slavery and Creolisation in Cape Town. [blogs.24.com](http://blogs.24.com). Cited in Mati, "Western Cape Historical Narrative", 2013.

mountains. A slave woman raised the alarm, and a commando was despatched from Cape Town and captured Galant and his supporters on a cave near the banks of the Sand River.<sup>6</sup>

### ***Organised political opposition in the Western Cape***

The late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> 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 emphasised 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, and 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.<sup>7</sup>

### ***Western Cape Heritage sites for the period***

Some of the potential liberation heritage sites that are linked to the first phase of the liberation struggle in the Western Cape include the area along the Liesbeeck River, which is the location of the first Khoikhoi resistance against land dispossession, Struisbaai, where the Dutch East India Company slave ship *Meerman* anchored with slave mutineers on board, Vogelgezang Farm, the Houdenbek Farm and the first slave church, St Stephen’s D.R. Church. Some of the key personalities associated with this phase in the Western Cape around which heritage sites could be developed include Krotoa, South Africa’s pioneer diplomat and linguist, Autshumato, leader of the Goringhaikona Khoikhoi, Doman, leader of the Goringhaiqua Khoikhoi, Massavana and Koesaaij of Madagascar and the *Meermin* slave mutineers, Abdullah ibn Kadi [Qadri] Abdus Salaam [Tuan Guru], Louis of Mauritius, Galant of the Cape, David Stuurman, the last Chief of the Khoikhoi, and Abdullah Abdurahman.

### ***Xhosa Wars of Dispossession***<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, in the Eastern Cape contact between the white settlers and the indigenous isiXhosa prompted another wave of wars of resistance from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The very first phase of resistance, known as the Wars of Dispossession or the Hundred Years War

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<sup>6</sup> Mati, ‘Western Cape Historical Narrative’, 2013.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> This sub-section is taken from J. Peires and D. Webb, ‘National Liberation Route – Sites Associated with Unsung Heroes and Heroines in the Eastern Cape’, draft paper prepared for the Unsung heroes and Heroines Project, 2013.

(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.

#### *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.<sup>9</sup> 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*

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 black 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.

#### *Hintsa's War (1834-35)*

Hintsa, 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, Hintsa 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

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<sup>9</sup> J. Milton, *Edges of War. A History of Frontier Wars (1702-1878)*, Juta, Cape Town, 1983, pp. 62-63.

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 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 up then had been very successfully fighting 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.

#### *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 force 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 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 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.<sup>10</sup>

#### *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 Moshoeshe, 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, 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.

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

*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. 200 colonial soldiers encamped at Snodgrass's shop were defeated at the battle of Ngqwaru Hills on 14 November 1880.<sup>11</sup>

*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.

### ***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 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.

### ***Eastern Cape Heritage sites for the period***

In the Eastern Cape, liberation heritage sites arising from the first phase of the struggle include, among others, the San and Khoikhoi Genocide Memorial at Graaff-Reinet, the Grave of Sarah Baartman, who came to symbolise the fate of indigenous women under colonialism, the Egazini memorial in Grahamstown, King Hintsa's Grave, Fort Hare (remains of fort and graves), four sites associated with the War of Ngcayechibi, including Sandile's Grave at Isidenge, and sites associated with the Sotho Gun War and the Mpondomise and Thembuland rebellions (including Hope's Grave at Sulenkama). Other key individuals around which liberation heritage sites could be developed include John Tengo Jabavu, founder of the first independently-owned Black newspaper, *Imvo Zabanstundu*, and political leader in the late nineteenth century, who is buried in the King William's Town cemetery.

### ***Wars of resistance in KwaZulu-Natal***

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

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<sup>11</sup> 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).

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. Dingana 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.

### *The Battle of Blood River (Ncome)*

On 6 February 1838, two days after the signing of a negotiated land settlement deal between 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 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, as subjects of the colonial government, were subjected to colonial laws. In 1873, a situation emerged which led to the destruction of the Hlubi chiefdom under Langalibelele. 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. Langalibelele and a number of his people fled to Basutoland. After a skirmish with a large force of white volunteers and African militia,<sup>12</sup> 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 confiscated and later sold, and their cattle confiscated.<sup>13</sup> Almost 200 amaHlubi were killed during the reprisals, while the neighbouring chiefdoms that had harboured Langalibelele'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.<sup>14</sup> Langalibelele, now deposed, was captured and brought to trial. He was found guilty of treason and rebellion and banished for life to the Cape Colony.<sup>15</sup>

### *King Cetshwayo and the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879*

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

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<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> 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.

<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> Guest, 'Colonists, confederation and constitutional change', pp. 151-5.

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 the 11<sup>th</sup> of April 1877. With this act, Britain and colonial Natal conspired to annex Zululand, an action which was effected soon thereafter.<sup>16</sup>

The Zululand-Transvaal boundary dispute served as a pretext for Shepstone's proposed annexation of Zululand. In 1879, the British army invaded Zululand, was defeated at Isandhlwana, but emerged victorious at Ulundi a few months later. 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.

### *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.<sup>17</sup> There were rumours that Bambatha had held talks with King Dinizulu 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.<sup>18</sup> During the rebellion, several Europeans and over 2,300 Zulus were killed, while almost 5,000 Zulus were brought to trial. Dinizulu 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.

### ***KwaZulu-Natal Heritage sites for the period***

The main heritage sites emerging from this phase of the liberation struggle include the Ncome Museum, the Isandhlwana monument, the Ulundi Battlefield, Rorke's Drift, and the Bambhata memorial.

### ***Wars of Resistance in Limpopo***<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> N. Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835–1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand*, London, Royal Historical Society, 1978, pp. 24–46.

<sup>17</sup> T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A modern history*, Third edition, Johannesburg, MacMillan, 1987, p. 230.

<sup>18</sup> Refer to [www.sahistory.org.za/pages/library-resources/online%20books/search-freedom/chapter2.htm](http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/library-resources/online%20books/search-freedom/chapter2.htm)

<sup>19</sup> This section is edited from N. Pophiwa and L. Maaba, 'The Liberation Struggle: Limpopo', draft paper prepared for the Unsung heroes and Heroines Project, 2013.

In the Northern Transvaal, resistance to colonial occupation in the second half of the nineteenth century was a consequence of a growth in tension between polarised forces. During this period, however, individual independent tribal communities were brought under white control.

*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, the Pedi under Sekwati had almost disintegrated under the strain of internal division and the wars. The advent of the Voortrekkers in this region during the mid-1840s was soon to lead to their subjugation at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This began with the role of the boer leader, Andries Hendrick Potgieter. In 1845 Potgieter negotiated an agreement with Sekwati in which the Pedi supposedly granted land rights to the Voortrekkers.<sup>20</sup> Potgieter began to make more demands on the Pedi for labour and tribute, which then soured relations between them. An offensive was lodged by the boers on Sekwati in 1852 at Phiring. Although the siege failed the boers did capture a large quantity of Pedi cattle and goats. This prompted Sekwati to move his capital to another mountain fortress called Thaba Masego, from 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 engaged in conflict with the Transvaal Boers. This conflict was 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.<sup>21</sup> So, 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 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 to the Pedi. Thus, at the time of annexure of the Transvaal in 1877 by the British, the Pedi were still independent. It was only to be a few years later in 1879 that the British finally lodged an assault which ended Sekhukhune's rule. He was imprisoned in Pretoria.

*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 became absorbed by the Venda. In addition tsetse fly and mosquito deterred the Voortrekkers from settling in this area. Nevertheless the Venda came into contact with the Voortrekkers as labourers and traders, while some of them worked as

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<sup>20</sup> P. Maylam, *A history of the African people of South Africa: From the early iron age to the 1970s*, Croom Helm, London, 1986, p. 128.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

porters since horses and cattle could not survive the tsetse fly. First contact with the Voortrekkers came with the arrival of Louis Trichardt and Hans van Rensburg in the 1830s on the Soutpansberg area. In 1848 Andries Hendrick Potgieter settled in the region.

Khosi Makhado was regarded by the Boers as “the troublesome Venda chief” owing to his power and their inability to defeat him. In 1867 the Boers assembled an army under the command of Paul Kruger to attack the Venda. However they were defeated and retreated to Marabastad—which greatly elevated Makhado’s status. In 1895, when Makhado died from poisoning, the Boers saw an opportunity to take on the weakened Venda people in the absence of their arch rival. Internal struggles to inherit the throne between Makhado’s three sons – Maemu, Sinthumele and Mphephu – rocked the nation as they split and re-settled elsewhere with their own followers. This offered 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 following an attack in 1898 led by Commander Piet Joubert, thus signifying that the Venda had been formally subjugated by the ZAR government. Land expropriation from the Venda ensued and the people were dispossessed from the land.

*The Ndebele:* The south Ndebele, regardless of their strength, remained in the shadow of the paramount Pedi chief. They for the most part lived peacefully alongside the Boer Trekkers with a few disputes over land, labour, and taxes. The defeat of the Pedi in 1879 meant trouble for the Ndzundza as they were vulnerable to Boer rule. Under Chief Nyabela, the Ndzundza refused Boer demands for them 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 attack on them for eight months until starvation forced the Ndzundza to surrender. In 1883 the ZAR decided that the Ndebele should be dispersed throughout the Republic to prevent future resistance. Most were distributed among the Boer farmers as indentured labourers for a period of five years.<sup>22</sup>

*The Tsonga of the Gaza Empire:* Soshangana led a kingdom populated by between 500,000 and 2,000,000 subjects stretching 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 Drakensburg and Zoutpansburg, and eastern Zimbabwe in the west; a total of approximately 240,000sq km. At the height of its power in the 1850s 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.

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<sup>22</sup> 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, pp. 61-85.

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. One of the critical steps he took was to negotiate diplomatic ties with the British and Boers whom he considered to be greater threats than the Portuguese. At the same time, the latter wanted the Gaza king to reject allegiance to England and bearing 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.

Several battles are recorded, among which is the Magule war of 1895 in which the Portuguese armed forces of Captain Andrade and Couceiro were attacked on route from Lorenzo 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. 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 captured the Gaza king and in 1896 King Nghunghunyani was exiled to Portugal only to die in 1906. No chief was appointed to replace him. Gaza land was divided into districts under Portuguese rule while some parts fell into the colonies of Rhodesia and also parts of northern Transvaal which was Boer-controlled territory.

### ***Organised Political Opposition in Limpopo***

The last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought on new challenges. 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. One of the leaders in the region at the time was Sefako Mapogo Makgatho, who made his mark in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when he inspired the establishment of 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.

### ***Limpopo Heritage sites for the period***

Liberation heritage sites identified here include the battlefield where Kgosi Sekhukhune fought against the Boers and the British, the King Makhado memorial and Sefako Makgatho's grave.

## **The liberation struggle and heritage sites, 1960-1994**

This period 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. However, different parts of the country were affected by events in different ways, while each province, and areas within each province experienced the liberation struggle in different ways.

### **The 1960s**

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.<sup>23</sup> 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 *Poqo* 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.

#### *The PAC anti-pass campaign*

The first significant event in the provinces under study during the decade was the Sharpeville Massacre on 21 March. The newly-formed PAC National Executive Committee convened in Bloemfontein in December 1959 and proposed an anti-pass campaign, which was eventually set to begin on 21 March 1960. On that day thousands of volunteers around the country marched to police stations. In Paarl in the Western Cape, an anti-pass demonstration was disrupted by the police, while protestors in Stellenbosch and Somerset West were baton-charged by the police and a march in Worcester was dispersed by tear gas. In Cape Town, a crowd of 5–10 000 people assembled at the Langa Flats bus terminus were fired upon and tear-gassed by police, resulting in the deaths of at least three persons.

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<sup>23</sup> The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Volume 3, Chapter 3, Regional Profile: Natal and KwaZulu*, 29 October 1998, p. 164. Available at [www.info.gov.za/otherdocs/2003/trc/](http://www.info.gov.za/otherdocs/2003/trc/).

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 black 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. Hundreds of heavily armed troops cordoned off Langa, Nyanga East and Nyanga West. On 30 March, about 30 000 people marched to the city centre and converged on the Caledon Square police station to mark their opposition to the pass laws and detention of local leaders. The march was dispersed after the promise of a meeting 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 violence. This was followed by a wave of arrests that decimated the PAC.

Meanwhile, in response to the Sharpeville massacre, the ANC called for a day of mourning set for the 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 the 30 March the government declared a state of emergency. Over 2,000 people were detained in the following days, and on the 8 April the government banned the ANC and PAC.<sup>24</sup>

#### *The Pondoland revolt*

Opposition to the imposition of tribal authorities and self-government of the Transkei in 1960 led to the Pondoland revolt in the Eastern Cape. At a protest gathering in Bizana, Saul Mabude, a member of the tribal authority was called to explain the Act to the people. His refusal to address the group led to an attack on his house and livestock. A number of people were arrested, leading to a number of similar attacks. Meetings were banned, and the resisters met secretly on mountain ridges and formed a movement known as *Intaba* (Mountain). On the 6<sup>th</sup> of June police helicopters dropped teargas on a gathering on Ngquza Hill. This was followed with open fire on the crowd and eleven people were killed. Police presence in the area was increased and a commission of inquiry was appointed. The findings of the commission were rejected and the struggle was intensified. Taxes were not paid and white traders were boycotted. The government declared a state of emergency in November 1960, and thousands of people were detained without being charged or tried. Between August and October 1961, 30 people were sentenced to death for their participation in the revolt.<sup>25</sup>

#### *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

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<sup>24</sup> 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, p. 69.

<sup>25</sup> [www.sahistoryonline.org.za](http://www.sahistoryonline.org.za).

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.<sup>26</sup>

Once the decision was taken to form MK, a National High Command was formed consisting of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo and Raymond Mhlaba. Regional high commands were set up in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Durban. The initial Eastern Cape Regional High Command consisted of Vuyisile Mini, Diliza Khayingo, Zinakile Mkaba and Kholisile Mdwayi. During the period after the first MK actions on 16 December 1961, the MK units in the Eastern Cape carried out 35 per cent of the 200 acts of sabotage during the course of the sabotage campaign. Three of the four members of the Eastern Cape Regional Command – Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayingo and Zinakile Mkaba – were executed in 1964 following their conviction on charges of sabotage and conspiracy to murder.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly, in Natal the sabotage campaign 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, while some died in detention or were hanged for their activities. The regional high command in Natal consisted of Ronnie Kasrils, Bruno Mtolo, Eric Mtshali, Curnick Ndlovu and Billy Nair. The Natal region carried out more than 30 acts of sabotage in and around Durban. 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, and sentenced to years' of imprisonment for sabotage.<sup>28</sup>

In the Western Cape, the regional high command of MK consisted of Gayika Tshawe, Solwandle (Looksmart) Ngudle, Elijah Loza, Mountain Qumbela and Felinyaniso Njamela. Cape Town was the scene of 35 MK attacks, the highest in the country after the Eastern Cape. MK recruits underwent military training in December 1962 at a farm in Mamre. 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.<sup>29</sup> MK commander Looksmart Khulile Ngudle died in detention on the night of 4/5 September in Pretoria.

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<sup>26</sup> Magubane et al., 'The Turn to Armed Struggle', pp. 80–81.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114–125.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103–113.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94–103.

### *PAC/Poqo activities*

After the PAC was banned, the decision to turn to armed struggle was taken at a conference held in Maseru in September 1961. *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. On 16 March 1962, *Poqo* members, armed with stones, petrol bombs and bricks, stormed two police vans on patrol killing one policeman. Five *Poqo* members were sentenced to death for this action. This was followed by a number of other attacks on individuals and sabotage attacks in which numerous *Poqo* members were sentenced to death and hanged.

On 21 November 1962, over 200 *Poqo* members from Mbekweni, Paarl, armed with axes, pangas, sticks, sabres and a few revolvers gathered and split into two groups; one to attack the prison and the other the police station. Two white people were killed, and the final death toll was seven, including five *Poqo* members. Close to 400 Paarl residents were arrested or detained and at least six separate trials involving 75 people resulted. 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. Of a total of about seventy-one PAC members executed throughout the country between 1962 and 1967, at least twenty-one came from the western Cape, eighteen from Paarl and three from Langa.<sup>30</sup>

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.<sup>31</sup>

### *The activities of other organisations*

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, and dissident members of the Transvaal ANC Youth League (ANCYL) and the Trotskyist Social League of Africa (SLA). In late 1961, the ARM carried out a small number of acts of sabotage in the Johannesburg area. The successful destruction of five pylons in the week of June 18 1963, three around Cape Town and two in the Johannesburg area, was the high point of the ARM. 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,

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<sup>30</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5: Regional Profile: Western Cape*, p. 401.

<sup>31</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 2, Chapter 4, The Liberation Movements from 1960-1990*, p. 414.

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.<sup>32</sup>

The African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA) was active in the Western Cape, Natal and the Transkei. APDUSA had its basis in the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), and was launched in Cape Town in April 1962. In the Western Cape, APDUSA had branches in Cape Town, Paarl, and Wellington, drawing support in other Boland towns such as Stellenbosch, Franschhoek and Pniell Natal, Branches were formed in Pietermaritzburg, Durban and Dundee. However, the NEUM was caught up in the country-wide wave of arrests of political activists that took place from mid-1964. Virtually all the executive members of the NEUM, AAC and APDUSA were served with five-year banning orders during this period. Several leading NEUM members fled into exile, where they changed the name of the organisation to the New Unity Movement of South Africa.<sup>33</sup>

In the Western Cape, intellectual Neville Alexander was behind the formation of the Yu Chi Chan Club (YCCC) in July 1962 to promote guerrilla warfare, and subsequently founded the National Liberation Front (NLF). 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. Alexander and four other members of the YCCC and NLF were sentenced to ten years imprisonment.

In 1958, Imam Haron and other Muslim elites established the Claremont Muslim Youth Association (CMYA) in Cape Town as a radical youth movement committed to raising social and religious consciousness along the lines of the Muslim Brotherhood theology. The advocacy of a radical theology-cum-ideology 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 concluded with a call for Muslims to take a stand against apartheid in a statement entitled, 'The Call of Islam.'<sup>34</sup> Imam Haron was detained on 28 May 1969, and was found dead on 27 September after 122 days in detention.

### *The Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns*

In August 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

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<sup>32</sup> 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, pp. 209-255.

<sup>3333</sup> 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, pp. 319-339.

<sup>34</sup> 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.

Detachment) was to forge a way to South Africa whilst another established a transit base in eastern Rhodesia. The Luthuli Detachment included well-known MK cadres from the Eastern Cape such as Mongameli Johnson Tshali, J.J. Goniwe, Gandhi Hlekani, L.T. Melani and B.S. Ngalo; Justice Mpanza and Daluxolo Luthuli from Natal; Alfred Willie, James April and Basil February from the Western Cape; Radilori John Moumakwe from the North-West province; and Lawrence Phokanoka from Limpopo. Cadres from these provinces also participated in the Sipolilo Campaign, which followed in late 1967 as another attempt to infiltrate through Rhodesia.

### *The South African Students' Organisation (SASO)<sup>35</sup>*

In the 1960s, black students based at universities were members of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), which was predominantly white in membership. However, in July 1967, discontent with NUSAS flared into the open at the conference held at Rhodes University because African delegates were forced to sleep 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 left for a conference of the University Christian Movement (UCM) where he canvassed support for the formation of an organisation that would represent the interests of Africans, Indian and coloured students.

The South African Students' Organisation (SASO) espoused the philosophy of Black Consciousness, which addressed the psychological oppression and the daily experience of racism of black people. Biko was elected first president of SASO at its inaugural conference at Turfloop in July 1969. Other students from the University of Natal elected into the leadership include Aubrey Mokoape, Vuyelwa Mashalaba and J. Goolam. Indian students at what later became known as the University of Durban-Westville gravitated towards the new student movement. Saths Cooper and Strini Moodley were elected into the leadership of SASO at its inaugural conference. At the University of Zululand, prominent student leaders that joined SASO when it was formed included Mthuli Shezi, Alex Mhlongo, Mosibudi Mangena and Sipho Buthelezi – and, later, Welile Nhlapo, Siphwe Nyanda and Ziba Jiyane. Henry Isaacs, 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.

### *Heritage sites for the 1960s*

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<sup>35</sup> 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*, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 2006, pp. 99-159.

Liberation heritage sites identified for the period include the hostel where Philip Kgosana lived and the memorial for the killings at Langa in 1960, and the Mamre training camp in the Western Cape; the KwaMuhle Museum which is housed in the former premises of Durban's Native Affairs Department and the Mandela Monument where Nelson Mandela was arrested on August 5, 1962, in KwaZulu-Natal; the 1960 Ngquza Hill Massacre Memorial, the Emlotheni Memorial Park commemorating the MK cadres hanged in 1964, the Washington Mpumelelo Bongco Memorial in Fort Beaufort, the Tele Bridge and Matatiele routes into exile and the Cradock Flame of Hope and Liberation commemorating veterans of the Wankie Campaign from Cradock in the Eastern Cape; and the Zeerust Railway station from where many cadres were met on their way into exile, the Zeerust/Mafikeng and Rustenburg route into exile, the Vryburg, Kuruman to Kimberley route to Botswana, and Moses Kotane's house in the North-West.

Prominent individuals around which liberation heritage sites have or could be developed include: Annie Silinga, Dora Tamane, Ray Simons, Sonia Bunting, Looksmart Ngudle, and Basil February in the Western Cape; and Chief Albert Luthuli, Johnny Makatini, Dr. Monty Naicker, Moses Mabhida, Dorothy Nyembe, Eleanor Kasrils, Joe Mkhwanazi, Rusty Bernstein, and Rowley Arenstein in KwaZulu-Natal.

### **The 1970s**

From the late 1960s, a process began inside the country which saw a revival of internal resistance, which was followed by a resurgence of the activities of the ANC Mission-in-Exile from 1974. The liberation of Angola and Mozambique in 1974, and the Soweto uprising two years later added impetus to the struggle waged by organisations led from both inside and outside the country.

#### *The Black Consciousness Movement*

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. Events in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique had a radicalising effect on the BCM and signalled that important changes were occurring. 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 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 – most later charged with treason.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

On 12 September 1977, Steve Biko died in police custody as a result of a brain injury, after being beaten and tortured and then driven naked in a state of unconsciousness from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria. Between April and November 1977, a further 18 people died while being held in police detention for political offences. On 19 October, the government outlawed all BCM organisations, sending it into a virtual coma from which it never fully recovered. After the banning of 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.

### *Durban strikes*

The Durban strikes of 1973 marked a turning point in the history of political resistance in the province, as well as the country as a whole. With wages practically frozen for over a decade, the growing poverty in the cities – and therefore also in the rural areas where families 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 early in January 1973, and then spread to Johannesburg and other industrial centres in the country. 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. 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. Numerous trade unions for Africans were established in major centres throughout the rest of the decade.<sup>37</sup>

### *The Natal Indian Congress (NIC)*

The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) was revived in 1971 at a meeting held at Bolton Hall in Prince Edward Street, Durban, on the 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 (SAIC) in the 1950s under the leadership of Dr Monty Naicker. The NIC had become dormant in the mid-1960s when state repression intensified. Its leadership was banned and some members went into exile. Leading the move to re-launch the NIC was Mewa Ramgobin and his wife, Ela Gandhi. Towards the close of the decade, young NIC 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.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> J. Sithole and S. Ndlovu, 'The revival of the labour movement, 1970-1980', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 2006, pp. 189-190.

<sup>38</sup> Refer to U. Duphelia-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, 1970-1980*, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 2006, pp. 883-899.

## *Inkatha*

In 1975, the Inkatha Cultural Liberation Movement was revived, marking a new era in the province's political life. The formation of Inkatha had the approval of the ANC, because the new movement appeared to offer access to rural areas. Initially, Inkatha placed itself squarely within the political tradition of the ANC's founding fathers. However, political animosity between BC-aligned youths and Bantustan officialdom assumed violent proportions at the funeral of Robert Sobukwe in Graaff-Reinet in March 1978. Buthelezi was asked to leave the funeral. 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. 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 its belief in revolutionary change. The ANC subsequently severed ties with Inkatha.<sup>39</sup>

## *The Soweto uprising*

At a national level, the second half of the 1970s was shaped by the events and consequences of Soweto 1976. 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. On June 16 1976, after the Department enforced Afrikaans as the medium of instruction at selected higher primary and junior secondary schools, 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 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.<sup>40</sup> During the first three months, the protests, now involving adults, had spread to every province, with the official death toll estimated at 294.

The 1976 revolt 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. The ripple effect of the 1976 uprising extended to the Boland towns in September. The rural towns which featured prominently were Oudtshoorn, George, Mossel Bay, Stellenbosch, and Paarl. The South African Institute of

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<sup>39</sup> Refer to J. Sithole, 'Neither communists nor saboteurs: KwaZulu Bantustan politics', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 2006, pp. 805-845.

<sup>40</sup> Refer to S. Ndlovu, 'The Soweto Uprising: Soweto', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 2006, pp. 326-350.

Race Relations gives the final death toll in the Western Cape for 11 August 1976 to 28 February 1977 as 153. The Cillie Commission puts the figure at 149.<sup>41</sup>

While it took some time for the full impact to be felt in Natal, 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.<sup>42</sup>

In Lebowa in present-day Limpopo Province, school unrest was reported to have occurred during June—August 1976, and the following areas were affected: Bohlabela, Bakenburg, Bochum, Kone-Kwena, Mahwelereng, Mankweng, Nebo, Polokwane, Ramokgopa and Sekhukhuni. In most of these incidents, property was reported to have been damaged. Students from urban areas who were sent by their parents to finish schooling in what they thought was the relatively quiet area of Lebowa are thought to have brought a political influence into Lebowa. Lebowa schools which were involved in different forms of protest include the Pax College students, Motse-Maria High School for girls and Setotolwane College. Such institutions pledged solidarity with Soweto students. To counteract the student activities, the Lebowa government banned all urban students from being admitted to its schools.<sup>43</sup>

#### *Clashes with the 'witdoeke' in Nyanga Township*

In October 1976, township youth launched a campaign against shebeens, perceiving these to be symbols of oppression. Youth clashed violently with shebeen owners and with the police. In December youth activists announced that festive activities over the Christmas period would be limited and instead a period of mourning for those killed during the Soweto uprising would be implemented. Migrant workers residing in the townships rejected this call. Over Christmas 1976, Nyanga hostel-dwellers violently resisted attempts by township youth to enforce participation in stayaways, liquor boycotts and memorials. Over a three-day period, hostel-dwellers wearing white 'doeks' (head cloths) moved into Nyanga, burning homes and attacking residents. Approximately twenty-four people were killed (thirteen according to the police), 106 were wounded and at least 186 homes were burnt.<sup>44</sup>

#### *Deaths in detention*

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<sup>41</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5*, pp. 414-5.

<sup>42</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3*, p. 172.

<sup>43</sup> S. Mathabatha, 'The 1976 Student Revolts and the Schools in Lebowa, 1970-1976', *South African Historical Journal*, 51, 2004, pp. 108-129.

<sup>44</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5*, p. 414.

Twenty-nine people died in detention during the 1970s across the country. Three were from the Western Cape. 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 sixty five days in detention. Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau employee Luke Mazwembe in the Caledon Square police headquarters in Cape Town.<sup>45</sup> Four people died in Natal prisons. PAC member Aaron Khoza was detained in Krugersdorp on 9 December 1976, subsequently moved to Pietermaritzburg prison, where he died on 26 March 1977. ANC member Joseph Mdluli died in detention on 19 March 1976, just a day after his arrest. Dr Hoosen Mia Haffajee, a 26-year-old dentist, died in detention at the Brighton Beach police station on 3 August 1977. The fourth person to die in detention in Natal was Bayempini Mzizi, an underground ANC operative.<sup>46</sup> Black Consciousness Movement leader Mapetla Mohapi, from the Eastern Cape, was detained without charge on 16 July 1976, and, twenty days later, on 5 August 1976, he died in police custody. George Botha was detained in Port Elizabeth on 10 December 1976 and died in the Sanlam Building five days later. Steve Biko was arrested, tortured and killed by apartheid security policemen in 1977. He was buried on the 17 September 1977 in the old cemetery in Ginsberg. Mzukisi Melvin Nobadula was detained and appeared in the Grahamstown Supreme Court on a case against PEBCO leader Mr Thozamile Botha and two others. He died in a Port Elizabeth prison in December 1977.

#### *ANC military actions*

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. Skirmishes between guerrilla fighters and members of the security forces were also reported in this period. In one such skirmish near Pongola in November 1977, a guerrilla fighter was killed and a policeman injured. Several armed incursions were carried out in the Ngwavuma area between 1977 and 1980, with some of the MK units that were infiltrated into the area becoming involved in shoot-outs with security forces. Some of the operatives moved further south to Nongoma and Vryheid, where arms caches were buried.<sup>47</sup>

On 10 March 1978, a bomb exploded at the Bantu Affairs Administration building in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. Two days before, a first bomb exploded prematurely in Cawood Street in the commercial area of Port Elizabeth, killing the cadre carrying it.<sup>48</sup> Several intermittent incidents of sabotage by the ANC took place in the Western Cape during this period, targeting buildings containing the offices of state institutions and resulting in one

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<sup>45</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5*, pp. 411-3.

<sup>46</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3*, pp. 178-180.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.

<sup>48</sup> J. Cherry, *Umkhonto Wesizwe*, Jacana, Auckland Park, 2012, pp. 53-54; J. Cherry, 'No Easy Road to Truth: The TRC in the Eastern Cape', Paper presented at the Wits History Workshop Conference, June 1999, pp. 1, 3.

death and several slight injuries. The only conviction during this period was that of MK operative Oliver Bekizitha Nqubelani, arrested the day after a bomb explosion at the Cape Town Supreme Court on 15 May 1979.<sup>49</sup>

Witkleigat, a village in the far north of the Hurutshe Reserve in the North-West Province, was the scene of a clash between MK forces and the security forces in April 1976. A well-armed MK unit infiltrated from abroad camped on a hilltop close to the village of Witkleigat. A military helicopter spotted the unit, and soon afterwards security forces arrived and fighting broke out.<sup>50</sup>

#### *The revival of the PAC underground*

The PAC internal underground was revived in the mid-1970s and initially centred on Johannesburg and Pretoria. 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. In the Western Cape, Clarence Makwethu and Mckay Maboza emerge as the leading forces behind the revival of the underground. The PAC underground was smashed when the police arrested scores of people from early 1976. In January 1978, 18 people were tried at Bethal. 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.<sup>51</sup>

#### *Assassinations carried out by the Security Police*

A number of prominent community leaders and activists were targeted for attack during this period. Many of these attacks were attributed to the covert operations of the security police. Onkgopotse Abram Tiro, from Dinokana in the North-West Province, made a famous speech at the University of the North graduation ceremony for which he was expelled in 1972. In late 1973 he went to Botswana. On 1 February 1974, Tiro was killed by a parcel bomb. Durban academic Fatima Meer's home was petrol-bombed in 1977. Meer had been the target of another attack the previous year, when a caller knocked at the door and started firing when it was opened. Shortly after this incident, an unknown person fired on Harold Strachan at his home in Durban. University of Natal political scientist Dr Richard 'Rick' Turner was fatally shot soon after midnight on 8 January 1978 at his home in Bellair, Durban.

#### *Heritage sites for the 1970s*

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<sup>49</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5*, p. 417.

<sup>50</sup> Pophiwa and Maaba, 'The Liberation Struggle: Limpopo'.

<sup>51</sup> T. ka Plaatjie, 'The PAC's internal underground activities', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 2006, p. 685ff.

Liberation heritage sites identified for the period include the University of the Western Cape; the grave of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, the cell in Kei Road Police Station where Mapetla Mohapi died, the Steve Biko Garden of Remembrance and Grave, and Biko's house in the Eastern Cape; Onkgopotse Abram Tiro's Grave and the hill in Witkleigat in the North-West. Prominent individuals around which liberation heritage sites have or could be developed include: Elijah Loza in the Western cape; Fatima Meer, Joseph Mdluli, Rick Turner, Hoosen Hafajee, Vish Supersadt, Mewa Ramgobin, George Sewpersadt, and Harry Gwala in KwaZulu-Natal; and Flag Boshielo, Petrus Nchabaleng and John Nkadimeng in Limpopo Province.

### **The 1980s**

The liberation struggle literally exploded during this decade, with thousands of activists participating in the activities of hundreds of organisations, the emergence of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum (NF) to coordinate resistance inside the country, a surge in ANC political and armed struggle, intensified state repression and violence, and numerous incidents of internecine violence between political organisations (so-called political violence). Because the events, individuals and organisations are too numerous to cover in detail, the focus here is on significant events and processes that give rise to relevant liberation heritage sites.

#### *Assassinations carried out by the Security Police*

Among the MK operatives targeted for assassination during the early 1980s was 'MK Scorpion', Oupa Ronald Madondo, killed in Northern Natal in April 1980. 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. In 1985 unknown gunmen killed his wife Victoria. She was shot and axed to death outside her Umlazi home in Durban on 1 August 1985. On 29 March 1988, Dulcie September from the Western Cape, who was at the time the ANC chief representative in France, was assassinated in Paris. She died instantly when hit by a volley of five bullets fired at close range. Her murder was never uncovered, but there is strong suspicion of apartheid security force involvement.

#### *Deaths in detention*

In KwaZulu-Natal, 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. Lamontville UDF activist Bongani Cele was taken into detention and on 9 July 1987 his family was informed that he had been shot dead by police officers allegedly acting in self-defence.

Peter Nchabeleng met his untimely death after he was detained in the former Lebowa Bantustan in the current Limpopo province on April 10, 1986. He was killed by the Lebowa police the following day. In March 1986, members of the Matema Youth Congress in

Limpopo gathered at a local soccer field for a disciplinary hearing of one of their members. The security branch descended on the scene and ordered the youth to disperse. One of the policemen fired at the youth, wounding two of them, including Solly Matshumane. Matshumane was among the youth detained, and he later died in police custody.<sup>52</sup>

### *The United Democratic Front*

The national launch of the UDF was held in Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, on 20 August. It was a spectacular success, attended by a crowd variously estimated at between six and fifteen thousand people.

### *Political violence*

In KwaZulu and Natal this period was dominated by conflict between the UDF and Inkatha, the key sites of which were conflict in Durban townships resisting incorporation into KwaZulu; struggles surrounding the imposition of black local authorities; clashes between members of the Inkatha-aligned trade union and COSATU affiliates, and offensives by 'Caprivi trainees'. 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), south of Empangeni. The clash was triggered when students opposed an attempt by Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to use the campus for a ceremony to commemorate the death of King Cetshwayo.<sup>53</sup>

The South African Defence Force clandestinely provided paramilitary training to some 200 Inkatha supporters in the Caprivi, Namibia, during 1986, in what became known as Operation Marion.<sup>54</sup> The 'Caprivi trainees' returned to KwaZulu and Natal in September 1986, and were variously deployed around the province. Some were responsible for the killing on 21 January 1987 of thirteen people, mostly women and children, in an AK-47 attack on the home of UDF leader Bheki Ntuli in the KwaMakhutha township south of Durban.<sup>55</sup> From February 1989, literally hundreds of attacks were launched against UDF people, property or homes by 'Caprivi trainees' based at the Mpumalanga police station in KwaZulu-Natal.

*The Summertime House Attack:* About 300 people were gathered at a house named 'Summertime' in Unit 1 South Mpumalanga on 18 January 1988 when they were attacked by AK-wielding 'Caprivi trainees', resulting in the death of nine people.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Pophiwa and Maaba, 'The Liberation Struggle: Limpopo'.

<sup>53</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3*, p. 190.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 225-6.

*Assassinations:* 'Caprivi trainees' also carried out a number of assassinations in the region. These include Bhekuyiswe Khumalo of Mamba Valley Riverside in the Inanda District, who was killed on 5 April 1987; Zazi Khuzwayo, a member of the Clermont Advisory Board, who was killed on 9 May 1987; Pearl Tshabalala, a prominent businesswoman and member of a women's organisation which supported the Clermont Advisory Board, who was killed on 10 February 1988; Nicholas Mkhize, who was killed on 15 July 1988; and Emmanuel Norman Khuzwayo, who was also opposed to the incorporation of Clermont into KwaZulu, and was killed on 28 February 1988.<sup>57</sup>

*The Umlazi Cinema Massacre:* A memorial service for Victoria Mxenge was held in the Umlazi Cinema on 8 August 1985. During the service, hundreds of men armed with assegais, knobkerries and firearms burst into the cinema and began stabbing and shooting randomly. Seventeen people died in the incident.<sup>58</sup>

*The Sarmcol Strike:* In 1985, Sarmcol workers from the township of Mphophomeni, near Howick in the Natal Midlands, went on strike in support of demands for recognition of their union, the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). Three days later, management dismissed the striking workers and replaced them with scab labour from the Inkatha strongholds of Elandskop and surrounding areas. On 5 December 1986, Inkatha held a rally in the Mphophomeni community hall attended by approximately 200 supporters. On leaving the hall, they spread out throughout the township, assaulting residents and damaging property. Four prominent MAWU members were abducted, and three subsequently killed.<sup>59</sup>

*The Midlands war:* After the strike and killings of COSATU members in Mphophomeni in 1986, local areas in and around Pietermaritzburg became increasingly polarised. 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. This set the stage for a series of confrontations and murders.<sup>60</sup>

In the Western Cape, conflict emerged between opposing leadership factions in communities, which eventually culminated in clashes between UDF members and supporters of certain township leaders. In Crossroads, for example, the initial conflict in 1983 was between the UDF-aligned Johnson Ngxobongwana and another community leader, Memani.<sup>61</sup> Subsequent efforts by the state to commence removals from Crossroads to Khayelitsha in February 1985 were met with an outbreak of street resistance and clashes

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 227-8.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 238-9.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 239-240.

<sup>61</sup> J. Seekings, 'The United Democratic Front in Cape Town, 1983-1986', in South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), (eds.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990*, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 2010, p. 534.

with police in which at least eighteen people were killed and about 250 injured in the Crossroads/Nyanga area in three days.<sup>62</sup>

### *Security force violence*

*The Mdantsane bus boycott:* In 1983, Mdantsane residents in the Eastern Cape mobilised around the issue of bus fare increases and organized a lengthy bus boycott of a bus company owned by the Ciskei. Ciskei Police reacted harshly, and in trying to prevent commuters making use of the train at Egerton station, opened fire, killing 11 people.<sup>63</sup>

*The Langa Massacre:* On the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, on 21 March 1985, apartheid policemen opened fire on innocent people on their way to a funeral in Langa, Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape. The police asserted that 17 people were killed and 19 wounded, while residents in the townships maintained that police had killed as many as 43 persons.<sup>64</sup>

*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 in Natal where he was assassinated by members of Vlakpaas and the Jozini Security Branch.<sup>65</sup>

*The Bongoletu Three shooting in Oudsthoorn:* On 17 June 1985, three children, Andile Majola, Fezile Hanse and Patrick Madikane, were shot dead at the house of a black security policeman by members of the Riot Unit.<sup>66</sup>

*The Cradock Four:* 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.<sup>67</sup>

*The PEBCO Three:* On 8 May 1985, four leaders of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) – Siphon Hashe, Qaqawuli Godolozu 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 disused Post Chalmers police station outside Cradock where they were killed.<sup>68</sup>

*The 1985 Pollsmoor march and aftermath:* In the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape murders of the Cradock Four in 1985 launched the Peninsula into widespread revolt. On 19 July, following a commemoration service for the Cradock Four at UWC, at least eleven people

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<sup>62</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5*, p. 420.

<sup>63</sup> Peires and Webb, 'National Liberation Route'; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, Regional Profile: Eastern Cape*, p. 80.

<sup>64</sup> Peires and Webb, 'National Liberation Route'; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2*, p. 85-7.

<sup>65</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3*, p. 204.

<sup>66</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5*, p. 437-8.

<sup>67</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2*, p. 116-7.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* p. 117.

were injured in Gugulethu in mass stonings of vehicles and accompanying police action. On 23 August UDF patron Dr 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, thousands of people gathered at different sites around Cape Town to march to the prison. 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 five hundred coloured schools and colleges were closed by the government. At least twenty-eight people were killed in the ensuing uproar across the Peninsula.<sup>69</sup>

*Worcester:* On 16 August 1985, student activist Nkosana Nation Bahume was shot dead by the security forces. On 30 August, the local magistrate issued restriction orders on the funeral of Bahume, who was to be buried the following day. At the funeral, police fired at mourners, killing Mbulelo Kenneth Mazula. 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.<sup>70</sup>

*Beaufort West:* On 22 January 1985, security policemen shot to death UDF and youth organiser Mandlenkosi William ‘Tshaka’ Kratshi. In October the Beaufort West inquest court found that no one was criminally responsible for Kratshi’s death. That weekend the township erupted in widespread protest in which Andile Amos Klaasen was fatally shot.<sup>71</sup>

*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.<sup>72</sup>

*Colesberg:* In July 1985 police fired on a crowd of youths killing four.<sup>73</sup>

*The Nompundulo High School Massacre:* On 23 July 1985 a protest meeting was held at Nompundulo High School in Zone 10, Zwelitsha in the Eastern Cape to force the authorities to accept a democratically elected student body. The police were called in and after the students refused to disperse the Ciskei police fired teargas and assaulted the students, which caused pandemonium. Fleeing scholars attempted to cross the Buffalo River. In doing so, at least three students drowned.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5*, p. 420-3.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 428-9.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 430-1.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 432-3.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 431.

<sup>74</sup> Peires and Webb, ‘National Liberation Route’.

*The Duncan Village Massacre:* On 11 August 1985, people were returning from Rayi village near King Williams Town, where they had attended the funeral of Victoria Mxenge. Angry mourners set alight various symbols 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. During the resistance at least 31 people were killed and many more were injured.<sup>75</sup>

*The killing of Bathandwa Ndondo:* On 24 September 1985, Bathandwa Ndondo, a former student leader at the University of the Transkei in the Eastern Cape, was arrested by police. He jumped out of the police vehicle and made for the nearest house. The police followed, shouting ‘Shoot the Dog!’, and Bathandwa perished.<sup>76</sup>

*The Trojan Horse and other ambush tactics:* 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 hundred people who had gathered around a Thornton Road intersection in Athlone in the Western Cape, killing three youths and injuring several others. This operation was repeated the following day when security force personnel drove down a road opposite Crossroads in the same truck and shot and killed two youths. Six months after the Athlone incident, on 26 March 1986, security forces concealed in a railway truck shot dead three people near Crossroads. On 29 August 1985, Riot Unit members hid in the garden of a Bellville South house, before firing at a group of people, killing a young lady.<sup>77</sup>

*Knysna:* Seventeen-year-old Goodman Tatasi Xokiso was shot dead by police in street clashes at Knysna in March 1986.<sup>78</sup>

*George:* In February 1986, three youths were shot dead by police during street protests. This was followed by the ‘necklace’ killing of an employee of the Development Board seen as responsible for the forced removals. On 3 March 1986, Oudtshoorn activist Nkosinathi Hlazo was shot dead by policemen.<sup>79</sup>

*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. The youths were lured to the site by aksaris where they were assassinated.<sup>80</sup>

*The Winterveld Massacre:* On March 12, 1986, the Bophuthatswana police opened fire on a 5,000-10,000 strong crowd gathered at the City Rocks sports ground in Winterveld in the current Limpopo Province, killing eleven people and injuring 200. The City Rocks meeting was called by the youths to discuss detentions, police brutality and rent hikes. It was alleged

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<sup>75</sup> Buffalo City, ‘Buffalo City Heritage Site’, 2.

<sup>76</sup> Peires and Webb, ‘National Liberation Route’.

<sup>77</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5*, p. 435-6.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 431.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 451-3.

that the police had killed fifty people in the Winterveld area and detained and tortured approximately 500.<sup>81</sup>

*The Alexandria Three:* In KwaNonkqubela Township, Alexandria in the Eastern Cape, three youths were gunned down on 23 May 1986 during youth anti-apartheid demonstrations.<sup>82</sup>

*The Queenstown Massacre:* The Mlungisi community of Queenstown in the Eastern Cape mobilised in 1985 to oppose the Community Councils initiated by P.W. Botha. 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 were killed.<sup>83</sup>

*The Middelburg Three:* On 18 April 1986, apartheid forces in Middelburg in the Eastern Cape 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.<sup>84</sup>

*The Hankey Massacre:* Six members of the Hankey Youth Congress were shot dead by state security agents at Hankey in the Eastern Cape on International Workers Day in May 1986.<sup>85</sup>

*The Chesterville Four:* Vlakplaas operatives killed four members of the Chesterville Youth Organisation in an undercover operation using askaris in May/June 1986.<sup>86</sup>

*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.<sup>87</sup>

*Killings during Moutse resistance to independence:* Resistance struggles took place in areas such as Moutse near Groblersdal in the Limpopo Province against incorporation into the then KwaNdebele homeland in 1986. The killing of Moutse residents continued unabated with the South African Defence Force and a vigilante group formed by the homeland security forces, Mbokodo, playing a role in the atrocities. Skirmishes between the police and the youth of Motetema, a township just outside Groblersdal, at the end of March 1986 led to the death of about ten youngsters.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 6, Regional Profile: Transvaal*, p. 639.

<sup>82</sup> Peires and Webb, 'National Liberation Route'.

<sup>83</sup> Chris Hani District Municipality, *Liberation Heritage Route*, 28.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>85</sup> Peires and Webb, 'National Liberation Route'; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2*, p. 92.

<sup>86</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3*, p. 202.

<sup>87</sup> *Loc.cit.*

<sup>88</sup> Pophiwa and Maaba, 'The Liberation Struggle: Limpopo'.

*The Molteno killings:* A total of eleven community activists were killed by apartheid forces between 12 August 1985 and 13 November 1993 in Molteno in the Eastern Cape.<sup>89</sup>

*The Ikusasa Lethu (Burgersdorp) killings:* Six youth activists were killed by apartheid state police during the period between 1985 and 1993 in Burgersdorp in the Eastern Cape. Mpumelelo Mfundisi, a pupil at the Solanga Higher Primary School, was shot dead by police while protesting against the then Mzamomhle mayor on 11 October 1985. Police shot dead Xolekile Mokheseng during a protest against police patrols in townships on 7 March 1986. Nowinki Mpoza and Nomathemba Lengs were killed on 16 June 1986.<sup>90</sup>

*The Trust Feed massacre:* In KwaZulu-Natal, in the early hours of 3 December 1988, gunmen opened fire on a house in the Trust Feed community, near New Hanover, killing eleven people and wounding two. The victims had been attending a night vigil following the death of a relative. Seven serving and former members of the SAP subsequently stood trial on eleven counts of murder and eight of attempted murder.

*MK cadres killed by security forces in Natal:* In May 1987, a group of C-Section 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 the liaison between the local and external units of MK. Phila Portia Ndwandwe (aka MK Zandile), the acting commander of MK activities between Natal and Swaziland responsible for the infiltration of ANC cadres into Natal, was killed by members of the Durban Security Force in October 1986. MK member Stanley Bhila was acquitted in the Durban trial of Dudu Buthelezi and nine others in February 1987 and killed by members of the Durban and Vlakplaas Security Branches on 18 February 1987. MK member Dion 'Charles' Cele (real name Mzimela), who was based in Swaziland and involved in smuggling arms to South Africa, was abducted from Manzini, Swaziland, in July 1987 by Security Branch members and killed at a Security Branch farm at Elandskop, Natal. Phumezo Nxiweni, a student at the University of Natal Medical School, was arrested in February 1987 in connection with two explosions in Durban during 1985. In November 1988, Nxiweni was abducted and taken to the Security Branch farm at Verulam for interrogation, where he was killed and buried. Bhekayena Raymond Mkhwanazi (MK name '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. 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.<sup>91</sup>

*MK cadres killed by security forces in the Western Cape:* At least nine MK operatives were killed in the Western Cape between 1986 and early 1990, namely Norman Petersen, Zola

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<sup>89</sup> Peires and Webb, 'National Liberation Route'.

<sup>90</sup> News24, 'Activists memorial unveiled', 26 November 2001, website <http://www.news24.com/xArchive/Archive/Activist-memorial-unveiled-20011126> (site accessed 14 June 2013).

<sup>91</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3*, pp. 203-6.

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. Zola 'Jabulani' Dubeni was shot dead by members of the Security Branch on 14 March 1987. Mthetheleli Gcina was shot dead by askaris on 27 September 1988. Ashley Kriel, a young activist from Bonteheuwel who had gone into exile in 1985 and returned to the country in April 1987, was killed by security policemen at his home in Athlone on 9 July 1987. Patrick Welile 'Deks' Dakuse was shot dead by Murder and Robbery Unit members on 23 January 1989. 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. 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, while Anton Fransch died in a battle with security forces after trading gunshots and grenades for some six hours on 17 November 1989 at a house in Athlone.<sup>92</sup>

#### *Murders carried out by vigilante groups*

In KwaZulu-Natal, a vigilante group calling itself the 'A-Team' was formed to counter support for popular civic organisations in Lamontville and Chesterville in the early 1980s. On 25 April 1983, Lamontville councillor and chairperson of the Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC) Harrison Msizi Dube was shot dead after returning from a JORAC meeting. On 8 January 1987, the A-Team petrol-bombed and burnt down a number of houses belonging to UDF supporters, including the house of Musa Mdluli, killing four of his five children. In KwaMashu, the AmaSinyora gang, a group of Inkatha-supporting vigilantes based in K Section, KwaMashu, north of Durban, was set up in 1987 to oppose UDF-aligned activists in the township.<sup>93</sup>

Similarly, in the Western Cape a group (the 'witdoeke') led by Crossroads leader Johnson Ngxobongwana, who had increasingly distanced himself from the UDF, engaged in conflict with UDF-aligned youths (the 'comrades') from 1985 on. In the clashes in 1985 at least seven people were killed and many injured on both sides, while hundreds of activists fled the area and 70,000 people were turned into refugees. On the night of 25 May 1986 a carload of youngsters was stopped at a witdoek roadblock, and two youths who had been abducted were hacked to death. 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 Portland Cement, making 30,000 people homeless. On the morning of Monday 9 June groups of witdoeke attacked KTC informal settlement, setting

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<sup>92</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5*, pp. 450-9.

<sup>93</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 3*, pp. 208-213.

light to shacks over three days in an effort to destroy the settlement. A total of over 65 persons died in the two attacks and up to 60,000 were made homeless.<sup>94</sup>

In Limpopo Province, clashes between the youth and the Sofasonke organisation formed by members of the older generation in Lebowa from 1986 on resulted in numerous deaths.<sup>95</sup>

#### *Heritage sites for the 1980s*

Heritage sites identified for this period include the graves of Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge at Rayi, just outside King William's Town, the Cradock Four Memorial, Post Chalmers (the Abandoned police station on the R 61 between Cradock and Graaff-Reinet, where the PEBCO Three were killed), the Ndongo Assassination Site, the Duncan Village Massacre Memorial, the Alexandria Three Memorial, the Langa Massacre Memorial, the Nompandolo High School Massacre Memorial, the Hankey Massacre Heroes Memorial, the Heroes Park Molteno, the Ikusasa Lethu Memorial (Burgersdorp Heroes Memorial), the Queenstown Massacre Memorial, and the Middelburg Three Monument in the Eastern Cape; the Chesterville Four Memorial, the Quarry Road Four Memorial, the Midlands War Memorial, and the Trust Feed Massacre Memorial in KwaZulu-Natal; the Women's Tour and "Journey of Remembrance" in Cape Town, the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, the Luxurama Theatre (Wynberg), 146 Church Street (the house where Anton Fransch was killed), the Gugulethu 7 Memorial, the Trojan Horse Mural, the Bongoletu Three Memorial, Khayelisha Remembrance Square and Nelson Mandela's house in Victor Verster prison in the Western Cape; the grave of Peter Nchabaleng, the grave of Peter Mokaba, the grave of Solly Matshumane and the Winterveld Massacre Memorial in Limpopo Province; and the Huhudi Township Memorial and the Mmabatho Stadium, site of the coup of 1988 in the North-West Province.

## **Conclusion**

The liberation struggle has given rise to hundreds of heritage sites throughout the country, which together form the basis of local, municipal, 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, massacres, freedom trails, significant military confrontations between guerrillas and security forces, graves of freedom fighters, houses of significant leaders, significant buildings 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 epitomizes these events. Examples here include the many communities that experienced years of extensive repression and

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<sup>94</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Report, Volume 3, Chapter 5*, pp. 464-8.

<sup>95</sup> Pophiwa and Maaba, 'The Liberation Struggle: Limpopo'.

resistance which have no heritage site memorializing 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 16<sup>th</sup> uprising in places like Cape Town which drew in thousands of activists over wide geographical spaces and resulted in the deaths of many.

The relatively small number of interviews and workshops the research team has conducted has given rise to two suggestions of relevance here. The first is to create a series of liberation struggle memorials throughout the country consisting of plaques that contain the history of resistance and repression in that community 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. The second suggestion that emerges from the interviews and workshops is the establishment of Centres of Memory in each Province and/or major city that serve both as repositories and resource centres for memory on the liberation struggle. These Centres could be new establishments, or an already identified liberation heritage site that can easily serve the purpose of collecting, storing, exhibiting and distributing (to other provincial or local liberation heritage sites) relevant liberation history archival material (photographs, documents, etc.).

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