



**CHRIS HANI**  
DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

**CHRIS HANI DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY**

*Liberation Heritage*

**Route**



# Acknowledgements

## Photographic credits:

page: Walter and Albertina Sisulu. Blue Portraits by Reiner Leist. 1991, [www.anc.org.za/people/sisulu](http://www.anc.org.za/people/sisulu)

page: Mongezi Feza. Whitebicycles: making music in the 1960s. J. Boyd. 2005. serpents Tail, London.

page: Because they chose the plan of God: The Story of the Bulhoek Massacre. Robert Edgar. 1988. Ravan Press (Pty) Ltd. Johannesburg.

page: Calata pic. An Alternative Struggle. P.T. Mtuze. 2007. Vivlia Publishers. SA.

page: Olive Schreiner. Ruth First and Ann Scott. 1980. The Women's Press. London.

page: The world that made Mandela. Luli Callinicos. 2000. STE Publishers. Johannesburg.

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# Message from the Executive Mayor of the Chris Hani District Municipality Councillor Mafuza Sigabi



It is a fact that the history of our liberation struggle is not yet thoroughly written. The Eastern Cape has always been in the forefront of the struggle, but our place in the written record barely reflects our contribution. When we look at the Chris Hani District Municipality area specifically, we find only isolated patches of documentation while the information stored in the memories of our people remains untapped. And yet we have a liberation heritage of national, indeed continental significance. It is for this reason that we resolved to undertake the construction of a Liberation Heritage Route. This Icon Site Guide is your introduction not only to that route, but also to the people and the places of the Chris Hani District Municipality.

Chris Hani District Municipality is named after the hero, born in our District, who was Chief of Staff of Umkhonto Wesizwe, a leader of the armed struggle but also a leader in negotiation and national reconciliation. Our district has indeed supplied its share of the National Giants of the Liberation Struggle. Walter Sisulu was born here. Nelson Mandela was educated here. And, from 1940 to 1949, both the President of the ANC – Dr AB Xuma of Ngcobo – and its Secretary-General – Reverend James Calata of Cradock – were sons of the Chris Hani District.

But the strength of a District lies not only in its National Giants and not only in its heroes of the recent past. In almost every small town and remote rural area of the Chris Hani District, one finds traces of the Local Heroes and Heroines who

made the ultimate sacrifice – they gave their lives – in the fight for freedom. Most of them do not feature in any history book, they lie in humble graves, but their sacrifice was a great and their struggle as significant as any of the National Giants whose achievements are recognized and celebrated nationwide. This book is about them too. It is about the heroic traditional leaders such as Langa Mgudlwa and Stokwe Ndlela who died on the frontline resisting colonialism during the Wars of Dispossession in the Nineteenth Century. It is about women as well as men, from Queen Nonesi of the abaThembu who was exiled in 1868 to Nonqaba Ngetu, the learner shot dead at the Old Zola Clinic in Tarkastad in 1985. The liberation struggle belongs to all of us and we have Icon Sites from the white and coloured communities as well as the black community, and from all the different tendencies within the liberation movement: ANC, PAC and Unity Movement.

The Icon Sites have been arranged along Routes for your convenience, and each Route can be travelled in a single day. But your journey will be much more meaningful if you regard each Icon Site as an invitation to get out of your vehicle and engage with the ordinary residents of the Chris Hani District. You will find them hospitable, welcoming and proud to share their Liberation Heritage with you.

In conclusion, I need to thank our partners in the Liberation Heritage Route: the National Heritage Council and the Eastern Cape Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture. I must also thank the Mayors of our Local Municipalities – Emalahleni, Inkwanca, Intsika Yethu, Inxuba Yethemba, Lukhanji, Ngcobo, Sakhisizwe and Tsolwana. Thanks are also due to our Principal Researchers, Vuyani Mqingwana and Jeff Peires, who wrote the text, and to Katie Farrington, who took the photographs and prepared the layout. Above all, thanks to our Liberation Heritage Route Steering Committees, to our Community Facilitators and to our communities themselves. Without you, none of this would have been possible.



# What is an Icon?

The struggle for liberation in South Africa goes back a number of centuries from the earliest contact between black and white; and the centuries of struggle mainly against land dispossession. The struggle moved from armed resistance to the use of non-violent means. In the early 1960s, because of white herrenvolkist intransigence, the struggle reverted to armed resistance. The struggle was largely against racism and colonialism – and can therefore be regarded as a struggle for human rights. The icons of the struggle, that is, those individuals and physical and spiritual beacons which marked the route to freedom, identified by the people themselves, compose the Chris Hani District Municipality Liberation Heritage Route.

The identification process involved community participation through the organisation of meetings, under the leadership of Local Municipality Steering Committees and Community Facilitators appointed by the LM specifically to facilitate the LHR project. It was important that each Steering Committee should be chaired by the Mayor. Meetings were representative of all stakeholders; and there was provision for the co-opting of people with special skills. The whole process was informed by the democratic culture of inclusiveness so that no person or organisation could feel left out. Facilitators were informed of the political and community endorsements of the Liberation Heritage sites.

The existence of liberation heritage sites, just like the heritage icons, was not spread evenly in the District. Some LMs had more heritage sites and icons than others. It was also important for logistical purposes to provisionally place some ceiling on the number of heritage icons that an LM could identify. The Technical Team (TT) avoided interfering with the process of liberation heritage icon identification so as to ensure that the ownership of the process remained in the hands of local communities.

The TT was always conscious of the fact their task was not to come up with a detailed and verified struggle history but with a landscape that would highlight the beacons of the struggle. It was the hope of the TT that a verified and extensive historical account would await later projects either by the District Municipality or by other institutions. Once the icons had been identified, the TT, together with the Community Facilitators, visited all the icons sites to gather more information through interviews and to take photos of the sites. The final icon texts were approved by the Reference Group – the Stakeholder Forum which advises the District Municipality in respect of the Liberation Heritage Route - ON 30 JUNE 2008 (We should be so lucky! ) Hold off finalizing this sentence until I get back to you.

# Regional map

# Key for sites on the map

## Calata Route

- 1 Calata House
- 2 Cradock Four Grave
- 3 Flame of Hope and Liberation
- 4 Olive Schreiner House
- 5 Skweyiya Church
- 6 Middelburg Three
  
- 7 Heroes Park
- 8 Nomonde Graves
- 9 Ethiopian Church
- 10 Old Apostolic Church
- 11 Esigingqini
- 12 Higher Mission School
- 13 Stone of Remembrance
  
- 14 Home Isolation Circle & old Zola Clinic
- 15 Assassination of Headman Thembilizwe Dywasha
- 16 Godfrey Ngqendesha House
- 17 Majola Mlungwana House

## Sisulu Route

- 18 Ilinge Resettlement
- 19 Mongezi Fezi
- 20 Ezibeleni Resettlement
- 21 Queenstown Station Shootings
- 22 Queenstown Massacre
- 23 James Cooke, Peter Botha & Ashley Wyngaard
- 24 Sada Resettlement
- 25 Bulhoek Massacre - 1921

Other Sisulu icons included in Calata and Ndondo Routes

## Ndondo Route

- 26 Graves of Qonda Hoho and Luvuyo Lerumo
- 27 Maqashu Village
- 28 Nonesi
- 29 Wycliffe Tsotsi Law Offices
  
- 30 Elliot Five
- 31 Bathandwa Ndondo Assassination Site
- 32 Mnxe Location
- 33 Phumezo Nxiweni
- 34 Traditional Leaders: Stokwe Ndlela and Gecelo
  
- 35 Ngcobo Traditional Leasers
- 36 Walter Sisulu Birthplace
- 37 ANC Veterans
- 38 Dr A.B. Xuma Birthplace
- 39 Clarkebury Institution
  
- 40 Sabelele
- 41 Vuyisile Mini
- 42 Ngqwaru Hills
- 43 Qitsi
- 44 Graves of Thobile Dyantyi & Balisani Trom
- 45 Qamata
- 46 Ntlonze
- 47 Hohita



# Historical Context

The balanced and accurate History of the Chris Hani District Municipality area has yet to be written. This Icon Site Guide can only provide a taste of the richness of that History, more especially its Liberation History. We believe that each of the Icon Sites has its own story to tell, and that interested visitors will gain a deeper appreciation by an interaction with one or two Icon Sites than by a dry summary of the chronology of events.

Nevertheless, events never occur in isolation and readers may find this Historical Context a useful aid to understanding the background and the inter-relationships of the different Icon Sites of the Chris Hani District Municipality area.

## Earliest inhabitants

The earliest inhabitants of the CHDM area were the abaThwa, also known as the San, or in colonial parlance, the Bushmen. Rock art sites may be found throughout the District from Cradock to Ngcobo and, although detailed archaeological investigations are yet to be initiated, comparable data from the neighbouring Ukhahlamba District, indicates that the abaThwa occupation goes back more than 20,000 years. Independent bands of abaThwa roamed the mountains well into the 19th Century. Vrolyk, the last abaThwa chief of the Stormberg mountains, died with his people in a cave besieged by angry farmers but the date remains unknown. The last known chief of the abaThwa in CHDM was Madolo who lived in a cave on the White Kei river and died about 1867.

The Great Place of the abaThembu kings was situated on the Mgwali river near the present Clarkebury mission. Branches of abaThembu known to reside within the CHDM area before 1900 include amaTshatshu, amaNdungwana, amaGcina, amaQwathi and amaZima. AmaGcaleka were also present along the Kei River. AbaThembu movement westwards accelerated during the 1820s under pressure from the Mfecane disturbances especially amaBhaca. Due to this pressure, the Great Place of the Thembu under Queen Nonesi and King Mtirkrakra relocated to Rodana during the 1840s.

## Colonial Presence

Afrikaans-speaking farmers moved eastwards and established on the Klaas Smits river about 1780. The Black Kei river was recognized as the boundary between black and white until 1847, and a border post was established near the gate of the present Tsolwana nature reserve in 1836. Maphasa, the chief of amaTshatshu, joined in the War of the Axe (1846-7) and the War of Mlanjeni (1850-3). This was used by the Colonial government under Sir Harry Smith and Sir George Cathcart as a justification for the annexation of Thembu territory, leading to the establishment of the towns of Whittlesea (1848) and Queenstown (1852).

Thembu people affected by the colonial settlement regrouped in Glen Grey District under the leadership of Queen Nonesi (Icon #). Colonial pressure continued, resulting in the Nongqawuse cattle-killing episode of 1856-7, which was followed by the expulsion of King Sarhili of amaGcaleka (Icon #) from his land. Queen Nonesi resisted moving to the land vacated by Sarhili, for which resistance she was deported in 1864, but four chiefs did cross into this territory which was renamed Emigrant Thembuland.

## Thembuland Rebellion (1880)

Thembu King Ngangelizwe – living outside the Chris Hani DM area – accepted colonial authority in 1875, and the colonialists therefore assumed that the Thembu chiefs under Ngangelizwe had submitted likewise. They appointed Magistrates at Ngcobo and Southeyville (Lubisi), who instructed the chiefs to collect hut tax. In 1880, Lesotho rebelled against colonial rule, followed by Sotho chief Makoai in Maluti, Mpondomise chief Mhlontlo in Qumbu, and Qwathi chief Dalasile in Ngcobo. Thembu were victorious at the Battle of Ngqwarhu Hills (Icon #), but colonial firepower was decisive in the end. Chiefs Langa Mgudlwa (Icon #) and Stokwe Ndlela (Icon #) were killed, and much of their land was given to white farmers, especially around Elliot.

## High Colonial Period

Thembuland Rebellion concluded the resistance of traditional leaders to colonial expansion. Traditional African societies could not hope to match the military firepower of colonial army, and henceforth new kinds of weapons would be needed. Mission stations such as Shiloh, Kamastone and Clarkebury (Icon #) had been founded in the CHDM area, and these schools capacitated the new generation of formally educated nationalists. Early educated leaders such as Meshach Pelem of Queenstown, although critical of local settlers, still hoped to secure justice from the government of Great Britain. WP Schreiner, the white MP for Queenstown and brother of Olive Schreiner (Icon #), led the African delegation to London in 1909 to protest against the racist constitution of the new Union of South Africa. But in vain. Mass resistance in those days was only able to express itself through the medium of religion. One example was the prophet, Enoch Mgijima, who became a minister of the black American Church of God and the Saints of Christ. Enoch attracted crowds from all over South Africa to his church at Ntabelanga. He refused to disperse his followers when ordered to do so by the army, resulting in the Bulhoek Massacre of 1921. (Icon #)

## Origins of the National Liberation Movements

Few people today realize just how difficult it was for a black person to achieve an equal education under colonial conditions (Icon #). In 1912, the year in which the African National Congress was founded, there was only one school in the entire South Africa that offered black people a complete secondary education (Lovedale in Alice) and not one of the three universities in the so-called liberal Cape Province would admit a black student. Black students seeking tertiary education were obliged to study overseas. One of the first black graduates to place his education in the service of the people was Dr AB Xuma of Ngcobo (Icon #) who began to rebuild the ANC when he became President in 1940, with the able assistance of Anglican Reverend JM Calata of Cradock as his Secretary-General. (Icon #).

At this point in time, the ANC was not yet a dominant political force. Other tendencies in the Liberation Movement included the All Africa Convention, later

known as the Unity Movement, which was especially strong among teachers and lawyers as personified by its president WM Tsotsi (Icon #). The ANC only became pre-eminent among the liberation movements once it had adopted the militant programme of the ANC Youth League headed by Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, who took over from Calata as Secretary-General in 1949 (Icon #). The focus of the ANC's national campaigns concentrated on the towns, as is exemplified by the life of Vuyisile Mini (Icon #) who grew up in Tsomo but was forced by poverty to work in Port Elizabeth where his struggle participation was consequently located.

## Rural Struggles

The rural struggles of the 1950s were provoked by the imposition of the Trust, also known as 'rehabilitation' or 'betterment.' Originally conceived in the 1940s as a voluntary soil conservation scheme, the Trust became the means by which the apartheid state intensified its control of the black rural areas, concentrating the existing population into closer settlements in order to make room for urban blacks due for forced removal from 'white' South Africa. The Trust also served the purposes of a new class of chiefs who were determined to utilize the apartheid Bantu Authorities to enhance their power. Foremost among these was Chief KD Matanzima, based in Qamata (Icon #), who was determined to subjugate the neighbouring district of Xhalanga in order to boost his claim of being Paramount Chief of Emigrant (western) Thembuland. Resistance to betterment broke out at Emnxe Locality (Icon #) which became a scene of bitter conflict between Matanzima's supporters and the rebels who called themselves amaDyakopu, after the Jacobin revolutionaries of France.

Labour migration in much of western Thembuland was directed towards Cape Town, a stronghold of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) which had split with the ANC in 1959. PAC militants called Poqo (meaning 'pure, authentic African') retained strong links with their rural homes and took up the struggle against Bantu Authorities and the Trust. This had tragic consequences in Qitsi (Icon #) where the headman was killed in 1962. Later that year, Poqo decided to strike directly at Qamata. The first contingent was trapped by apartheid forces at Ntlonze (Icon #), the second engaged in a shootout with police at Queenstown station. (Icon #).

# The High Tide of Apartheid

Following the banning of the Liberation Movements in 1960, South African Premier Verwoerd pushed ahead with his scheme of 'Grand Apartheid,' that is the division of South Africa into unequal parts. The wealthy industrialized cities and commercial farms were assigned to whites-only, while the poverty-stricken black rural areas were sub-divided into ethnic statelets called Bantustans. Key to this vision was the ethnic cleansing of black people from so-called white South Africa, and their forced resettlement within the borders of the Bantustans. Some of the most notorious resettlements in the whole South Africa were located within the Chris Hani DM area, notably Ilinge (Icon #) and Sada (Icon#).

Worse was yet to come. In order to encourage KD Matanzima to accept Bantustan independence for the Transkei homeland, the South African government promised him the districts of Herschel and Glen Grey which had never fallen under Transkei authority. Preliminary consultations showed that the residents of these areas were opposed to incorporation in the 'independent' Transkei, but the move went ahead regardless. Tens of thousands of refugees fled these areas to settle in Ntabethemba (Icon #) and Zweledinga which were not yet independent. Matanzima's rule was especially severe in Glen Grey which he considered part of his Kingdom of Emigrant Thembuland. The Trust was again the main tool of oppression, and was rigorously applied in Maqashu (Icon #) for example.

The refugees in Ntabethemba had, however, only achieved a temporary respite. They had fled independent Transkei, but the independent Bantustan policy caught up with them when their homes were incorporated into Ciskei, made newly independent in 1981. Ciskei repression intensified after 1990 when Brigadier Oupa Gqozo became dictator, resulting in the harassment of activists (Icon #) and the murder of headmen who aligned with the ANC (Icon #).

## THE ARMED STRUGGLE and THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

On 16 December 1961, Umkhonto WeSizwe announced its existence to the world with the famous statement that 'The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit ..' The armed struggle had begun, and youth began to leave the country for military training. But it was not easy. MK and Poqo

cadres were hanged at Pretoria Central (Icons ###). The first armed attack of MK's Luthuli Brigade was repelled during the Wankie campaign of 1967, with heavy loss of life (Icons ##). MK bases in Maseru and elsewhere were targeted and massacred by the apartheid Defence Force (Icons ###). MK operatives who did succeed in entering the country were betrayed by informers or otherwise died on mission, often without greeting their families. (Icons ####).

The Armed Struggle alarmed the regime but it could not render the apartheid state ungovernable. The youth revolt that began in Soweto on 16 June 1976 reverberated throughout South Africa, including CHDM. The broad daylight murder of NGO youth activist Bathandwa Nondo in 1985 shocked the nation and triggered the demise of the hated Matanzima regime. (Icon #) The mass uprisings which followed the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983 were to a very great extent a product of the experience and the model pioneered in CHDM by Matthew Goniwe and the Cradock Four (Icon ###). All disadvantaged communities participated. (Icon #). In Queenstown (Icon #) and almost every other small town of CHDM one finds graves of local heroes who died at this time. Whites-only parks have been graced with memorials and transformed into Freedom Squares. (Icons ###).

The final phase of the Liberation Struggle was played out on negotiating tables far from the Chris Hani DM area. But let us not forget the role played by Chris Hani in bringing about the Record of Understanding of September 1992. This paved the way for the democratic election of 1994, a democratic election which Chris himself tragically never lived to see. We remember Chris Hani at Sabalele (Icon #) and we dedicate this Icon Site Guide to his memory, believing that he personifies the spirit and the heroism of the District which gave him birth.

# Calata Route





# Inxuba Yethemba Local Municipality

- 1 Calata House
- 2 Cradock Four Grave
- 3 Flame of Hope and Liberation
- 4 Olive Schreiner House
- 5 Sikweyiya Church
- 6 Middelburg Three

Below left: Site of old Cradock township, obliterated when people were moved out to Lingelihle.



## Calata House



Reverend James Calata (1895-1983) arrived in Cradock in 1928 as Minister of the St James Anglican Church. In 1930, the Cape Provincial Congress of the ANC was held in Cradock, and Calata was elected Cape Provincial President. In 1937, he was elected Secretary-General of the national ANC, a post which he held until 1949 under the Presidencies of ZR Mahabane and AB Xuma. He stepped down in 1949 to make way for Walter Sisulu but remained a member of the ANC National Executive.

By this time, the apartheid National Party had come to power, and Calata had to redouble his efforts in Cradock itself. His home was frequently raided and he himself was frequently detained. He was forbidden to work or attend gatherings, even forbidden to conduct marriages or buy communion wine! Nevertheless, he managed to take up new cases such as that of an African woman shot by a farmer while gathering prickly pear. Because

of the repression, Calata was forced to organize under cover of sports clubs and school choirs, especially the famous Congress Choir. But with the removal of the old township at Magqubeni to Lingelihle, Calata's church was pulled down. The Congress Choir was forced to change its name and to disband. Calata was accused at the Treason Trial in December 1956, and was banned following his acquittal.

Calata was politically active for more than forty years under conditions of harsh repression, yet he remained strong to the last. His power, it is remembered, came from the fact that, although a minister of religion, he always mixed closely with the people and drew his strength from them.

Calata's house, situated at No 26 Mongo Street in Lingelihle, still preserves many of the original rooms and furnishings – including his library and his private chapel – that immediately show us the nature of the man himself. It serves as an inspiration to future generations for the role that the minister played in the struggle.





SICELO MHLAULI  
BORN 25.05.1949  
DIED 28.06.1985  
REST IN PEACE  
NOBLE SON OF AFRICA

The Cradock Community and the people of S.A salute you in your heroic struggle for freedom, peace, justice and social emancipation  
Your blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom Long live the fighting spirit of our leaders

IN LIVING MEMORY OF OUR DEAREST

FORT CALATA	MATTHEW GONIWE
BORN 05.11.1956	BORN 27.12.1947
DIED 28.06.1985	DIED 28.06.1985
REST IN PEACE	REST IN PEACE
NOBLE SON OF AFRICA	NOBLE SON OF AFRICA

SPARROW MKONTO  
BORN 24.12.1951  
DIED 28.06.1985  
REST IN PEACE  
NOBLE SON OF AFRICA

THEIR BLOOD SHALL BEAR THE FRUITS OF FREEDOM

EVER REMEMBERED

THEIR BLOOD SHALL BEAR THE FRUITS OF FREEDOM





## Cradock Four Grave

The Cradock Residents Association (CRADORA) was founded in August 1983 to fight rent increases in Lingelihle township. Among its leaders were teachers Matthew Goniwe and Fort Calata, also Sparrow Mkonto, a railway worker. They were dismissed from their jobs and imprisoned in Pollsmoor Prison after Matthew refused an enforced transfer to Graaff-Reinet. In January 1985, scholars from all over the Eastern Cape commenced a school boycott, demanding Matthew's reinstatement, also the resignation of dummy township "Community Councillors," appointed by the PW Botha government.

Deprived of his teaching post, Matthew became a full-time organizer for the United Democratic Front (UDF). Within weeks, even small town in the Eastern Cape had its Residents Association, and its Women, Youth and Students Organisations. But apartheid had its death squads, who showed themselves in May 1985 by the kidnap and murder of Port Elizabeth Civic Organisation activists, the PEBCO Three. Matthew and his comrades continued their organizational work but on 27 June 1985, the car carrying Matthew, Fort and Sparrow, together with their comrade from Oudtshoorn, Sicelo Mhlauli, was forced off the road near Port Elizabeth. The comrades were savagely stabbed to death (55 stab wounds on the four bodies), shot, and their bodies set on fire in the burned out car. Later it was established that they were the victims of an order given by Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen that they should be 'permanently, as a matter of urgency, removed from society' (permanent uit die samelewing, as saak van dringendheid, verwyder word). The inscription on their grave, which reads: "THEIR BLOOD SHALL BEAR THE FRUITS OF FREEDOM," proved prophetic, however. Many of the other local struggles described in this Icon Guide were directly inspired by the example of CRADORA, and their legacy has indeed triumphed over that represented by Van der Westhuizen and his cohorts.

## Flame of Hope and Liberation

The 'Monument to Fallen Heroes' in the Cradock Trim Park reminds us of the great heroes of the Cradock struggle. In addition to Calata and the Cradock Four, it also memorializes four sons of Cradock who left the country in 1960 to join Umkhonto Wesizwe and who perished with the Luthuli Brigade in the Wankie Campaign of 1968: J J Goniwe, Gandhi Hlekani, LT Melani and BS Ngalo.



# Middelburg Three Monument

At 3am on 18 April 1986, apartheid forces in Middelburg attacked the home of Mlungisi Mtila, Chairperson of the Middelburg Youth Congress, in an attempt to kill him. The community launched counter-attacks on government-supporting community councillors. Papa Fikenesi, Xoli Diamond and Mpiyakhe Gwaza – known as the Middelburg Three – were killed in the fighting which ensued.



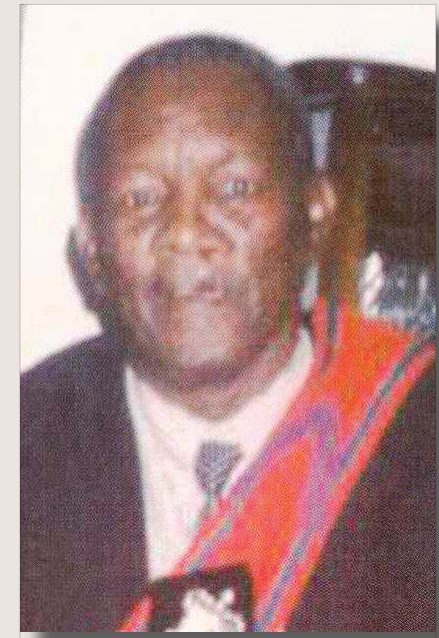


## Olive Schreiner House

Olive was born in Herschel in 1854. Due to poverty, she went out to work at the age of fourteen as a children's nanny. In her free time, she wrote the novel *Story of an African Farm* which made her famous. She visited England where she became friendly with Eleanor Marx, the daughter of Karl Marx, and other progressive thinkers and activists. In 1911, she wrote *Women and Labour*, one of the theoretical foundations of world feminism. Sadly, her personal life was tragic and her only child was stillborn. Olive's life and work can be understood from the permanent exhibition at the Schreiner House where she lived in Cradock.

## Skweyiya

Alfred Sithethi Sikweyiya (known as 'Oom Gili') was one of the unsung heroes of the Cradock struggle. Always preferring a background role and never seeking a leadership position, Skweyiya used his influence among the more conservative members of the Cradock community to mobilize their support behind the radical intellectuals and the militant youth. At that time, there was no one else who could have played that role. After the death of the Cradock Four he served as the spokesperson of the struggle organisations in Cradock. He lost his employment while detained in St Albans Prison (1986-8), and was never re-employed. Nevertheless, he continued to work tirelessly as a volunteer in community-based welfare and educational projects until the end of his days. "A selfless community leader who helped form community organisations, and used the churches for political meetings, thereby cementing ties between the churches and the community" His unique contribution to the Cradock struggle was recognised after the unbanning of the organisations when he was unanimously elected as the first chairperson of the re-established ANC. The Methodist Church in Lingelihle was renamed in his honour after his death in 2006.



**"TO GOD BE THE GLORY, GREAT THINGS HE HAS DONE"**  
THIS STONE WAS LAID ON THE 28-10-2007  
BY **BISHOP Z. SIWA** B.TH (RHODES), B.A. HON. (U.P.E.)  
ON THE RENAMING OF THIS CHURCH AND CIRCUIT  
TO **A.S. SKWEYIYA MEMORIAL** AND **REV. D.J. MAKEPULA**  
**MEMORIAL CIRCUIT 225.**  
CIRCUIT OFFICIALS  
**REV. T. DITHUGE** (CIRCUIT SUPT.)  
CIRCUIT STEWARDS  
**MRS. P. GUNUZA**  
**MR. V. MAKALA**  
**MR. M. MENE**



# Inkwanca Local Municipality

- 7 Heroes Park
- 8 Nomonde Graves
- 9 Ethiopian Church
- 10 Old Apostolic Church
- 11 Esigingqini
- 12 Higher Mission School
- 13 Stone of Remembrance



# Heroes Park & Nomonde Graves

Heroes Park in Molteno was originally known as Market Square. A monument was erected in honour of the Heroes of the Liberation Struggle, on which the following inscriptions appear:

COMRADES YOUR BLOOD  
WATERED THE TREE THAT BORE  
THE FRUITS OF FREEDOM, YOUR  
SACRIFICES WERE NOT IN VAIN  
.WE HONOUR AND SALUTE  
YOU."

"...IN HONOUR OF THE HEROES  
OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE  
WHO WERE KILLED BY THE EVIL  
FORCES OF APARTHEID

.....NAMES .....SHALL FOREVER  
BE REMEMBERED BY THE PEOPLE  
OF MOLTENO AND SOUTH AFRICA AS A  
WHOLE."

A total of eleven community activists were killed by apartheid forces between 12 August 1985 and 13 November 1993. The first three, (Richard Mbango, Shwalakhe Loliwe, Ncedani Smile) perished on 12 August 1985 which is commemorated annually under the name of "Molteno Day."

That was the day student activists confronted police across the buffer zone which divided the black township from the white town. This escalated into a battle around the site of the old Ethiopian church, until the students retreated into the crowded dwellings of the old township where the police could not easily follow. The activists' graves in Nomonde cemetery may easily be distinguished by the ANC colours. Each bears a different ANC slogan such as "submit or fight" (Loliwe), "victory is certain (Smile)," and "a patriot never dies"(Mbango). Another important site in the Molteno struggle is the Old Apostolic Church where activists used to meet to plan attacks on the police.

Left: Mine chimney at Syphergat near Molteno. Extensive coalfields were mined at Inkwanca during the 19th Century.





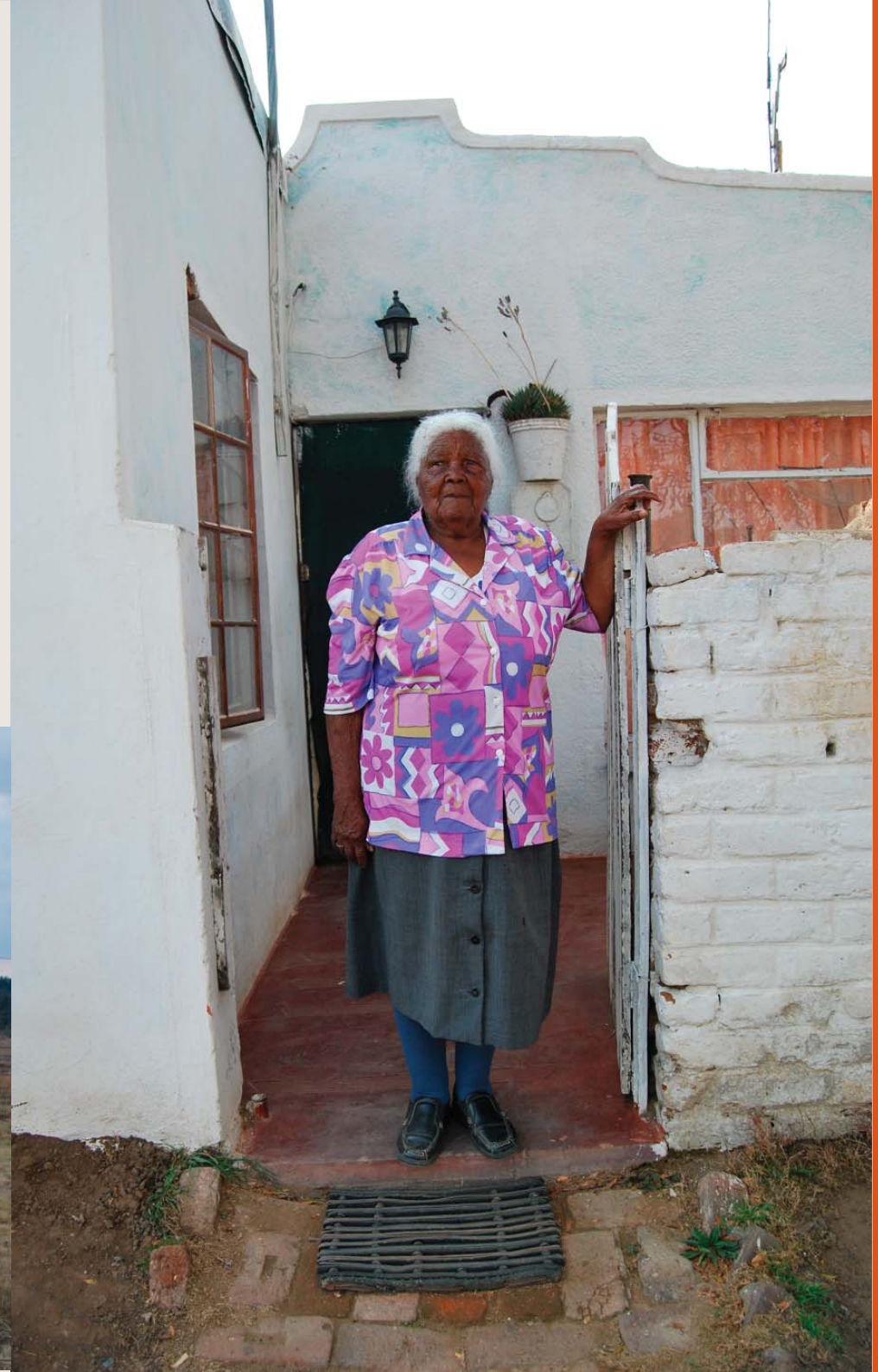
Left: Nomonde Graves  
 Below left: Ethiopian Church and right,  
 Old Apostolic Church



## Esigingqini

This is an area of Molteno where black and coloured households lived together until it was obliterated by the Group Areas Act in the 1960s. Those who tried to resist, like Mr Koto and Mr Van der Sandt lost everything or were even jailed for subversive activities. Indian people who owned shops in the town were forced to close down. The bustling suburb of Esigingqini became a wasteland. Most of the residents left to start life afresh elsewhere. This accelerated an economic decline from which Molteno is still trying to recover.

Right: Aunt Rose Buttland (91) who lost her home as a result of the Group Areas Act.  
Below: After the Pieterse family was evicted from Esigingqini, their house was destroyed and only this water reservoir remained. The Pieterse family were water diviners, builders of dams and layers of pipes. They left Molteno after the eviction, and their skills were lost to the town.









## Higher Mission School

Education was not easily availed to rural people during the colonial and apartheid eras. Higher Mission School was a crude structure divided into two rooms, one for Std Five and one for Std Six. Even this humble building was not provided by the state but by a philanthropic farmer, Mr Broadley, in the 1930s. Nevertheless, inspired principals such as Mr Sgatya and Mr Mochoeneng provided a high standard to a motivated student body. “We were proud of our school,” graduates remember, though it was a long distance from where we lived.” Education in Sterkstrom ended in Standard Six, but products of Higher Mission were renowned for the excellence of their education and were assured of finding good employment anywhere.

## Stone of Remembrance - Sterkstrom

Resistance in Sterkstrom was driven by the youth after different sports and church groups came together under the banner of STEYO (Sterkstrom Youth Organisation) in 1985. One of the first to die was Nkosana Nukani, who had become politically active in the 1970s as a scholar in Cofimvaba. Police surrounded the house where he was hiding after he was betrayed by an informer, and he was shot trying to escape. The first five victims were buried by their families in the old graveyard but, in 1995, the community decided to honour them by erecting on each of their graves a stone shaped like the map of Africa.

Left: Stone of Remembrance  
Far Left: Higher Mission School and old Higher Mission graduates  
Below: Graves with Africa maps





## Tsolwana

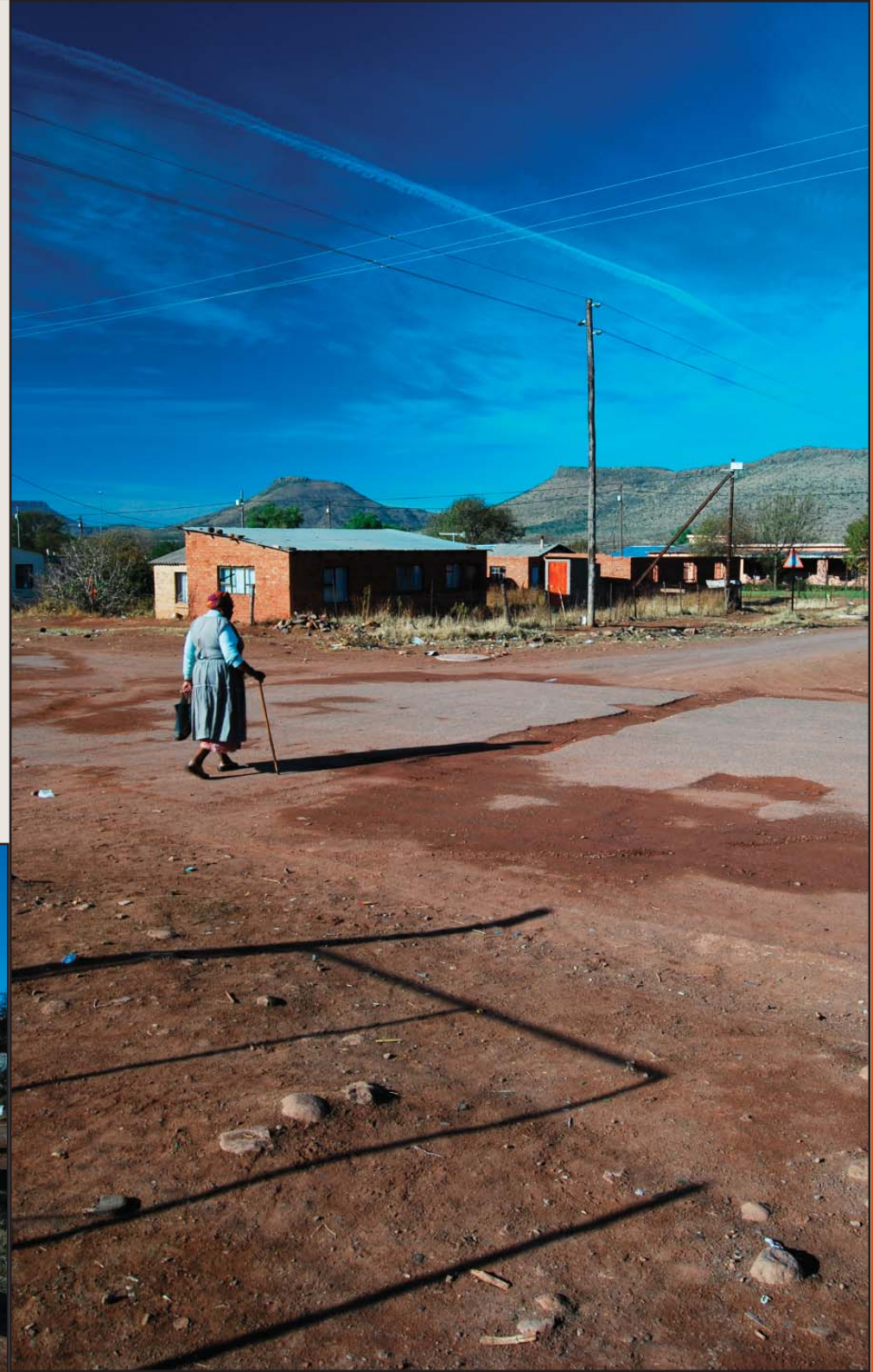
- 14** Home Isolation Circle & old Zola Clinic
- 15** Assassination of Headman Thembilizwe Dywasha
- 16** Godfrey Ngqendesha House
- 17** Majola Mlungwana House

## Home Isolation Circle & Old Zola Clinic

The black community of Tarkastad had no hospital facilities during the apartheid era. Sick people were moved into 'home isolation' near the crossroads called 'Home Isolation Circle.' This became the rallying point for community meetings during the uprisings of 1985-87.

Nor did the black community of Tarkastad have access to a Senior Secondary School. Even the Higher Primary lacked classrooms while the whites-only Tarkastad High stood partly empty for lack of pupils. It was this frustration that led Nkosiyakhe Higher Primary students to declare a schools boycott in 1985. They marched towards the town to present their demands but, by the time they reached the Old Zola Clinic, they were confronted by a line of police vehicles. They were not warned to disperse but were suddenly charged by police vehicles firing live ammunition. Nonqaba Ngetu, a young girl student, was fatally wounded, and other victims included residents of nearby houses which the students entered seeking refuge. The boycotts continued for three years until classes resumed in 1988. But boycotts had to be threatened again, until the Department of Education finally undertook to build a High School in the town, that is the present Raymond Mhlaba High School.

Right: Home Isolation Circle and below, Old Zola Clinic





## **Assassination of Headman Thembilizwe Dywasha**

Tentergate is one of the resettlements which were established in 1976 in the wake of the exodus from Herschel which was engineered as a protest against its coming incorporation into a Transkei that was to become independent in October 26, 1976. Sadly, the inhabitants eventually fell victim to the same policy when Ciskei acquired the same status in 1981. Things became worse when Brigadier Oupa Gqozo took over in Ciskei, and founded the so-called African Democratic Movement (ADM) as his political vehicle.

Ciskei Defence Force soldiers formed the backbone of Gqozo's ADM, and they expected Ciskei government functionaries to support them. Headman Thembilizwe Dywasha refused, and passed on sensitive information to the democratic structures. He was consequently assassinated in 1992 while out walking. At the same spot, we remember Comrade Oliphant, Headman Dywasha's neighbour, who was targeted for refusing to pay Gqozo rental on government grazing lands. His house was surrounded, and he was shot trying to escape.

## Godfrey Ngqendesha House

The district of Herschel, on the Lesotho border, was governed as part of Ciskei until it was given to KD Matanzima in 1975 as his reward for accepting Transkei homeland 'independence.' Over 40,000 residents fled Herschel in 1976/7 mostly to escape Transkei, but also because they had been misled into thinking that they would be given new lands with all relevant facilities. The first shock came when they were dumped onto an open veld with nothing but tents and no water. Babies were dying at the rate of 10 a day, due to measles, enteric fever and actual starvation. The second shock was when people were told that they could only access government services through a traditional leader.

Godfrey Ngqendesha led the fight for the lands promised to the community before they left Herschel. He was detained by the Ciskei homeland police and tortured with electric shocks. Undeterred, he led the invasion of unoccupied state land, which resulted eventually in the establishment of proper townships such as Macbride and Tambo Village in the RA 60 area of Lukhanji.

Pic of Ngqendesha with the following caption: Ngqendesha relates: "We left Herschel when our land was given to the Transkei. We were promised land and houses here, yet instead of keys to houses as promised we were given tents – and the death of our children as a consequence thereof in common knowledge. As our chiefs did not join us on the exodus we found it difficult to survive in a Ciskei that operated through chiefs. We found ourselves in a three-pronged struggle against chiefs, the Pretoria Government and the Ciskei Government. We were victimised through detention. Things became worse under Gqozo as he was a soldier who could not think and only knew how to fight. "

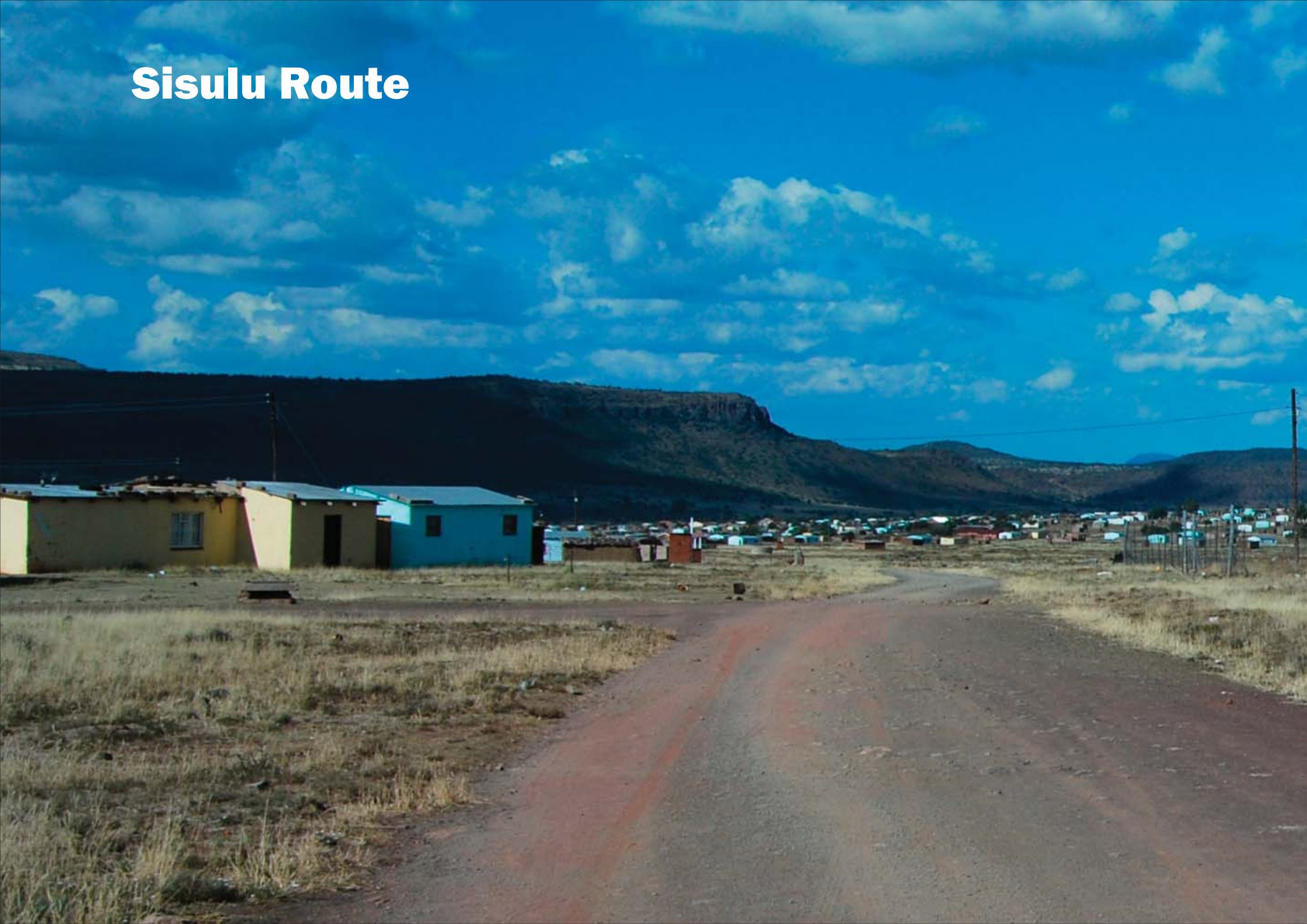


## Majola Mlungwana House

Mlungwana was an activist in Mitford who was instrumental in organising Residents Association and later SANCO and in orchestrating resistance to the Gqozo regime. Community gatherings were banned but they continued secretly at Mlungwana's house until acute harassment and repeated detentions forced him to flee the area and spend extended periods in hiding. "Those were very difficult days as I struggled to operate my small business without him. I even struggled to get a driver for our vehicle. When police came to arrest him, I used to deny that I knew where he was. Yet I would spend my weekend looking for him so that I could provide him with money – and, without cell phones, those were difficult times." – reminisced his wife



# Sisulu Route





# Lukhanje Local Municipality

- 18 Ilinge Resettlement
- 19 Mongezi Fezi
- 20 Ezibeleni Resettlement
- 21 Queenstown Station Shootings
- 22 Queenstown Massacre
- 23 James Cooke, Peter Botha & Ashley Wyngaard
- 24 Sada Resettlement
- 25 Bulhoek Massacre - 1921

## Ilinge Resettlement

Established in 1965/66, a dumping ground beyond mountains for people from farms and areas where they held no title to property like Cathcart, Uitenhage, Cookhouse, Cape Town, De Aar, Jamestown. Also ex-political prisoners not only to frustrate them in an unfamiliar environment but also to place them where they could be easily be kept under surveillance. Building relations with local were not easy as they were initially referred to as ooSithupha, ooBhontsi, ooPoqo.

Initial houses were built of wood. Water was available in communal taps and from a nearby dam. People were initially given rations of maize, mealie-meal and beans – a diet that gave rise to a disease they called Tsatsatsa.

24

Chris Hani District Municipality  
Liberation Heritage Route







Area characterised not only by almost non-existent work opportunities, but also by low wages for those who could find work. Men would dig trenches for pipes and women would dig holes to plant trees, apparently to bring a semblance of life to the desolate environment. Superintendent would even advise parents not to send their children to school so that they could work in the digging and earn money to pay rental on the wooden houses. It was also a good source of cheap labour for contractors who would come from the Western Cape and other areas to collect labour from the local Administration Office.

As one former Robben Islander commented, “To be dumped in Ilinge was heart-breaking – one was dumped among strangers, was surrounded by mountains, and only managed to keep alive by relying on political discussions on Robben Island which had taught us to expect the worst”. They made good use of their time, however, and organised many youths to cross into Lesotho for military training. We take this opportunity to remember Fikile Marwanqana, a Robben Islander deported to Ilinge. He later joined MK in Maseru, only to perish in the SADF Maseru raid of 1982.

Left: Zinc homes at Ilinge.

# Mongezi Fezi

Mongezi came from a family of jazz musicians in Mlungisi township but, although the youngest in the family, he soon surpassed all of his elders. He excelled at the trumpet, and before he finished school, he was recruited by the famous Blue Notes. Being a nonracial group, the Blue Notes needed special permission to perform in apartheid South Africa. In 1964, they were granted travel documents to play at the Antibes Jazz Festival on the understanding that they would never come back. Their music took Europe by storm but, in 1975, Mongezi came down with tuberculosis and never recovered. The apartheid authorities tried so hard to block the return of Mongezi's body to South Africa that a lawyer had to be called in. Even so, his funeral was held under stringent conditions of only family members being present. He is remembered on this Heritage Route as an example of the power of music to transcend oppression.

Right: Blue Notes, ICA, 1965: Dudu Pukwana, Mongezi Feza (Trombone), Johnny Dyani and Chris McGregor.



## Ezibeleni Resettlement

The apartheid government took a decision in 1970 to eliminate Mlungisi because it was deemed to be too close to 'white' Queenstown. They targeted people without own accommodation in Mlungisi. These were called to Municipal Office and informed that they would be moved to Ezibeleni. They were assisted with transport.

Later those who identified with Ciskei resisted relocation when they learnt that the area would be incorporated into Transkei. This eventually led to abandonment of the plan to relocate the whole Mlungisi, although those without own accommodation continued to be attracted to Ezibeleni. Plots were also allocated to those who could build their own houses as a result there are a few huge houses reflecting the status of their owners.

Right: The administration offices in Ezibeleni, where permits for new houses were allocated to those removed from Mlungisi.

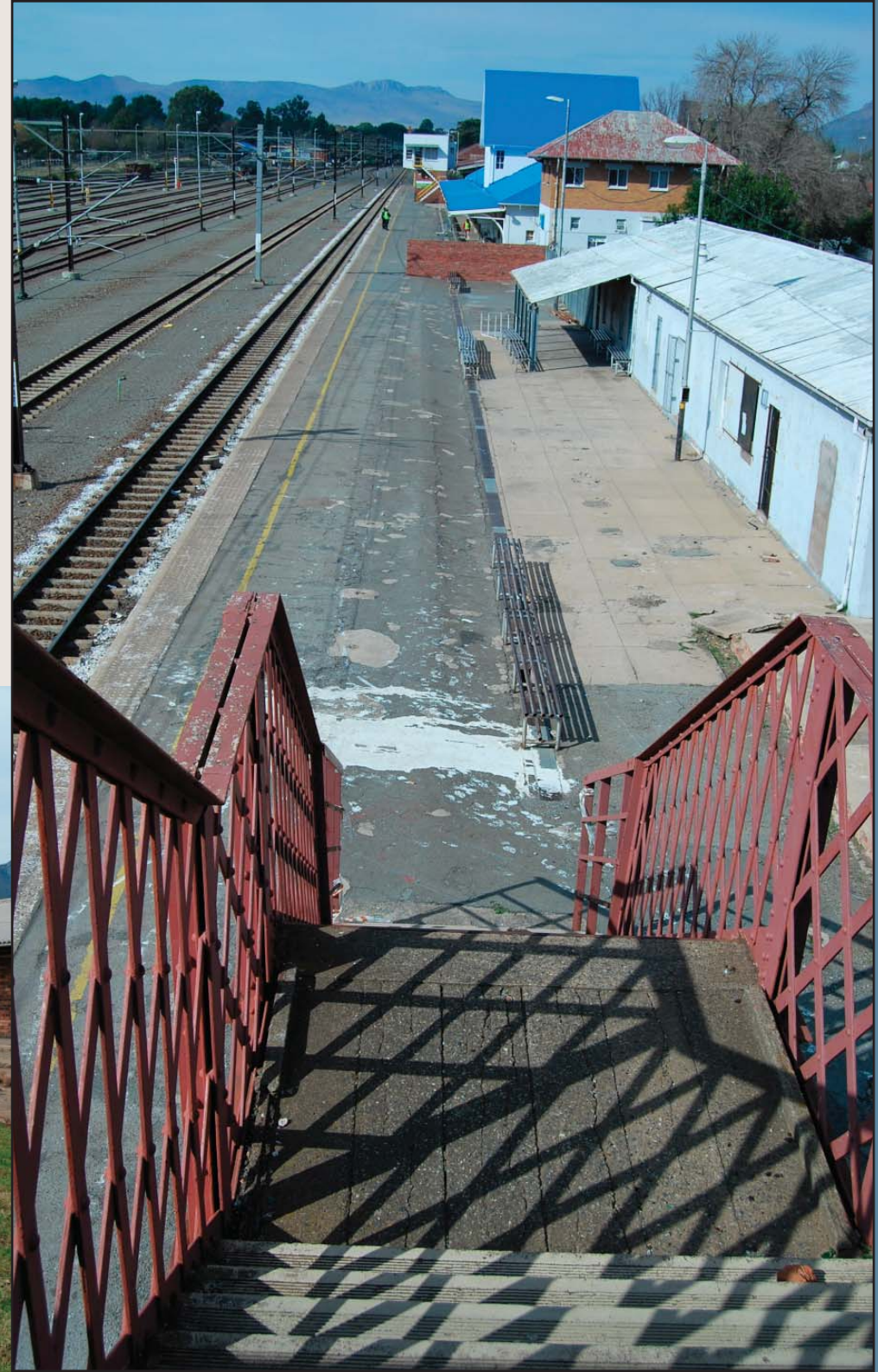


## Queenstown Station Shooting : 1962

Poqo members were deployed from Cape Town to the black rural areas. Their analysis was that black people were oppressed by the white government, and that Tribal Authorities had been established as a barrier to protect the whites. It was therefore necessary to take action, more especially as Poqo suspects were being detained and beaten at Qamata (see Qamata Icon). The first group got through and camped at Ntlonze mountain (see Ntlonze Icon). The train carrying the second group was deliberately delayed at Stormberg junction, so that when it arrived at Queenstown, the police were waiting for them. They demanded passes from the passengers, but the Poqo members carried no passes and resisted the police. This was the very first time that the power of the white state was openly and publicly challenged in Queenstown. Three Poqo members were killed on the spot. Others were arrested and sentenced to lengthy terms of imprisonment on Robben Island. Mtutu Aplini and Bhozwana was sentenced to death and executed. .

Right: Queenstown station

Below: Sixishe SSS





## Queenstown Massacre

The Mlungisi community mobilised in 1985 to oppose the Community Councils initiated by President PW Botha. They were especially angry concerning household evictions and the run-down of Mlungisi infrastructure (designed to force Mlungisi people to remove to Ezibeleni). A consumer boycott was launched on 12 August, leading to negotiations with the white business community. On 17 November 1985, during a report-back on the negotiations at Nonzwakazi Methodist Church, police surrounded the church in Casspir vehicles. They lobbed teargas into the Church and fired through the windows. Eleven people including Lizo Ncana, the Chair of the Residents Association, were killed.

The memorial reads:

**WE SHALL  
NEVER FORGET  
YOUR SACRIFICE WAS  
NOT IN VAIN**

**TO THE MAGNIFICANT MEMORY OF  
HEROES OF QUEENSTOWN WHO  
SACRIFICED THEIR LIVES IN THE  
HANDS OF APARTHEID  
BUTCHERS ON  
17 NOVEMBER  
1985**

Left to right: Memorial, Nonzwakazi church, Pelem Street



## James Cooke, Peter Botha, Ashley Wyngaard

All sectors of the Lukhanji community were involved in the freedom struggle. One of the foremost activists of the 1960s was James Cooke, the Principal of Louis Rex Primary School, who strongly resisted his apartheid label of being called 'Coloured.' He instilled principles of non-racialism in his learners, and for that was declared "persona non grata" by apartheid president C.R. Swart. He spent 29 years in exile, and sadly passed away shortly after his return home.

Ashley Wyngaard and Peter Botha were among the students of Maria Louw Secondary School who sparked the school boycott of 1980 in solidarity with national stayaways elsewhere. They became teachers in Breidbach but were expelled from the Department of Education in 1984. They then returned to Queenstown where they were instrumental in mobilizing community support behind the United Democratic Front. Peter died in a car crash in 1986, trying to avoid detention by the Security Police, and Ashley passed away in 1996.

Below and Right: Louis Rex School, Ashley Wyngaard's family at their home in Queenstown



## Sada Resettlement

Sada, like Ilinge, was one of the first forced resettlement camps established in 1964. Most of the victims were resettled off white farms, and dumped in appalling conditions. Residents were forbidden to leave Sada without a permit from the Magistrate at Whittlesea, and police patrolled the area at night. People were given food vouchers, though there was no shop in Sada, otherwise they were provided with pap and soup. Malnutrition was rife. There was no proper sanitation, and babies used to drown in pit toilets.

From the 1970s, political prisoners released from Robben Island began to arrive in Sada and raised political consciousness there. From the 1980s, they were joined by students. By that time Sada had fallen under control of Ciskei, and there were many clashes between the comrades and those who had been recruited as vigilantes by Charles Sebe, the head of Security in Ciskei.

We take this opportunity to remember Zandisile Matiti who was shot and killed in 1985, after which she was dragged around like a dog by Ciskei police. At the

same time we remember the following activists from Sada/Hewu: Fuzile Kesa (killed by Inkatha, Germiston station, June 1992); Simo December, Mzikayise Kokoba, Joseph Masimini (Mhlotshana Hish School students and COSAS members killed by Ciskei police on a protest march on 11 September 1980); Lebhuti Zweni (shot by Ciskei security forces, 1985), Sonny Mkonwana (MK soldier, died in exile, 1987); Mncedisi Sikhutshwa (permanently disabled after shooting by Ciskei police, 1985); Nkosemtu Motman (shot and killed, Bhisho Massacre, 1992)

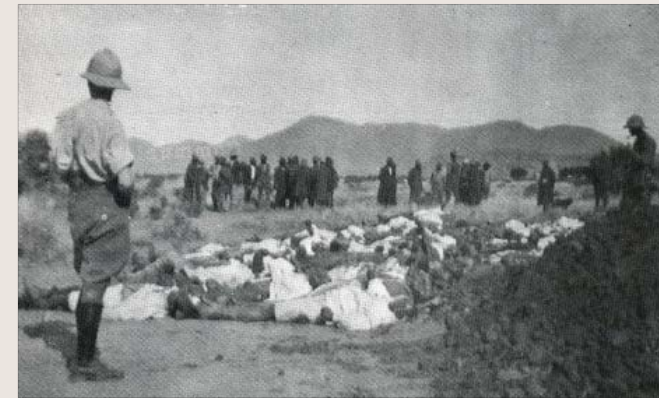
**Main photograph:** Mountain near Sada where students ran during unrest in 1980. **Right:** Wooden building inhabited by first residents dumped at Sada. **Far right:** Resettled communities were offered employment but factories like this one proved unviable and ended up being vandalised



## Bulhoek Massacre 1921

Enoch Mgijima was born in Hewu in 1868. He had visions, even as a boy, and later became a preacher. In 1910, he was baptised by Bishop Msikinya who had just arrived from the United States and was a Minister of the Church of God and the Saints of Christ, otherwise known as the Israelites. In 1912, Mgijima had a vision to build a church at Ntabelanga mountain. People from all over South Africa used to come there, especially to celebrate Passover. After 1920, the church members refused to disperse. Enoch was ordered by the authorities to send them away, but he refused, saying he 'is preaching the word of God, and he will not send anyone away from hearing the word of God.'

The regime sent 200 troops to Ntabelanga to force them to remove. All negotiations failed and, on 24 May 1921, the troops opened fire, killing at least 183 Israelites and wounding hundreds more. Only one soldier was lightly wounded. Enoch Mgijima himself survived the massacre, and died in 1929. The victims were buried in a mass grave under a simple headstone reading "Because they chose the plan of God, so the world did not have a place for them"



Above: Enoch Mgijima

Above right: Troops standing over dead Israelites from cover of Bob Edgar book.



# Ndondo Route









## **Emalahleni**

- 26 Graves of Qonda Hoho and Luvuyo Lerumo**
- 27 Maqashu Village**
- 28 Nonesi**
- 29 Wycliffe Tsotsi Law Offices**



## Graves of Qonda Hoho and Luvuyo Lerumo



The student militancy generated by the Soweto uprising of 1976 led many students of Inkwanca High School in Queenstown to leave South Africa for military training. These included many rural youth who had come to Inkwanca to complete their education. Two such were Qonda Hoho (1956-1988) and Luvuyo Lerumo (1960-1986) of Qoqodala who left at different times in the 1980s. Qonda trained as a teacher before leaving to join MK. Luvuyo escaped to Lesotho, and trained in Zambia, Angola and East Germany. They infiltrated South Africa on missions so secret that even their families did not know of their whereabouts. Luvuyo died in a firefight between Fort Jackson and Breidbach. Qonda was betrayed by an informer and shot in Queenstown. Their burials were conducted in the presence of Hippo vehicles and strong security presence, allowing the attendance of only their family members.

Far Left: Grave of Qonda Hoho. “Ningathini ukumbuza kum, ndiyamfuna apho akhoyo nam?” “I could not accept his death – it perturbed me” said Mama Hoho, reminiscing on how she learnt soon after the police inquiry that her son had been killed.

Left: Grave of Luvuyo Lerumo. A Senior Secondary School in Mlungisi has been named after Luvuyo.



## Maqashu Village

The old district of Glen Grey, commonly known as Lady Frere, was part of the old Cape Colony, from which it became part of Ciskei. But in the 1970s, the apartheid authorities were concerned to persuade Chief KD Matanzima to take 'homeland independence' for Transkei. As an inducement, he was offered the districts of Glen Grey and Herschel. The people of Glen Grey voted against Transkei in a referendum but their wishes were ignored and they came under Matanzima's iron rule.

Opposition to Matanzima became linked to opposition to 'the Trust,' also known as 'betterment' or 'rehabilitation.' The Trust forced people to abandon their traditional lifestyle and move into 'closer settlements,' similar to urban townships. People of Maqashu refused, and on a day in 1979, their homes were bulldozed and torched in broad daylight. Transkei army was everywhere rounding up their stock. Four residents – Khedamile Dyongo, Giyodi Mguzulwa, Mzuzu Mahlombe and Mrs Nohombile Dyongo - died in this forced removal, some beaten, others seemingly dying of shock. Thousands of Glen Grey residents left their homes and settled at Zweledinga in Lukhanji which was not then subject to Bantustan independence.

Pic: Remains of Mahlombe homestead at Maqashu

## Nonesi

Nonesi, the daughter of King Faku of amaMpondo, was the Great Wife of King Ngubengcuka of abaThembu. Ngubengcuka died quite suddenly in 1830, leaving Nonesi without any child but she took Mtirara, Ngubengcuka's son by another wife, into her house and raised him as the future King of Thembuland. Nonesi and Mtirara settled at Rodana about 1841, a move which put the Thembu Great House on the frontline of defence against the colonial invaders. After the War of Mlanjeni (1850-3), all black residents of present day Lukhanji were expelled into present day Emalahleni, and came under Nonesi's protection.

Colonial land-hunger raised its head again in 1864 when the Colonial authorities tried to persuade the people of Emalahleni to remove to present day Intsika Yethu so as to free up their land for white farms. Four chiefs did cross, but Nonesi remained adamant. She was forcibly deported to her brother's place at Nyandeni where she died in about 1880. But by that time, she had saved the land of Emalahleni for black people.



Above: Mtirara family graves  
Below: Tsotsi law offices

## Wycliffe Tsotsi Law Offices

WM Tsotsi (1914-2005) was President of the All Africa Convention (1948-1958)[Later known as the New Unity Movement] as well as a founder of the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA), but he is best remembered as a gifted lawyer and organiser of people as the grassroots level, thus earning the jocular title of "Chief of the Thembus".. Trained as a teacher, he was the first principal of Freemantle High School but he left teaching in 1948 to do his legal articles in Port Elizabeth. His legal expertise was legendary, and distinguished by his shrewd use of procedural rules to win seemingly hopeless cases. He early became conscious of the fact that his chances of winning cases in a legal system where the magistrate and the prosecutor were both white, were limited He relied on provoking this racist establishment into blunders, then winning his cases on appeal.

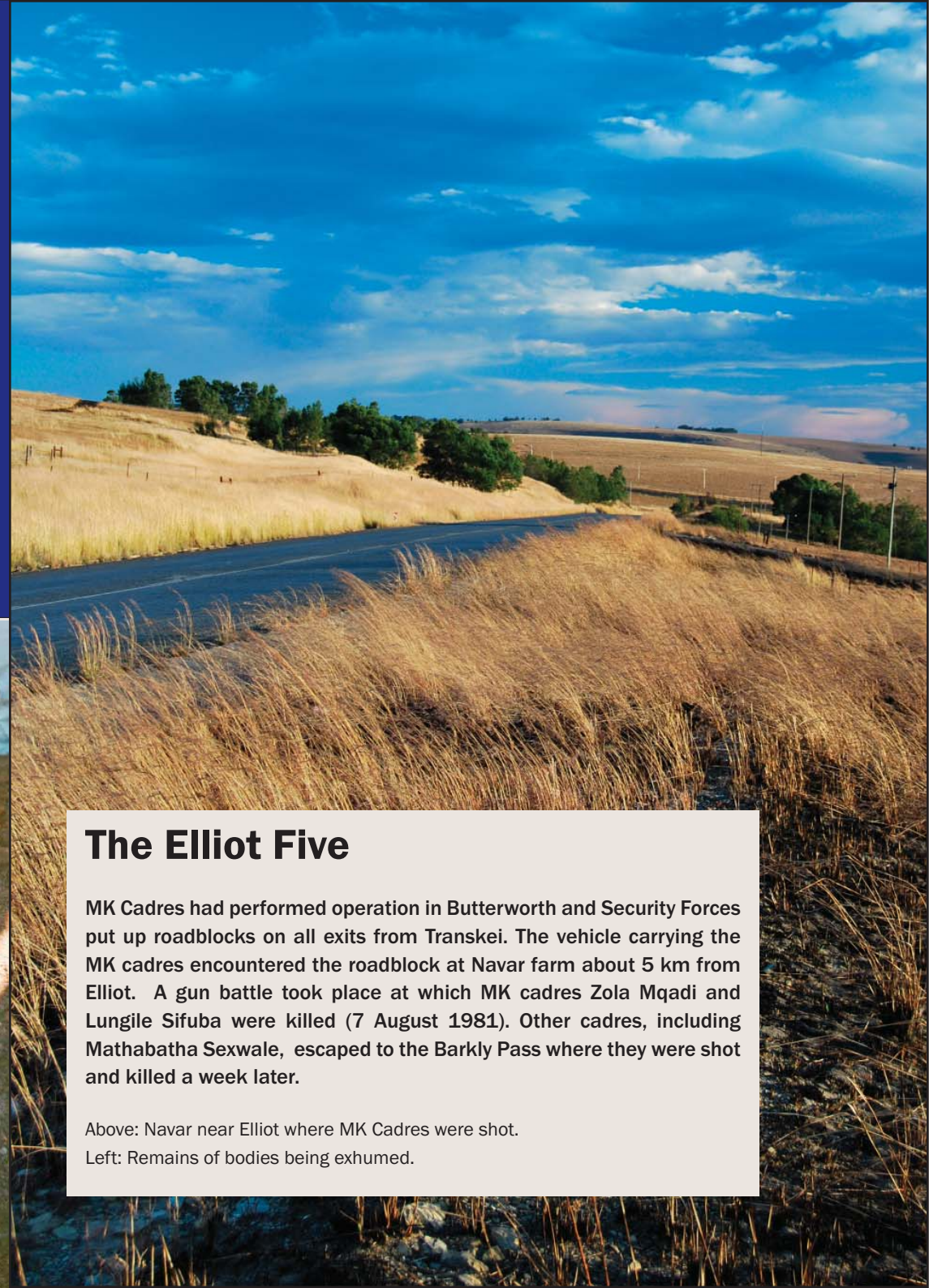
Tsotsi's offices were built according to his own design on land which owned, an unusual situation in Lady Frere which was then all-white. His right to own land was indeed challenged, but Tsotsi was able to point to a neighbouring plot used by a local white trader to accommodate his hunting dogs. 'Does this mean,' Tsotsi asked, ' that dogs have more rights in Lady Frere than black people?' He won that case too.

Tsotsi was often harassed by the police but they could not make any charge stick until in 1960 he received reliable information that he was about to be arrested. He fled into exile, and eventually established a successful legal practice in Maseru where he died at the ripe age of 91.



# Sakhisizwe

- 30 The Elliot Five
- 31 Bathandwa Ndonga Assassination Site
- 32 Mnxe Location
- 33 Phumezo Nxiweni
- 34 Traditional Leaders: Stokwe Ndlela and Gecelo



### The Elliot Five

MK Cadres had performed operation in Butterworth and Security Forces put up roadblocks on all exits from Transkei. The vehicle carrying the MK cadres encountered the roadblock at Navar farm about 5 km from Elliot. A gun battle took place at which MK cadres Zola Mqadi and Lungile Sifuba were killed (7 August 1981). Other cadres, including Mathabatha Sexwale, escaped to the Barkly Pass where they were shot and killed a week later.

Above: Navar near Elliot where MK Cadres were shot.  
Left: Remains of bodies being exhumed.



## Bathandwa Ndondo Assassination Site

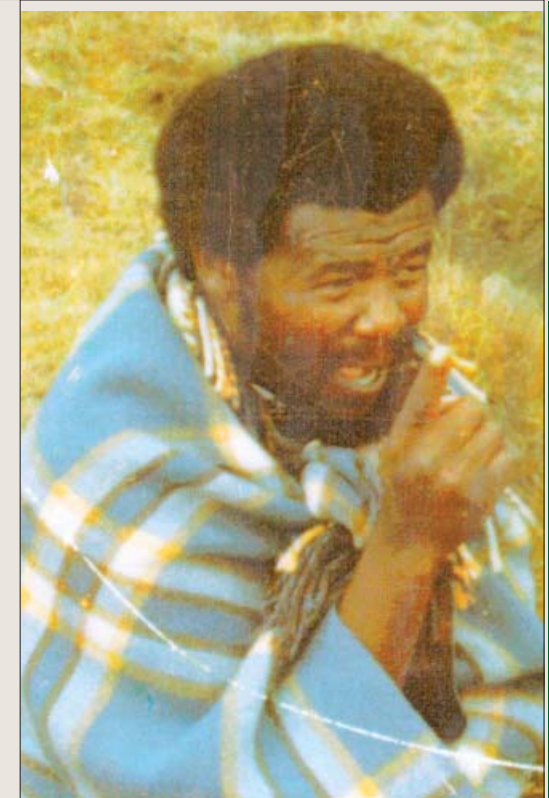
Bathandwa Ndondo (1963-1985) did his primary schooling in Cala where he stayed with his aunt, Mrs Ntsebeza. He became politically active while studying law at the University of Transkei where he was elected as a member of the Student Representative Council. He was expelled during his third year, and became a fieldworker for the Health Care Trust in Cala. On 24 September 1985, he was picked up by police, acting under the direction of Vlakplaas Commander, Eugene De Kock. Bathandwa jumped out of the police vehicle and made for the nearest house, belonging to Mrs Vikilahle. The police followed, shouting 'Shoot the Dog!' and Bathandwa perished. The responsible police headed for Barkly East where they celebrated with a braai and drinks, as well as receiving a reward of R 500 each.

Bathandwa's death was a great shock to the Transkei elite which had, up to that time, been compliant with the regime, and is seen as a key event leading to the downfall of the Matanzimas.

Right: Bathandwa Ndondo

Below: School at Mnxe, now renamed Bathandwa Ndondo SSS.

Below right: Bathandwa Ndondo's mother and sister outside the house where he was assassinated.

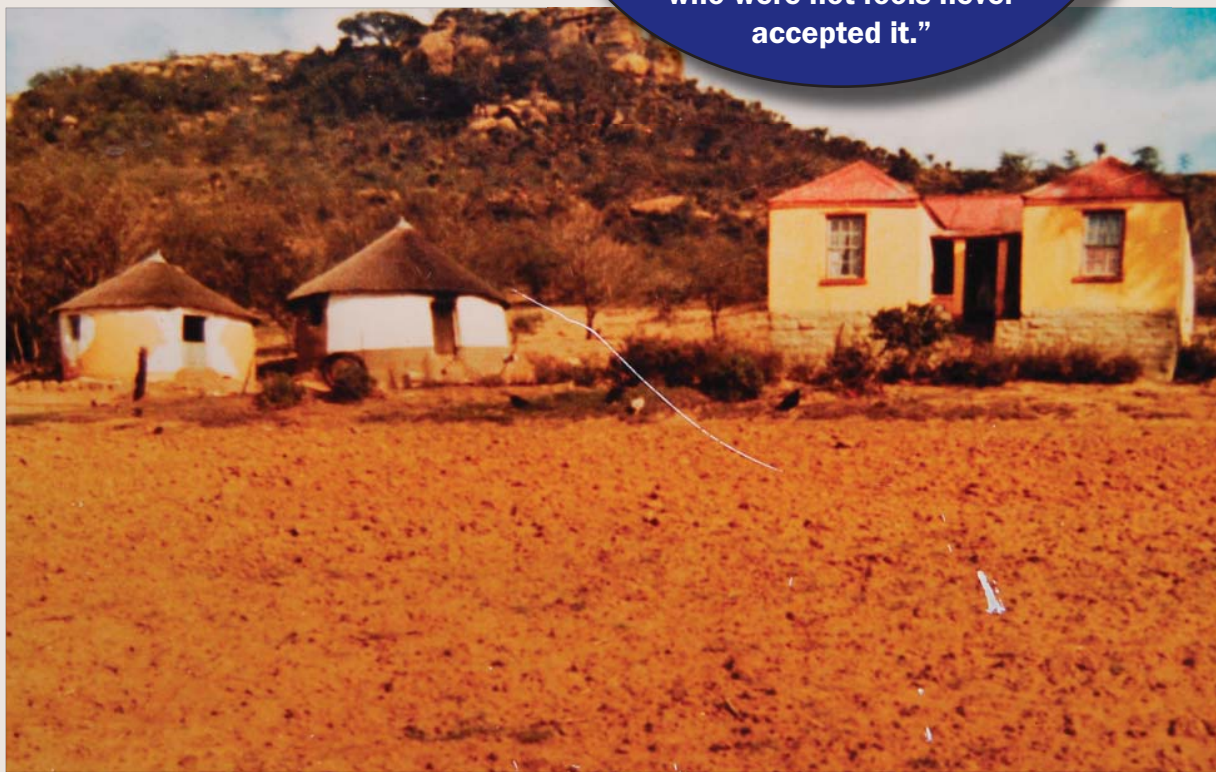


## Mnxé Location

During the period of tshisatshisa (burn-burn) (1958-1963), people of Mnxé resisted the imposition of rehabilitation and of chiefship, publically insulting KD Matanzima by saying that he might be chief at Qamata but he was not wanted in Xhalanga district. The opposition took the name of amaDyakopu after the Jacobins of the French Revolution. Matanzima brought in his 'soldiers' from Qamata, not real soldiers at all but thugs. Mr Manzana Vintwembi was killed by these people, and even decapitated. Others were assaulted and tortured with electric shocks. Teachers were dismissed and deported. The people's stock was looted, and even their furniture was destroyed.

Below: Msengana house before it was burned down in the *Tshisa-Tshisa* disturbances of the 1950s.

**“Abantu baseMnxé abavumi nje nokuba into injani na. ...Izidenge zayamkela, abantu abangezozidenge zange bayamkele.”**  
**The people of Mnxé do not just accept anything. Fools accepted it (rehabilitation), but people who were not fools never accepted it.”**



## Phumezo Nxiweni

Phumezo (1965-1988) was a medical student at the University of Natal when he was recruited into MK. Following the 1985 ANC decision to step up the armed struggle, he was involved in an MK cell which carried out bombings in Durban. He was arrested in 1985 and eventually released, only to be abducted and killed by the apartheid regime in 1988.





# Traditional Leaders: Stokwe Ndlela and Gecelo

Traditional leaders first became aware of colonial rule when Mr Levey, the Magistrate at Southeyville near Cofimvaba, started to collect taxes and to claim authority over them. The final straw came when they were told to surrender their guns. The same week that Dalasile attacked Ngcobo, Stokwe Ndlela of amaQwathi and Gecelo of amaGcina, together with Siqungathi of the amaHala, attacked Lady Frere. The colonial army, however, had been informed that Stokwe was riding a white horse. He was badly wounded at the battle of Ndonga, and hidden in a nearby cave. It would appear that the cave collapsed, killing Stokwe, and his exact gravesite is not known. AmaQwathi of Stokwe have however nominated a spot close to the caves to stand for his memorial. Gecelo survived the war, but his Great Place was expropriated to make space for Cala town. He was buried at Mbenge.

Right: Caves near Askeaton where Chief Stokwe Ndlela died of his wounds

Below: Grave of Chief Gecelo of amaGcina who fought in the wars of dispossession

## IDABI LASECACADU

Hoo – yina! Hoo –yina!  
Niphina ngedabi laseCacadu  
Mhla iindonga zeCacadu zakhamnqa  
Kuba amanzi ajika aligazi  
Zinqoza iinkanunu ezidalingede  
Wayelapho uStokwe kaNdlela  
Unoqengqelekile utyeshomibi kanye !!!  
Ukhala Mqadi Wafa yintuka !!  
Inkomo kaSothuku Nogangatha !!  
Iqhayi elibaleka nomtya walo !!

Where were you at the battle of Cacadu  
The day the riverbanks of Cacadu were atonished  
Because the water had turned to blood  
The cannons were ? clearly to be heard ?  
And there appeared Stokwe  
Ndlela!



# Ngcobo Traditional Leaders

Most of Transkei came under colonial rule without any consultation. Magistrates simply arrived at places like Ngcobo and announced to chiefs and people that they were now subjects of Queen Victoria and must pay hut tax. Similar colonial behaviour in Lesotho led to the outbreak of the

Gun War in that country. From Lesotho, the war spread to Chief Makoai of Maluti, and from Makoai to

Chief Mhlontlo of the amaMpondomise in

Qumbu (1880). Most of the Thembu

Chiefs decided that Mhlontlo must be supported, including Chief

Dalasile of amaQwathi, Chief

Mpangele of amaGcina, and

Chief Langa Mgudlwa the heir

apparent of amaJumba, as well

as Chiefs Gecelo and Stokwe

Ndlela already mentioned. . After

some initial victories such as Ngqwaru

Hills, the Thembu were defeated. Chief

Langa was killed in battle together with his

Great Councillor Qhubilanga. His lands around

the Mhlwazi River were given out to the white farmers of

Elliot district. Langa was buried where he fell, but the amaJumba were

discomforted by his bones being away from the family. They have lately

recovered his remains and reburied them at the family graveyard in

Qumanco.

Later generations of traditional leaders also committed themselves

to the struggle, but were repressed under Emergency Proclamation R

400. Among them, one must note Lamuel Mgudlwa who distinguished

himself at a meeting addressed by KD Matanzima in Mthatha in 1975

by releasing a baboon to show his opinion of the speaker. On the side of

the PAC, there was Chief Zwelihle Mtirara, who was jailed in East London

for Poqo activities, as well as headman Ntlonti and Mveleli Mtirara who

were sent to Robben Island for arms smuggling. Other members of the

Mtirara family, namely Chief Zwelodumo Mtirara were instrumental in

the formation of CONTRALESA, the progressive chiefs organization, and

in dealing with the Gauteng violence during the transition to democracy

(1991-4).



# Ngcobo

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Above: amaJumba family graveyard



Above: Walter and Albertina Sisulu

## Walter Sisulu Birthplace

Walter Sisulu was born at Qutubeni in 1912, the son of a single mother, and he never schooled beyond Standard Four. After two contracts on the mines, he settled in Johannesburg where his mother was working as a washerwoman. Walter got a job at Premier Biscuits where, in 1936, he led his first strike and was immediately dismissed. He founded his own estate agency, Sitha Investments, whose offices in downtown Johannesburg became a meeting place for new arrivals from the Eastern Cape, including Nelson Mandela (1941) and Oliver Tambo (1942). In 1943, Sisulu, Mandela and Tambo joined with Anton Lembede, AP Mda and others to found the ANC Youth League.

The Youth League drew up the Programme of Action which was adopted at the ANC Conference of 1949, which elected Sisulu as Secretary-General. This Programme laid the basis for the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and other mass actions. Sisulu was repeatedly arrested, charged and eventually placed under 24 hour house arrest. He went underground but was arrested at Rivonia with Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba and others in July 1963. Facing the death sentence, he wrote the following statement:

I am to face the gallows simply because I have dedicated my life towards making my humble contribution to my fatherland and to the advancement of the aspirations of my people I am condemned because I have dared to challenge the Apartheid Monster of the Vorster and Verwoerd clique.

All honest men have an obligation to smash oppression and tyranny wherever it exists and by whatever means. History is full of examples of the execution of those who stand for the truth. I am quite confident that our blood will certainly water the Garden of Freedom!

Walter Sisulu was sentenced to life imprisonment and spent from 1964 to 1989 on Robben Island.

## ANC Veterans: PS Fadana, JZ Kati, AS Xobololo

Domestic opposition to KD Matanzima's Transkei National Independence Party virtually collapsed after Transkei's so-called Independence in 1976, which was attended by continuing repression at the hands of the Transkei Security Police. Stubborn resistance continued however from the 'Comrade King,' Sabata Dalindyebo, which was continued after Sabata's exile in 1981 by his cousin chiefs, the Joyi brothers of Mthatha district. This resistance of the Thembu royal house was to a great extent sustained by Comrades Fadana (1921-1999), Kati (1924-2006) and Xobololo (1922-1992), a remarkable trio of ANC veterans in neighbouring Ngcobo district. Having cut their teeth in the Defiance Campaign

of 1952, these comrades were incarcerated on Robben Island and, after their release they became active in the Democratic Progressive Party of Mr KS Guzana, the only legitimate political opposition permitted in those days. Aside from their public role, they continued to work underground in MK, caching arms and sending youth for training. As a result, they were continually detained, and Comrade "Castro" Kati was especially badly tortured. These comrades played a central role in the reburial of Chief Sabata in 1989 which opened up political space in Transkei after the fall of the Matanzimas in 1987. Comrade Xobololo was handpicked in Lusaka as Chair of the first Regional Executive of the Transkei ANC, following the unbanning of the organizations in 1990. Unfortunately, he died the next year and did not live to see the fruits of his lifelong struggle. Comrade Fadana lived to serve as a Provincial MPL and Comrade Kati as a National MLA, and they died full of years and honour.



[pics: Kati and Fadana graves; will hunt around for a pic of Xobololo, but only know of one on video. Include caption from Kati daughter: "Xa utata ebezabalaza naza nani nazabalaza nikhula kabuhlungu .... Sesimbona ngoku sesibakhulu ukuba wayanobubele. Ukubhubha kukaMama waza kugalela umhlaba ekhonxiwe. Sakhula nzima kakhulu." ["When Daddy was in the struggle, we grew up under adverse conditions. We only realised after we had become adults that he was actually a kind person. On the occasion of my mother's death, when he came to pay his respects, he came in handcuffs."] Comrade Kati's children were named NomaJiphethe ( Egypt), Zwelinzima (the country is heavy) and Nonkululeko (Freedom), all reflecting phases of the struggle.



## Dr A B Xuma Birthplace

Dr Alfred B Xuma (1893-1962) , the seventh president of the African National Congress, was born in Manzana. Although his parents were illiterate, they believed in education and Alfred studied at Govodi and Clarkebury. After completing his junior certificate, he taught at Ntibane and Ncwala to raise funds for his further education in the USA. He was away for 14 years, during which time, he qualified as a medical doctor. He returned to South Africa in 1934, just in time to join the fight against General Hertzog's "Native Bills" which stripped Cape Africans of their last remaining rights. He was elected Vice President of the All Africa Convention in 1936 but, looking for a more militant alternative, he was persuaded by Reverend Calata to join the ANC. Xuma and Calata directed the revival of the ANC from 1940 to 1949, when they made way for the generation of the ANC Youth League.



## Clarkebury Insitution

Clarkebury Institution was a Methodist mission founded on land granted by King Ngubengcuka in 1830. It was also an industrial school, and the students were required to learn the dignity of labour by working in the garden. The school inculcated a strong sense of social responsibility, as evidenced by its school motto, "Lift as you rise," which greatly influenced future leaders such as Alfred Xuma and Nelson Mandela. Clarkebury suffered greatly at the hands of Bantu Education after 1953 but steps are being taken to restore it to its former glory.

Left: Dr A.B.Xuma

Below: Clarkebury Training and Practicing School Building.



# Intsika yethu

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## Sabelele

Thembisile Martin Hani was born at Sabalele on 28 June 1942. He adopted the name Chris Hani to confuse the authorities, Christopher Nkosana Hani being the legal name of his younger brother. As far as Sabalele itself is concerned, the important sites are the Lower Primary in Sabalele where Chris completed Std Three, and Zigudu Higher Primary where he finished Std Six and attended the amaRoma Catholic Church. He left Sabalele in 1954 to further his studies at Cala, Lovedale and Fort Hare. He graduated from Fort Hare in 1962 at the age of only 19 years, and went to Cape Town to do his articles with a law firm. But Chris had already been recruited into the South African Communist Party, and soon after his arrival in Cape Town, he was recruited into Umkhonto Wesizwe. In October 1962, he was arrested while returning from an underground SACP conference in Botswana. He jumped bail, and went for military training at Odessa in the Soviet Union.

Chris was part of the Luthuli Brigade which crossed the Zambezi River in August 1967 with the intention of penetrating through to South Africa. They were intercepted by the Rhodesian Security Forces, and only seven out of thirty members of Chris's detachment survived the battles which followed. From 1974 onwards, he was deployed to head the ANC base in Maseru. Here he rejoined his old father, Gilbert Hani, who had lived there in political exile since 1962. In October 1982, the Lesotho authorities warned Chris to leave the country immediately because South Africa was planning to kill him.

On 9 December 1982, South Africa struck, killing 42 comrades, but Chris was already in Lusaka as the Commissar of MK. Five years later he became Chief of Staff. In August 1990, he participated in the decision of the ANC to end the armed struggle and to enter into negotiations with the regime. Chris's attitude was summed up by Joe Slovo in his oration at Chris's funeral:

Was Comrade Chris in favour of negotiations?

Yes, but not just any negotiations.

Was Comrade Chris in favour of peace?

Yes, but not just any peace.

Chris fought for negotiations that will deliver.

Chris Hani was a man who would not have stopped short of success. For this reason, he had to be assassinated by right-wing forces on 11 April 1993.







# Vuyisile Mini

“Laqgutha ke loo kusithiwa bayaxhonywa ke namhlanje” (The day they were hanged was marked by winds and violent storms), says Dadobawo Nomalndiya.

Vuyisile Mini was born at Mhlahlane, Tsomo, in 1920. After completing Std 6, the highest education open to him, he went to the mines and then, in 1945, he moved to Port Elizabeth. He joined Raymond Mhlaba and Govan Mbeki in the 1952 Defiance Campaign, and was charged in the 1956 Treason Trial. He was a stalwart of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), organizing unions of metalworkers, dockworkers and construction workers in Port Elizabeth. When the ANC National Executive adopted the armed struggle, Vuyisile became its commander in the Eastern Cape. Starting 16 December 1961, MK implemented 58 acts of sabotage in PE, more than any other place in South Africa. Vuyisile Mini was arrested in May 1963 and hanged at Pretoria Central in November 1964, together with his comrades, Wilson Kayinga and Zinakile Mkaba. It is known that they went to their deaths singing ‘Bhasopha, nants’indod’emnyama, Verwoerd.’ He was the first MK commander to be executed in South Africa.

Nomkhosi Mini (1958-1985) was only six years old when her father was hanged. She took part in the 1976 student uprisings and left South Africa in 1978 to join the ANC in Angola. She was redeployed to Lesotho in 1984, and was killed in December 1985 during the SADF raid on Maseru.

Right: Nomkhosi Mini and her brother .....

Left: The Mini homestead is over 10 km from the tar road, but visitors who make the journey are assured of a warm welcome.

Far Right: Ntlonze Mountain



## Qitsi

In 1962, KD Matanzima held a meeting at the Qitsi trading store to introduce rehabilitation measures ('the Trust'). Community members enquired that, if the Trust is such a good thing, why does he bring white police to enforce it? Those who asked the questions were arrested and banished, and Qitsi became a hotspot in the confrontation between amaDyakopu (the resisters) and amaNgcothoza (those who supported the authorities). Jonginamba Deliwe, the headman of Qitsi, pointed out that the Trust did not come from him, but a letter arrived signed by 'Makhuluspan,' saying he should expect 'guests.' Jonginamba was provided with bodyguards but eventually, during a rainy night, he was dragged away and hacked to death with pangas. This sad story is an example of the contradictions in which traditional leaders were placed owing to their duties under government.

Above: Great place at Qitsi where Headman Jonginamba was killed. The hut on the left was occupied by his bodyguards.



## Ngqwaru Hills (Mabelentombi)

After the Thembu had seized Ngcobo town during the 1880 war, they advanced in the direction of Queenstown. 200 colonial soldiers of the Kaffrarian Mounted Volunteers encamped at Snodgrass's shop under the command of Baron Van Linsingen, one of the German military settlers of 1857. They were defeated at the battle of Ngqwaru Hills on 14 November 1880, and Van Linsingen was killed.

Snodgrass's shop was used by the colonial forces to store arms in 1880. The shop still stands and was again utilized in the 1980s to store arms, but for a very different purpose. The shop had passed into the hands of the Qongqo family, some of whom were APLA and others MK. Both armed formation used the place as a safe house during the armed struggle, doing their training exercises not far from the site of the former battle.

Right: Ngqwaru Hills, the shop where APLA and MK used to stay and far right, the building where meetings were held at Ngqwaru Hills.

## Grave of Thobile Dyantyi and Balisani Trom

Comrade Dyantyi (1937-1969) joined Umkhonto Wesizwe in 1960, and left the country in 1962. He died at the hands of Rhodesian Security Forces during the Wankie campaign of 1969. Comrade Trom (1932-1982) was arrested in 1971, and left the country in 1981. He died in the Maseru Raid on 9 December 1982.





# Qamata

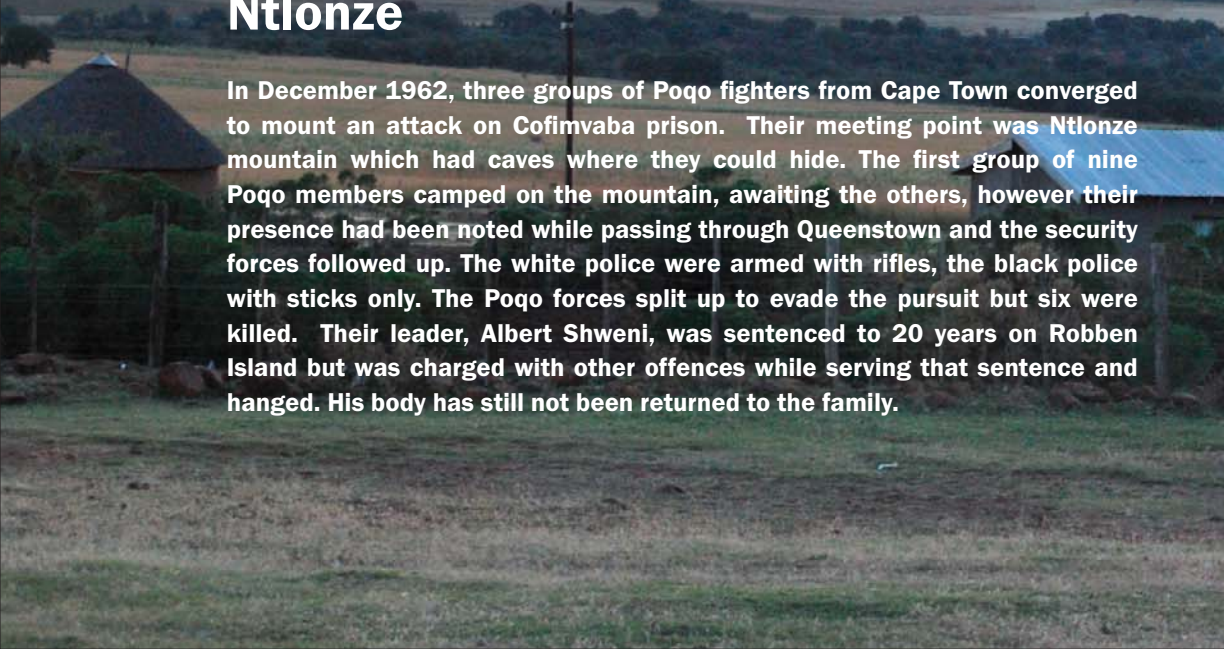
Qamata mountain is associated in tradition and custom as the place of rain. When mist is lying on Deckerts Hill, it is sure to rain. In times of drought, people would dress up in traditional attire, climb the mountains and dance the ingqungqo dance, in order to encourage the rain. The name 'Qamata' is also said by some to be the indigenous Xhosa name for God.

During the homeland period, Qamata acquired the additional significance of being the Great Place of Paramount Chief KD Matanzima, the chief proponent of an independent Transkei homeland. KD's Regional Court at Qamata applied a kind of customary law which exceeded the limits of normal legality. It also served as a base for the Ngcotoza, Matanzima's amajoni ('soldiers', see Mnxo Icon), and it is said that activists were taken to Qamata, interrogated, beaten and even tortured.



# Ntlonze

In December 1962, three groups of Poqo fighters from Cape Town converged to mount an attack on Cofimvaba prison. Their meeting point was Ntlonze mountain which had caves where they could hide. The first group of nine Poqo members camped on the mountain, awaiting the others, however their presence had been noted while passing through Queenstown and the security forces followed up. The white police were armed with rifles, the black police with sticks only. The Poqo forces split up to evade the pursuit but six were killed. Their leader, Albert Shweni, was sentenced to 20 years on Robben Island but was charged with other offences while serving that sentence and hanged. His body has still not been returned to the family.





## Hohita

Hohita was the Great Place of the Xhosa king Sarhili (1809-1893) one of the most prominent traditional opponents of colonial expansion. He is known by his praises as “Yinamb’ enkul’ ejikel’ iHohita” (“the great python who encircles Hohita”) due to his being magically strengthened by a python. Sarhili moved up to Hohita after his father, King Hintsa, was treacherously murdered by the British at the Nqabarha River in 1835. He fought against the colonialists in the Wars of the Axe (1846-7) and Mlanjeni (1850-3). He was expelled from Hohita by the British army in 1858, after the Nongqawuse starvation. Fighting again during the War of Ngcayechibi (1877-8), he fled to Sholorha in Xhorha (Elliotdale) District where he died in 1893.

Pic: Hohita; Pic Sarhili

