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Human Sciences
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**DEMOCRACY, GOVERNANCE
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(DGSD)**

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HSRC SEMINAR

**Documenting the legacy of the South African Liberation
Struggle: The National Liberation Heritage Route**

9 October 2013

Introduction

- The South African National Heritage Council (NHC) initiated the Liberation Heritage Route (LHR) project as part of the legacy of the liberation struggle.
- The LHR is intended to consist of a series of heritage sites that express the key aspects of the South African liberation experience and will be submitted to UNESCO for consideration as a World Heritage Site.
- The DGSD team of the HSRC has been commissioned to conduct research with the intention of identifying new liberation heritage sites and developing the supportive narratives for these sites.
- The narrative is based on the history of the liberation struggle.
- The 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.

The key phases of the liberation struggle

- The first phase of the liberation struggle is the period from first contact between the European settlers and the indigenous population until the formation of Union in 1910 which focuses on the wars of resistance from the 17th century and the formation of political organisation following the colonisation of indigenous populations.
- The second phase is from 1910 to 1959/60, which focuses on the period of resistance characterised by peaceful methods such as delegations, as well as spontaneous uprisings.
- The third phase from 1960 to 1994 is shaped by the turn to armed struggle and the intensification of repression and the liberation struggle thereafter.

Main elements of the first phase of the struggle

In the first phase, the focus is on:

- (1) the Khoikhoi wars of resistance in the 17th and 18th centuries, the slave revolts in the early 19th century, and organised political resistance in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the current Western Cape Province;
- (2) 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;
- (3) the Battles of Ncome, Isandlwane, Rorke's Drift and Ulundi, the Langalibalele revolt and the Bambhata rebellion in KwaZulu-Natal;
- (4) the various wars of resistance of the Bapedi, Venda, Ndebele, Tsonga and Bagananwa during the 19th century in the Limpopo Province; and
- (5) the anti-colonial resistance of the Bathaping, Batharo and Tshidi-Barolong BaTswana 'tribes' from the mid-19th century in the North-West province.

Heritage sites for this phase

Some of the key heritage sites identified for this period are:

- (1) 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 in the Western Cape;
- (2) the San and Khoikhoi Genocide Memorial at Graaff-Reinet, the Egazini memorial in Grahamstown, King Hintsa's Grave, Fort Hare (remains of fort and graves), and four sites associated with the War of Ngcayechibi, including Sandile's Grave at Isidenge in the Eastern Cape;
- (3) the Ncome Museum, the Isandlwana monument, the Ulundi Battlefield, Rorke's Drift, and the Bambhata memorial in KwaZulu-Natal; and
- (4) the battlefield where Kgosi Sekhukhune fought against the Boers and the British, the King Makhado memorial and Sefako Makgatho's grave in Limpopo Province.

The *Meermin* was a ship of this type



Ncome Museum and Monument



Main elements of the second phase of the struggle, 1910-1960

In this phase the focus is on:

- (1) the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 and the Native Land Bill of 1912 and resistance to these;
- (2) the key organisations and their leadership in this phase – e.g. the South African Native National Congress (SANNC – later the ANC), the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), the All-Africa Convention, the New Unity Movement, the ANC Youth League, the Congress Alliance, and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC);
- (3) the main campaigns of the period – e.g. the women's anti-pass campaigns of 1913 and 1918, the campaign against the Hertzog Bills, the Anti-CAD Campaign, the Indian Passive Resistance Campaign, the Defiance Campaign, the Bantu Education Campaign, and the Freedom Charter Campaign; and
- (4) the significant massacres/acts of resistance during the period – e.g. the Bulhoek Massacre, the struggles against betterment schemes and the Bantu Authorities, the Sekhukhuniland Revolt, and the anti-pass revolt in Zeerust.

Heritage sites for this phase

Heritage sites in this phase are developed around:

- (1) Key individuals – e.g. James M. Thaele, Archibald Campbell Mzolisa Jordan, Annie Silinga (grave site), Isaac Bangani Tabata, James la Guma and Dora Tamana in the Western Cape; D.D.T. Jabavu (Jabavu House) and Reverend James Calata (Calata House) in the Eastern Cape; and Mahatma Gandhi (Gandhi Memorial), Josiah Gumede and Allison George Champion in KwaZulu-Natal;
- (2) Historical meeting places – e.g, the Hertzog church in the Kat River settlement and the Muslim Hall in Korsten in the Eastern Cape; Lakhani Chambers and the Bantu Social Centre in KwaZulu-Natal; the Anglican Church in Zeerust where protestors sought refuge; and
- (3) Key events – e.g. the Bulhoek Massacre memorial, the Qhetho Village memorial for the struggle against the betterment scheme in the Eastern Cape; the Bell Street Togat Barracks in KwaZulu-Natal to memorialise labour action; the Sekhukhuniland Revolt in Limpopo province; and the Zeerust revolt.

Anglican Church in Zeerust where protestors sought refuge



Main elements of the 1960s phase of the struggle

In this phase of the struggle, the focus is on:

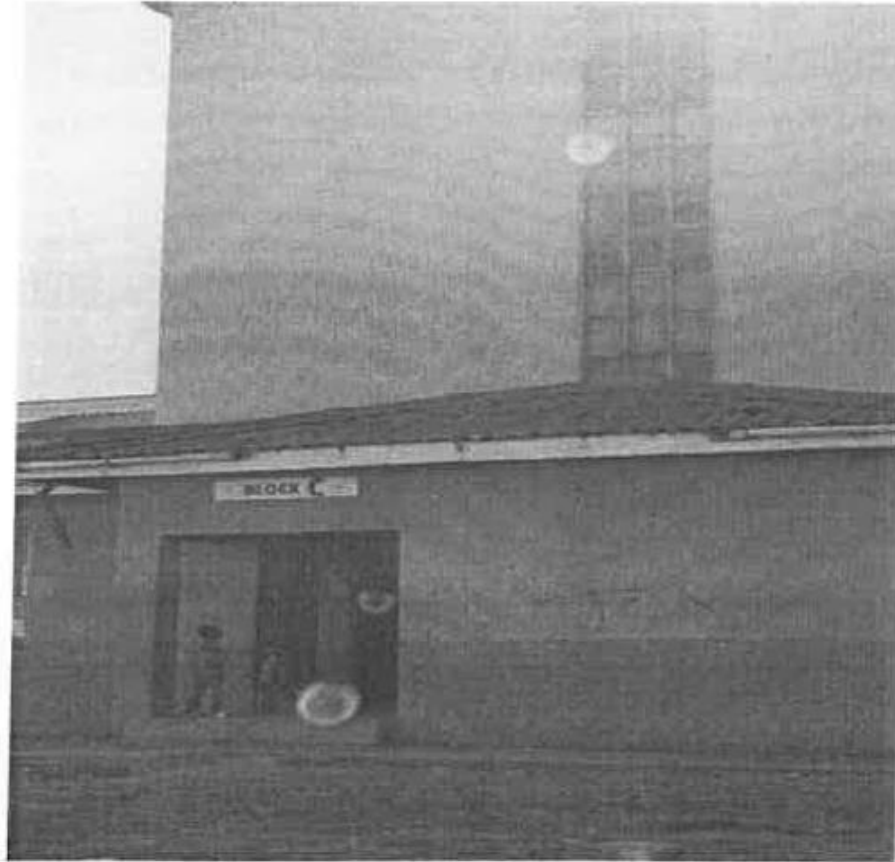
- (1) The PAC anti-pass campaign;
- (2) The Pondoland revolt;
- (3) The ANC's turn to armed struggle and the sabotage campaign;
- (4) PAC/Poqo activities;
- (5) The activities of other organisations such as the African Resistance Movement, the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa; the Yu Chi Chan Club and the National Liberation Front, and the Claremont Muslim Youth Association;
- (6) The ANC's Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns
- (7) The formation of the South African Students' Organisation.

Heritage sites for this phase

Some of the key heritage sites identified for this period are:

- (1) 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;
- (2) 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;
- (3) 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
- (4) 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.

Memorial for the killings at Langa in 1960



The scene where Jacob Zuma was arrested



Main elements of the 1970s phase of the struggle

In this phase of the struggle, the focus is on:

- (1) The Black Consciousness Movement and the Azanian People's Organisation;
- (2) Durban strikes;
- (3) The Natal Indian Congress;
- (4) Inkatha;
- (5) The Soweto uprising;
- (6) Deaths in detention;
- (7) Assassinations carried out by the Security Police;
- (8) ANC military actions; and
- (9) The revival of the PAC underground.

Heritage sites for this phase

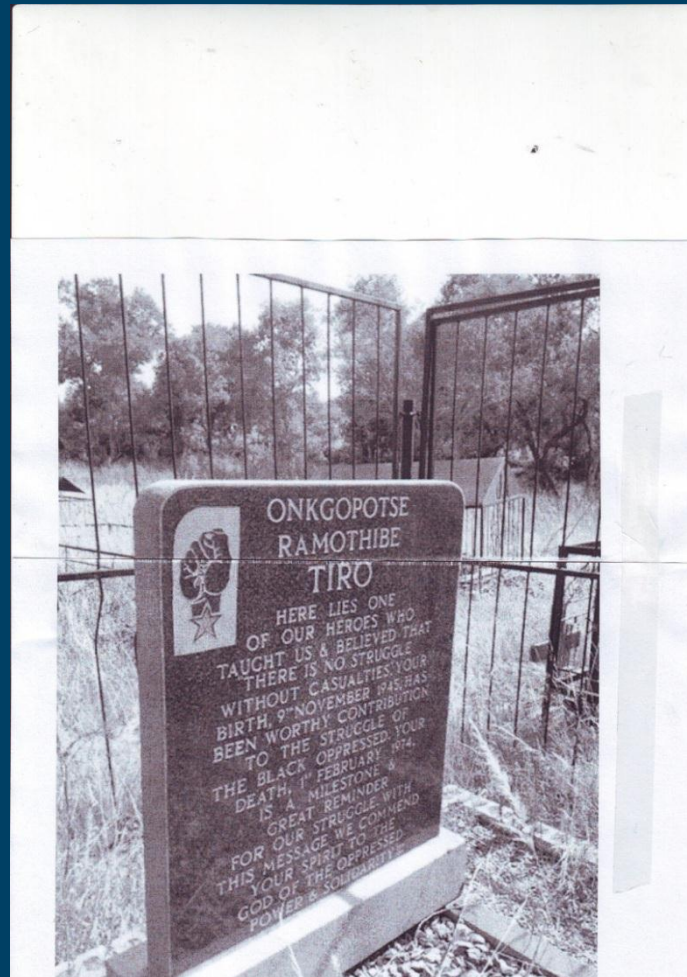
Some of the key heritage sites identified for this period are:

- (1) 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; Bolton Hall and Curries Fountain in KZN; Onkgopotse Abram Tiro's Grave and the hill in Witkleigat in the North-West where MK combatants confronted the apartheid security forces.

Other prominent individuals around which liberation heritage sites have or could be developed include:

- (1) 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.

Onkgopotse Abram Tiro's Grave, Dinokana



Main elements of the 1980s phase of the struggle

In this phase of the struggle, the focus is on:

- (1) The assassinations carried out by the security police;
- (2) Deaths in detention;
- (3) The formation of the United Democratic Front and National Forum;
- (4) Political violence;
- (5) Security force violence;
- (6) Murders carried out by vigilante groups; and
- (7) Armed actions of the liberation movements.

Heritage sites for this phase

Some of the key heritage sites identified for this period are:

- (1) The graves of Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge at Rayi, the Cradock Four Memorial, the Ndondo 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 Burgersdorp Heroes Memorial, the Queenstown Massacre Memorial, and the Middelburg Three Monument in the Eastern Cape;
- (2) the Chesterville Four Memorial, the Quarry Road Four Memorial, the Midlands War Memorial, and the Trust Feed Massacre Memorial in KwaZulu-Natal;
- (3) the Women's Tour and "Journey of Remembrance" in Cape Town, the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plain,, 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;
- (4) the grave of Peter Nchabaleng, the grave of Peter Mokaba, the grave of Solly Matshumane and the Winterveld Massacre Memorial in Limpopo Province; and
- (5) the Huhudi Township Memorial and the Mmabatho Stadium, site of the coup of 1988 in the North-West Province.

Rocklands Civic Centre – launch of UDF



The site of the Winterville Massacre



Main elements of the 1990s phase of the struggle

In this phase of the struggle, the focus is on:

- (1) Political violence;
- (2) Security force violence;
- (3) Murders carried out by vigilante groups;
- (4) The civic movement inter-organisational violence;
- (5) Activities of Self-Defence and Self-Protection Units;
- (6) The activities of APLA; and
- (7) Various popular campaigns and significant events of repression.

Heritage sites for this phase

Some of the key heritage sites identified for this period are:

- (1) The Port Elizabeth Northern Areas Uprising Memorial, and the Bisho Massacre Memorial and Graves of Bisho Massacre Victims, in the Eastern Cape;
- (2) The Seven Day War and Nquthu massacre memorial in KwaZulu-Natal; and
- (3) Mmabatho Stadium, site of the 1994 coup in the North-West Province.

Conclusion

- The liberation struggle has given rise to hundreds of heritage sites throughout the country.
- Many of the sites have a specific geographical location and/or structure(s), while many others do not.
- There are many events that cover a wide geographical area such that no single site or structure can be identified that epitomizes these events, such as the June 16th uprising in places like Cape Town which drew in thousands of activists over wide geographical spaces and resulted in the deaths of many.
- There is thus a need 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 (e.g. the Midlands War in Vulindlela) and/or of the event(s) being memorialised (e.g. the 1976 uprising in Cape Town), as well as the list of names of people who died during that event or series of events.
- In addition, Centres of Memory or Reflection should be created in each Province and/or major city that serve both as repositories and resource centres for memory on the liberation struggle.

END

Thank you