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The Historical Development of the Commemoration of the June 16, 1976 Soweto Students' Uprisings: A study of re-representation, commemoration and collective memory

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BY

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IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Supervised by: Professor Cynthia Kros

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

_____

Ali Khangela Hlongwane

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I have presented material from this research at a number of conferences and seminars, including: PhD Research Seminar Series (2) 2013 School of Literature, Languages & Media and Wits School of Arts; a seminar on *Commemoration of the Soweto Uprisings: Some challenges*, Africa Institute of South Africa, Pretoria, 2012; *Bricks and Mortar Testimonies: The interactive and dialogical features of the memorials and*

monuments of the June 16 1976 Soweto Uprisings, School for Graduate Studies, College of Human Sciences, University of South Africa, 2009; *Work in Progress*, *Museums Australia National Conference*, Newcastle, Australia, 2009; *ASAUK 2008 "The Presence of the Past? Africa in the Twenty- First Century," Memorialisation in museums in South Africa and the challenges of notions of consensus, diversity of perspectives and the commodification of heritage and memory*, University of Central Lancashire, 2008; *The Mapping of the Soweto Uprisings: Past Recollections and Present Reconstruction(s)*, School of Oriental and African Studies-University of London, 2006; St. Antony's College, Oxford University, 2006; and *History Workshop*, *Who does June 16 belong to?* Wits University, 2006.

Abstract

South Africa's post-apartheid era has, in a space of nearly two decades, experienced a massive memory boom manifest in a plethora of new memorials, monuments, museums and the renaming of streets, parks, dams and buildings. This memorialisation process is intrinsically linked to questions of power, struggles and contestation in the making and remaking of the South African nation. The questions of power, struggle and contestation manifest as a wave of debates on the place of history, collective memory, identity and social cohesion in the inception as well as the functioning of the various memorialisation projects in society. This thesis concludes that debates concerning the meaning(s) as well as the way in which the June 16, 1976 uprisings have been memorialized, has been ongoing for the last three decades, and will continue into the future. This, as the findings bear out, is because the wider contextual situating of collective memory in its intangible and tangible form is intrinsically linked to complex experiences of the past; to ongoing experiments of a "nation" in the making, as well as pressing contemporary social challenges. The thesis also concludes that questions of power, struggle and contestation also manifest as a quest for relevant idioms and aesthetics of re-representation and memorialisation. Further, the thesis makes observations on the politics behind the assembling and the assembled archive as a toolkit in the fashioning of pasts and the making of collective memory. It reflects on the processes of re-thinking and remaking of the June 16, 1976 archive. These conclusions have been arrived at through an investigation of how the memory and meaning of the June 16, 1976 uprisings have been re-constructed, re-represented and fashioned over the last three decades. This was done by tracking and analysing the complex, diverse forms and character of its memorialisation. In the process, the study arrives at a conclusion that the memorialisation of the June 16, 1976 uprisings is characterised by the multiplicity of tangible and intangible features. The intangible features are characterised by forgetting, at one level, and are, on another level, animated through rituals of commemoration, counter- commemoration and memorial debate. The memorial debate on the uprisings is that of unity and diversity, division, contestation and counter-commemoration and essentially irresolvable, as history and memory are tools to address contemporary challenges.

Keywords: June 16, 1976; uprisings; Soweto; youth; liberation struggle; Black Consciousness; archive; life histories; commemoration; counter-commemoration; memory; history;tourism; reconciliation; nation-building.

List of abbreviations

APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
AZANYU	Azanian National Youth Unity
AZAPO	Azanian Peoples Organisation
AZASO	Azanian Students Organisation
AZASM	Azanian Students Movement
AMCU	Association of Mine Workers and ConstructionUnion
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
ASSECA	Association of Education and Cultural Advancement
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BPC	Black Peoples Convention
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
DOCC	Donaldson Orlando Community Centre
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FIFA	International Federation of Association Football
FRELIMO	The Mozambique Liberation Front
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDAF	International Defence and Aid Fund
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NAYO	National Youth Organisation
NPSL	National Professional Soccer League
NHC	National Heritage Council
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
SASM	South African Students Movement
SSRC	Soweto Students Representative Council
SACP	South African Communist Party
SASO	South African Students Organisation
SOPA	Socialist Party of Azania
SADET	South African Democracy Education Trust
SHAP	South African History Project
SHT	Soweto Heritage Trust
SAYCRO	South African Youth Revolutionary Council

SCM	Students Christian Movement
SSL	Soweto Students League
SAC	Soweto Action Committee
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Memorialisation of the various facets of public life has been an integral part of the various contradictory processes of state and nation formation in southern Africa from the pre-colonial era to the era of resistance to colonial conquest; to the emergence of the Union of South Africa in 1910; to the victory of the National Party in 1948 and since the advent of democracy in 1994. The terminology "nation formation" is used here as an alternative to the concept of a single nation given the historic competition and conflicts of the various "nationalisms" in South Africa as will be demonstrated below. There are various ways of thinking about what memorialisation has entailed in South Africa's historical development from the pre-colonial period. The latter is complicated by the fact that what is understood to be South Africa today, did not exist as a unified political entity until the early twentieth century. Further, the idea of a "nation" as it is understood today emerged largely as part of a sectarian settler colonial[1] enterprise on the one hand, and as a framing of resistance to colonialism and a vision of a new society on the part of liberation movements and the post 1994 democratic government on the other.

Colonialism and the anti-colonial struggles did not subsume "the old identities and social geography of African chiefdoms, [which] remained partly intact and a dynamic factor in the country's development" (Beinart,1994: 1). Also, as pointed out by Leonhard Praeg (2011:3), "any idea we may have of what 'pre-colonial' means emerges conceptually from the category of the colonial and therefore remains, in our exploration of it, contaminated by the language of the colonial archive". The colonial archive which will be discussed further in this study as an apartheid archive and specifically in chapter four as the June 16, 1976 uprisings archive tends to be "cast as [a] product of discredited worldviews [together with its] relics" (Byala, 2013: 2). In this study I take the view that the colonial or apartheid archive can also be understood and read as an institution and a resource that can provide conflicted and

[1] Settler colonialism is used here to refer to the social, economic and political status quo in South Africafter Britain oversaw the establishment of the Union of South Africa which saw the emergence of a settler state in which only whites enjoyed full rights of citizenship. I am indebted to Nelson Mandela Foundation, *The Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Visitor Guide.* Not Dated for this definition of settler colonialism..

diverse kinds of information about the past as well as possibilities for multiple historical interpretations and entry points to the past(s) as well as the past in the present. This argument is supported by Arondekar Anjali (2005:11) who argues that the colonial archive is not fixed nor is it finite. Arondekar (2005: 11) further argues that the colonial archive is "a site of endless promise, where new records emerge daily and where accepted wisdom is both entrenched and challenged". Consequently, there are schools of thought that reread the tangible and intangible archive and in turn argue for the framing of pre-colonial societies as constituting people who may have considered themselves as "nations". In the South African context, this school of thought frames the early 19th century as the era of nation-building, particularly in southern Africa (Leeman, 1985). Writer and scholar Ayi Kwei Armah (2012) has argued that these societies had ways of managing memories from time immemorial[2], and it can therefore be argued that their ways of managing memory cannot be reduced or simplified within "the language of the colonial archive". As Armah writes: "memory management was long an indispensable part of the African way of life [...] Ancient African society preserved its social memory in a variety of media, in architecture and medicine, in sculpture and painting, in temple liturgies and lay music and, above all, in language" (2011:73).

David Bunn (2009), writing on imperial monuments in South Africa, acknowledges the existence of African memorial practices, not only in the pre-colonial period, but also in contemporary social times. Bunn describes African memorial practices as "memorial performances, burial sites and ancestral presences, sacred groves and the ubiquitous stone cairns known as *isivivane*, the memorial division of gender in cattle-byre burials" (Bunn, 2009: 4), among many other forms of memory, remembering, mourning and signifying place. It is important to refer to these issues from the outset as themes of "indigenisation", or "authenticity" and/or "an African signature"as they will at some stage be a point of reference in the body of this thesis. This is done because decolonisation has tended to be underpinned "intellectually, [by] the recovery of pre-colonial modes of thoughts that, it has been argued, could provide the intellectual foundation for post-colonial state-making" (Praeg, 2011:4) processes. The opposite is also kept in mind as a guiding assumption of this thesis.

[2] The use of the concept time immemorial by Ayi Kwi Armah is problematic. The latter is understood to mean ancient beyond memory or record. He then proceeds to refer to architecture, language as the archive or record that indicates the long history of memory management in Africa. The latter are in no way beyond memory and record.

That is, the definition of who is an African is continuously a matter of debate and it is sometimes used in a narrow sense. This study consciously uses African to refer to one section of a group of Black people who in the ideological world view of the Black Consciousness philosophy included Africans, Indians and so-called Coloureds as an oppressed group in the South African context. At the same time, this thesis makes up for this narrow definition of African by puting emphasis to questions of complexity, nuance and diversity as a methodology that allows one not to fall into the trap of understanding heritage and memorialisation in ways which Gary Minkley (2008:40), a history lecturer at the University of Fort Hare describes as "the new post-apartheid heritage, [which] though, complex, produces a more narrow one-sided sense of heritage as cultural difference, race and bounded identity, without transcending this difference as that of apartheid".

At this point, it will suffice to indicate that memorialisation in South Africa has been undertaken with heightened intensity in three major – but contradictory – political developments. One is represented by the claims that seek to negate Ayi Kwei Armah's argument quoted above, a position taken by colonial ideologues that the indigenous inhabitants found on the conquered lands had "achieved nothing worth recording" (Groebler, 2008: 169). For this reason, the colonists' stories and memories were the ones that deserved to be commemorated and inscribed on the landscape of the settler colonial nation-state. This line of thought, in essence a part of remaking and reframing of places, histories, memories as well as evolving political and cultural mythologies of oppression, was at some stage part of the colonising endeavour of British imperialism, and equally part of the political programme of Afrikaner Nationalism intrinsically linked to the rise of the apartheid state and intensified subsequent to the victory of the National Party in 1948. This development was not a linear process but was part of contradictions and struggles between the ideological hegemony of British colonial interests and Afrikaner Nationalist interests. Simultaneously, the British and the Afrikaners were in political contradiction with African nationalism in its various phases of development and multiplicity of trends. These trends in the South African context can be summed as variously influenced by the impact of Christian Missions and schools; the shortlived Cape Liberal Franchise as well as nationalist trends that embraced ideas drawn from international currents like the American Civil Rights Movements as well as the Pan Africanist Movement in the Carrebean, amongst African Amerians and among the

early leaders of independence movements in other parts of Africa (Roux, 1948, 1964; Walshe, 1970; Gerhart, 1978; Lodge, 1983; Motlhabi, 1985; Leatt, Kneifel and Nurnberger, 1986; Davis, 1987; Maloka, 2014).

The national liberation struggle and the post-apartheid nation-building processes followed the same memorialisation and nation-building agenda for different purposes, and with different ideological emphasis. In the literatures of the various liberation movements of the country, there is a body of writings in the form of poetry, freedom songs and pamphlets that recast resistance to colonialism and apartheid as inspired by nation-building heroes, showing that national liberation was a nation-building process in its own right.[3] Consequent to the advent of the transition to democracy in the 1990s, new themes took centre stage. Daniel Herwitz (2011:1) describes memorialisation and the themes of this era as "essentially an artefact of transition, [which] stressed redress, acknowledgement, social flexibility, and building a culture of human rights". This process continues today in an era described by Martin Murray (2013) as the post transitional[4] period. That is South Africa, twenty years since the advent of democracy wherein the euphoria of a "new" South Africa is being replaced by disillusionment.

The subject of this thesis, namely the commemoration, counter-commemoration and memorialisation of the June 16, 1976 student uprisings as collective memory from 1976 to 2006, has been a subject of intense and contested discourse for the last three decades. These public conversations and oftentime disputes, centre largely on what is the "acceptable" or "legitimate" way and medium for memorialising those who lost their lives as a result of the uprisings sparked by the police shooting of a peacefull march by students against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in some African schools and the liberation struggle in general. They are also contestations based on determining whose voice or voices are "genuine" in the

[3] There are various writings to be found in the literature of the former liberation movements of the ANC, SACP, PAC and AZAPO that frame leaders like King Shaka, Moshoeshoe and Dingane – to name but three – as nation builders or leaders of resistance.

[4] Post transitional period is used here to acknowledge that the transition from apartheid to democracy marked a significant development in South Africa. However, notions that suggests that the South African experience was unique and therefore a "miracle" are in many respect dispelled by the problems that continue to beset the country like most post colonial societies in Africa. See Neville Alexandra, *An ordinary coutry- Issues in the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy in South Africa*, 2002.University of Natal Press. Pietermaritzburg

telling of the Soweto uprisings narrative(s). Yet, other conversations centre on the use or even manipulation of memorialisation to express dissent and concerns about the given historical event and its links to contemporary challenges. This is made clear by some as concerns that have been expressed about what is perceived to be wrong with our current society, or as a betrayal of those who lost their lives and youth as a result of the 1976 uprisings, or indeed in the course of the broader liberation struggle. Clearly, the notion of "betrayal" emerges as a constant unspoken theme on the part of the many actors (from individuals, to institutions, to political parties) involved in the memory-making around the liberation struggle. For instance, on the 30th anniversary of the Soweto uprisings, the editorial of the *Sunday Times*, a leading national newspaper, asked the following question, "So how best do we thank those girls and boys who, armed only with stones, took on a mighty state? Do we put up monuments in their honour? Do we compose heroic poems about their valour? Name public institutions after them and their deeds …? [Or] the way to honour them is to realise their dream of creating a just and decent society"(*Sunday Times*, 2006:2).

On the 31st anniversary of June 16, a Black Consciousness Movement activist and Wits university lecturer, who is also active in land restitution struggles and editor of *New Frank Talk - critical essays on the Black condition*, Andile Mngxitama, as one of many activists dissatisfied with social, economic and political developments in post apartheid South Africa, wrote: "June 16 has become a weapon against remembering… [a] project of dismembering…[it is] being reduced to a symbol of mindless celebration as our youth is prevented from thinking and remembering" (Mngxitama, 2006:2). These remarks and observations reflect important aspects that this study will grapple with on how history, memory and heritage gets defined, appropriated and misappropriated.

There is also the question of disavowal or deliberate forgetting at stake in relation to June 16 as a historical event. The theme of disavowal is equally an important and interconnected theme with betrayal manifest as disengagement from the storytelling or remembering. This has tended to be a practice of those who are, after the given historical event, considered to have been on the wrong side of history. In the context of the story of the 1976 uprisings, there are those who were part of the political

government and policing apparatus of the times that disavow the events of the day.[5] This question also arises among those who were seen as apolitical at the time and disengaged from any form of political activity either for fear of police harassment, or, for example some students who were looking forward to completing their education towards a stable career. The latter saw involvement in the liberation struggle as a stumbling block to their ambitions. However, nowadays, those who collaborated with the system may choose to disengage from any story telling or remembering of the past that does not suit their standing in contemporary South Africa. This is the case of memory and remembering not aligning with contemporary attitudes and even the mores of contemporary life in South Africa.

Questions such as these continue to be asked about the meaning and significance of the 1976 uprisings and their place in the historical narrative, memory and heritage landscape of South Africa. It is argued here that the multiple answers and yet more unresolved questions lie in the understanding of the various ideological agendas where societies (including South Africa's diverse communities) reconstruct their pasts in order to deal with the challenges of the present. One of these critical and unresolved questions addresses whether it is possible to lay the past to rest without addressing its "material consequences" (Ministry of Education, 2004: 138). Material consequences here refer to the legacy of the past manifest in poverty, homelessness, the high rate of illiteracy and spartial devide of South Africa's cities and rural areas in spite of transformation iniotiatives in the last twenty years. This study argues that these questions lie in part behind the "memory boom" (Liddington, Smith, 2005: 28) that has characterised the emergent post-apartheid South Africa and continues twenty years after the advent of democracy.

Memory Boom

The advent of a memory boom is symptomatic of a society that has emerged from years of conflict. The dominant meaning of such a boom relates, to a large extent, to the use of history, heritage, monuments, public art and memorials in rationalising the foundation of new states and evolving a new identity. For instance, a short

[5]Journalist Vivian Mooki's article is probably one of the few journalistic pieces that discusses frustrations in finding police or former police officers who were active at the time of the uprisings who are willing to discuss their experiences. See for example Vivian Mooki, "June 16 police still locked into silence", *City Press*, 15 June, 2008.

booklet published by the Bureau of Heraldry, a directorate of the National Department of Arts and Culture, argues this point thus: "the most effective way to reflect the birth of a new nation is through the introduction of new national symbols. National symbols are key to the redefinition of a nation. It is through these symbols that national identity is achieved" (Department of Arts and Culture, 2011:1). This experiment in the last twenty years (1994 to the present) has demonstrated that this is not a straight forward process but a complex one that is difficult to realise within a democratic and human rights environment. I will demonstrate this through this thesis's narrative of the making of the memory of the June 16 1976 uprisings. In a number of ways the "memory boom" in post-apartheid South Africa is equally a product that the heritage industry has itself perpetuated and commodified for a host of complex reasons but most importantly for the selling of "the history of apartheid" side by side with the remnants of tourism of the apartheid era that has survived in the post apartheid era and is also sold to a global tourist market, as will be pointed out shortly in this chapter.

This process, as understood by the spokespersons of the new democratic government, has entailed a rebirth. Rebirth has meant the tweaking of the apartheid nation-state and its symbols. Equally, rebirth is understood as the redefinition of the nation. The use of the concept rebirth may inadvertently be an acknowledgement of the fact that the negotiated settlement that led to the founding of the democratic society ensured that many symbols of the past would survive into the post apartheid period, and there may be instances where these have to be redefined. In fact, there are many monuments, memorials, national holidays and significant events, that have been (re)defined and (re)imagined since 1994. Before discussing the concept "rebirth in memorialisation initiatives" it will suffice to point out that this study will return to this theme in the various chapters where the uprisings will be reframed as not simply "death" – but also a rebirth of the kinds of ideals espoused by students wanting to remake the nation into a democracy fashioned from protest and national liberation.

Among the memorials reflecting an attempt at rebirth is the Anglo-Boer War (1899 -1902), that has since been renamed the South African War. Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool (1999: 377), in their article, "No end of [history] lesson: Preparation for the Anglo-Boer War Centenary Commemoration", describe this process as constituting "add-on" processes in the remaking of histories or in the

transformation of museums and heritage sites. However the people whose experiences are supposedly added on, either remain in the margins of the narrative, or are "cast as racialised and gendered extras" (ibid.). This process is discussed further below, where this chapter examines the reframing as well as additions to national holidays. Before we proceed to discuss the reframing of national days, it will suffice to point out that the new South African government went on to imagine the new nation through a variety of national symbols, including the National Flag, the National Anthem, the National Coat of Arms and National Orders (Department of Arts and Culture, 2011).

National Holidays

The memory boom is also part of the agenda by both state and non-state actors that manifests in "physical markers of past violence and repression" (Hamber and Wilson, 2007: 4) and memories of the "triumphant" struggles for liberation. In many instances "national days" or national holidays are linked to events on that day associated with memorials as physical markers of that past. In post apartheid South Africa they now include the popular annual commemorations of Human Rights Day on March 21, formerly known as Heroes' Day or Sharpeville Day and commemorated by extra parliamentary organisations inside the country and banned liberation movements in exile. Its renaming as Human Rights Day has elicited criticism, largely from the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which was behind the original campaign, as an attempt by the ruling party allegedly to underplay the PAC's role (Pheko, 2001). Freedom Day on April 27 celebrates the birth of democracy following the first democratic elections in 1994. Though some political activists to the left of the governing party contest the content of freedom or democracy in South Africa, one issue that has also been widely raised as a matter of concern –given some factions of the government's fixation with questions of social cohesion –is the near absence of mainly sections of white South African society. We will return to this point in the short discussion of Heritage Day.

Workers' Day on May 1 was, in the past, contested by the apartheid government and is now a shared platform of the ANC government and its allies.[6] One of many

[6] Prior to 1994, Africanist and Black Consciousness formations used to commemorate Workers Day in collaboration with the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU). Since 1994, Workers Day has taken a low profile from the commemoration calendar of the PAC and other Black Consciousness formations like AZAPO.

themes and areas of focus in this study which is tied to the larger research question concerning commemoration, memory and heritage that will be explored extensively, is Youth Day on June 16, previously known as Soweto Day. Women's Day on August 9 commemorates the role of women in the liberation struggle, and has become largely a state-sponsored event. A memorial to women's struggles known as the National Women's Monument by artist Wilma Cruise and architect Marcus Holmes was erected in the Union Buildings in Pretoria, and was unveiled by former President, Thabo Mbeki on 9 August, 2000. The National Women's monument can also be seen as contributing to the redress of imbalances and inequity that arise as a result of the dominance of memorials and statues of male leaders, a point noted and discussed in depth by Sabine Marschall (2010:261) who has written widely on memorialisation in South Africa since 1994. In addition to the Women's Monument, Marschall (2010:261) also acknowledges the work of the *Sunday Times* Heritage Project as broadening the transformation of the heritage landscape to include more memory projects that commemorate the role of women in South African society; as well as attempting to move away from political emphasis by commemorating South Africans who have made an impact on the country outside of the conventional avenues of politics.

Heritage Day on September 24 emphasises cultural diversity. This notion of "cultural diversity" has also raised a number of questions for a debate which in part seeks to understand the reaffirmation of "ethnic" identities since the advent of the democratic dispensation in South Africa (Stevens, Franchi, Swart, 2006). Such a debate also raises the tension between the rights of an individual, which some see as primary, and the group rights that are inherent in notions of multi-culturalism, multi-racialism and the professed notion of a "rainbow nation"[7]. The Day of Reconciliation on December 16, which in the past was commemorated as "Dingaan's Day" by Afrikaners, led by the National Party government, and later renamed the "Day of the Vow",[8] to recall that God had been on the side of the Voortrekkers in the

[7] The metaphor "rainbow nation" as a way of imagining the 'new' South Africa is discussed in depth in Gary Baines's The rainbow nation? Identity and nation building in post-apartheid South Africa. http://motspluriels.arts.uwa.edu.au/MP798gb.html. [Accessed on 27/2/2008

[8]The name was changed several times by the previous government, and it was also known as the Day of the Covenant.

Battle of Blood River.[9] As an example of history as a political instrument to shape society at different times and as a response to different political pressures and agendas, the commemoration of December 16 has changed with every political development in the country. In the past, it was also commemorated as an affirmation of resistance to apartheid by different sections of the liberation movement, with the ANC having founded its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) on this day.

Memory as Heritage Industry

The arguments presented above about the use of memory to respond to, and fashion different political imperatives in the processes of South African state and nation formation have resonances in the historical development of the tourism industry in South Africa dating back to 1910. According to J.B. Wolf (1991.100) commercial tourism was organised to fight international isolation, attract skilled labour from abroad and to justify the policies of racial and ethnic divisions. Consequently, the tourism agenda was underpinned by the framing of South Africa's population and built environment with ideologically loaded words like "unique", "unfamiliar" and "authentic" (ibid. p 100). It should be pointed out that in the apartheid imaginary, tourism attractions dealing with struggles for liberation were largely those affirming the struggles and apartheid ideology that South Africa was solely the home of those with roots in Eaurope but chosen by god to bring civilisation to "Dark Africa" as demonstrated in the discussion of the framing of the Day of the Vow/ Dingaan's Day in the beginning of this chapter. The other aspect of the apartheid imaginary was to justify and reinforce "ethnic" consciousness through among others what became popularly known as cultural villages. The cultural villages continue to be part of the tourism landcape in various parts of the country in the post apartheid period (Ndebele (2007).

Since the advent of democracy after 1994 questions and debates around memorialisation continue in heritage literature either as tourism industry or through

[9]The commemoration of the various "national" days prior to 1994 is discussed by various writers. See Ndlovu, S.M. *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-memories of June 1976* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1998); Schonfeldt-Aultman, S. Monument(a)l meaning-making: the Ncome monument & its representation of Zulu identity. *Journal of African Cultural Studies.* 18 (2006), 2; Lawrence, M. "An analysis of a variety of perspectives: A case study on Sharpeville" (Masters Research Report, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2004); Seleti, Y. "December 16, Day of Reconciliation". In *Cleansing and Healing.* (Photographic Exhibition, Freedom Park, Pretoria, n.d.)

the conceptualisation of "memory [as] industry" (Kammen,1993: 3). This connotes the commodification of memory that is due to perceived government and tourist imperatives. As Jackie Grobler (2008: 168) points out, "any government will want to profit as much as possible from such a lucrative source of income" as tourism. The "memory industry" also raises the issue of public heritage institutions and their role in re-imagining the new nation, in addressing questions of social justice as well as in addressing economic development. Whilst these roles are often conflated, this study acknowledges inherent conflicts of interests. G.J. Ashworth, in his article "Tourism and the heritage of atrocity: Managing the heritage of South African apartheid for entertainment" notes that heritage can be categorised more broadly under various "special interest[s]" (Ashworth, 2004:95). The categories that relate to this thesis in addition to the "memory boom" and "memory industry" includes "dark tourism", which is defined by Ashworth as "atrocity heritage tourism" (ibid.: 95) and "lest we forget" or "never again" tourism (ibid.:95).

The post-apartheid era has seen various interest groups, ranging from local communities, to the various tiers of government and civil society formations, initiating the emergence of a number of museums and memorial projects. People behind these initiatives are diverse, and hold different –sometimes conflictual views on the role of heritage and memorialisation. On one level, the memory makers are part of the post-1994 agenda of fashioning the past to suit current political needs largely defined as reconciliation, symbolic reparations, nation-building as well as the need to address challenges of job creation. However on another level, these memory makers are able to assert independence from the various tiers of government involved in making histories [10] and to critique the state's memorialisation initiatives.[11] The new museums that have been added to existing government-funded museums, like the Northern Flagship now known as Ditsong and the Southern Flagship now known as Iziko Museums, include the Mandela Museum opened in

[10] I am indebted to Ciraj Rassool, Leslie Witz and Garry Minkley for this concept. They use it in their individual and collaborative writings to point to eliminating the distinction between source and history. In this thesis I utilize oral testimonies and public debates by a number of activists and commentators on the June 16, 1976 uprisings as part of memory making by using the concept memorial debate.

[11] Whilst the District Six Museum is considered to have jealously guarded its independence and resisted being appropriated as a project of the post 1994 state, some of its board members have served in institutions like the South African Heritage Resources Agency, which effectively makes them advisers to the Ministry of Culture.

2000, and consist of the sites in Mvezo, Qunu and in Mthatha (Saunders, 2007: 191, Rassool, 2004:111) and the Robben Island Museum, a site with multiple layers of history, but known worldwide for the incarceration of political prisoners, and declared a world heritage site in 1999 (Deacon,1996). There are also those without government support that have tapped into people's memories, and taken an activist role in addressing the real life issues that are related to their subject of memorialisation. One example is the District Six Museum, a site for the memory of forced removals, particularly of the people of District Six, which has "pioneered a form of ongoing memorialisation with continued community input and participation (Legassick, 2007:141)". It is acknowledged that most memory projects have been preceded by public consultation of various sorts, and continue to explore various ways of sustaining community engagement. This practice does call for ongoing reflection and debate, which is discussed further in Chapter Four. I will return to a discussion of memory and tourism in this chapter under the heading heritage and international tourism to demonstrate how the development of tourism in the west has had a great impact on memorialising initiatives in South Africa.

Museums and Architecture

There are also institutions such as the Apartheid Museum, which are in private hands. Its narrative was an attempt to develop a "journalistic overview" [12] of apartheid history. It "relates a narrative of injustice and resistance that avoids a stereotypical white versus black confrontation" (Ashworth, 2004:102) with "carefully selected artefacts and exhibits". However, its close proximity and relationship with the owners of the Gold Reef City Casino and their history is considered by some "inappropriate…for a task as momentous as the institutionalising of apartheid's memory" (Bremner, 2004: 125). This view is however contested by T.V. Singh, who points out that "its heritage message is much more serious, eschewing the more casual and entertainment oriented history of its neighbour" (Ashworth, 204: 102) Gold Reef City, where the history of gold mining is glamourised. There have been further writings on the Apartheid Museum that suggest a need for a more nuanced reading of its architecture and exhibitions. Jenny Hunter Blair writes that though the architects wanted to make the museum a place of reconciliation, there is a

[12] Notes taken during input given by architect Jeremy Rose during a presentation at a reference group session on Freedom Park in Pretoria, 2007.

complex interplay of architecture and the meaning of history underway in its exhibits. Blair sees the architecture as characterised by the search for an "African" aesthetic, by designing it on "a natural cleft in the landscape" (2011:30) and through a "mixture of natural rural and urban industrial architecture" (ibid.:30). Incorporated are elements that "bring a historical element of suffering and joy" (ibid.), which is captured through the "geometric lines [that] depict power and tranquillity" (ibid.).

Clearly, heritage managers, individuals, institutions and lobbies have different motives and have to operate under different circumstances. Another example of these diverse motives and operational differences can be gleaned from investigating the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, which commemorates the June 16, 1976 student uprisings. Its principal designers were Mashabane Rose Associates,[13] and it is representative of new museums funded and managed by local authorities. Its making was subjected to different community and political pressures, unlike that of the Apartheid Museum. Its curatorial approach drew on contestations among academics, the local community and the political interests of the local authority, which are in line with the dominant sections of the new state whose espoused master narrative is that of nation-building, reconciliation and job creation. According to Lindsay Bremner (2004:152) the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum is "one of the few architecturally significant buildings to have been built in Soweto since 1994" (ibid.: 153). The museum building has "engaged meaningfully with the built space around it, and responded to the people who have lived and continue to live there" (ibid.). This "environmental gesture" (ibid.) is complemented by the stories carried inside the museum. According to Fana Sihlongonyana (2010), in his article titled "The Nelson Mandela Museum and the tyranny of political symbols", this approach has also influenced the development of the Nelson Mandela project in Alexandra township.[14] That is, the Nelson Mandela project was designed along similar lines with the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum in as far as it attempts to be integrated to the immediate environment and also serves as a viewing point of the surrounding locale.

[13] Mashabane Rose Associates is a Johannesburg based architectural firm who, in addition to the Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum have also been involved in the making of the Apartheid Museum and the Freedom Park amongst a number of other museums and heritage sites.
[14] This project was linked to the development of Alexandra Township. It was left incomplete. A new process to complete the project has begun 2015 under the auspieces of the Johannesburg Development Agency and the City of Johannesburg's directorate of Arts, Culture and Heritage.

The making of Constitution Hill, which is so inextricably linked to the narrative of the founding of the new democracy, a point discussed earlier, is different from the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum and the Apartheid Museum as a site museum[15] which had its own set of heritage producers. On the one hand, there were judges of the newly formed Constitutional Court who identified the site as a potential home for the new court and who collaborated with heritage practitioners to choose strands of the site's history to be told. Over the years its exhibition programming has included yet more role players, by involving a number of former prisoners (Segal, Van den Berg and Madikida, 2006). Its historical use includes being a former notorious No. 4 Prison or "The Fort", a site whose "old stonewalls tell a century's worth of stories of an iniquitous political system, a brutal penal institution, and the resilience of generations of prisoners" (The Constitutional Court Trust, 2006: 49). On the other hand, this dehumanising history is contrasted by a programme of artworks, which in Justice Albie Sachs' (2008: 17) view represents an "explicit connection between art and human rights". The artworks represent a narrative that is deliberately fashioned to express a new national identity, one underpinned by inclusivity and reconciliation. Sachs further points out that there was a deliberate agenda to "avoid denunciatory or triumphalist art" (ibid.:20). The Women's Prison on the same complex opened in 2005. This represented a significant development, as the representation of women experiences in the South African heritage landscape calls for further redress. The complex as a whole is also the home of South Africa's Constitutional Court, an "institution established to defend the democratic principles and values of the new constitutional order" (ibid.:49), and inaugurated in 1995.

New Museums and the Township Space

Other projects worth mentioning due to their location in African townships include the Museum of Struggle at "the Red Location" in Port Elizabeth, designed by architect and winner of a national architectural competition in 1998, Noero Wolff. This has been described by Hanna Le Roux (2005: 59) as "an imposing structure set within a scrap yard of shacks". The Mandela Museum in Orlando West township, redeveloped in 2009 by Mashabane Rose Architects in collaboration with Haley-

[15] Another site museum in Johannesburg is the Workers Museum in the Newtown Cultural Precinct which has been described as a site of labour migration.

Sharpe Southern Africa and the Sharpeville Exhibition and Memorial Centre, was initially conceptualised by the architect Willie Greef and recently redeveloped by Albonico Sack Mzumara Urban Designers.[16] The significance of their location in Singh's (cited in Ashworth, 2004:101) view, is that black townships are "a memorial to segregation". They "contain an implicit message of continuous grinding inconvenience, if not hardship, stemming from the local consequences of the imposition of apartheid". Taking up a similar argument, Hanna Le Roux (2005: 59) points out that "'location' is a word with its own history in apartheid space, predating the more modernist term of township". One interesting question that follows this observation is what it means to say "Apartheid is where it belongs – a museum", as the promotional material of the Apartheid Museum declares. What is the difference between what people see inside the township museum and the way many South Africans experience the township as a home? This study will return to this question in Chapter Four.

Freedom Park in Pretoria, with state support and investment, is a massive memory project that was completed in April 2013. Unlike the memorials discussed above the Freedom Park through the writings of its personel overtly responds to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) calls for symbolic reparations (Freedom Park, 2004: 17). Its multiple teams of memory makers deliberately attempted a radically different museological approach compared to the museums and memorials discussed in this chapter. Freedom Park has also become a site for the official commemoration of December 16 as the Day of Reconciliation, and extends its memorialisation work through a series of commissioned publications. As will be shown in the case of the Hector Pieterson Museum, Freedom Park – like the Sharpeville Memorial Square – has also become a site of theatres of contestation, as various interest groups contest its meaning and representations. Interest groups, it is argued here are important as agents in counter-commemoration that liberate state-initiated memorials from being solely sites of state-sanctioned histories and memories.

[16]For a detailed discussion of the development of the Sharpeville Memorial and related sites see Monica Albonico, "Re-tracing history: Architecture for memorial sites of conscience." (Paper presented to the seminar, *Architecture for memorial sites of conscience* held at Constitution Hill, Johannesburg, on the 28th and 29th October 2009.)

The emergence of these new museums has been seen as part of the process of transforming the South African heritage landscape. According to Leslie Witz, (2006: 107) the new museums have, at best, "presented the possibility of changes in the domain of visualising a new, more inclusive society". They have however also been critiqued as continuing a separate tradition, suggesting that there is memorialising along the apartheid divide. One of the proponents of the latter view is Christopher Saunders, who writes in his article, "The transformation of heritage in the new South Africa", that though these new museums "represent the lives of ordinary people, [that] their collections fill obvious gaps, but they are special museums relating to black life, and so continue an unfortunate separatist tradition" (2007: 192).There are several questions that arise from Saunders' observation, among them: how are ordinary people defined in the new museums, and who undertakes to represent them? These questions are teased out in the various case studies that form part of this study. Saunders reduces transformation to a strategy to address issues along colour lines only whereas transformation could include addressing inclusivity along gender, generational and ideological divides. What Saunders calls "black life" is shaped by multiple identities and multiple, often contradicting stories. The story of the 1976 uprisings demonstrates this argument, as will be shown in the review of the literature of the uprisings in this chapter.

In various parts of the country, streets, buildings and stadiums are being renamed in the face of heated debates and contestation, including challenges through public protests, petitions and court cases.[17] Indeed, South African courts are being used to mediate the understanding and interpretation of South African pasts. This has been demonstrated in the court judgement on the singing of the freedom song since dubbed by the media as "dubul' ibhunu" (shoot the boer), appropriated by the ANC in its argument that it is part of heritage, when it is actually part of the struggle song repertoire of different formations of the South African liberation movements, including the PAC and AZAPO.[18] The debates and contestation mirror the political

[17]A number of newspapers have carried stories about the debates and court cases arising from renaming of streets and buildings. See for example L. Flanagan, "Joburg airport just one of hundreds of name changes",*Mail & Guardian*, 26 October, 2006 on the debates on name changes.

[18] The court case on this particular freedom song has been widely reported in the local media. For an indepth study on freedom songs, see Grant Olwage (ed.) *Composing Apartheid: music for and against apartheid* (Wits University Press, Johannesburg, 2008).

cleavages of the past whilst ushering in new tensions. The new state, in ways that are variable and informed by dynamics of the different provinces and cities, sees the re-imagining of public memory and history as part of the process of transforming South African society from the old apartheid colonial order into a new, democratic society. However, the views of some leading figures in the new state with regards to what constitutes the public history of the new society, are pitted against those of other former liberation movements. Although leaders of these other liberation movements agree, in principle, that the names of streets, cities and towns (including that of the country) should be changed, they nonetheless argue that the change of names[19] is hegemonic and represents the interests of the governing party, neglecting and undermining the contributions of other former liberation movements, who are equal contributors to the rich and diverse traditions of struggle. The latter further argue that party and state are conflated and therefore the state machinery is being used for party-political ends.[20]

Research Centres and Foundations

Research Centres and Foundations have initiated new publishing projects to address the re-representation of the past. For instance, the South African History Project, undertaken from 2001 to 2004, published various books as an educational project to coincide with the tenth year of freedom. The latter was an initiative of the Ministry of Education. It represented a leap forward, if it is taken into consideration that under the first post-apartheid minister of education, history was combined with other subjects to create social sciences, whilst at the same time, keeping alive the uneasiness with the possibility of an imposed or official state narrative of South Africa's revised histories. Various volumes have also been published by the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), a project launched by former South African president Thabo Mbeki, with diverse scholars as contributors and funding from the private sector on a symbolic day, 21 March, 2001. Its key objective was "to

[19] The politics of name changing has been an integral part of commemoration and memory making. It entails the renaming of various parts of the South African landscape from buildings, streets, parks and dams as part of a strategy to shape the country new identity.
[20]The PAC or Africanist perspective on the contestation or the politics of renaming see Sizani, K. "Negation of African images and heroes",*PAC Bulletin from Parliament*, 1 (1996), 2; and Pheko, M., "The ANC is not the state", in a letter to Ali Khangela Hlongwane, 20 January, 2006.

record the history of our liberation struggle, keep track of the road to democracy and celebrate the heroes, the heroines and the masses that have built and are building, that have walked and are walking, along this difficult road of freedom and hope" (Mbeki, 2004: x1). Though these aims echo official approval by sections of leading ideologues of the new state, former ANC activist and now critical scholar Raymond Suttner, writing in his doctoral thesis entitled: *Rendering Visible: The underground organisational experience of the ANC-led Alliance until 1976*, acknowledges that SADET draws from independent scholars and its work "is based on extensive archival as well as oral work, ranging very widely and covering a lot of interviewees and much documentation on struggles throughout the country" (Suttner, 2005:16). The latter view has subsequently been contested by Martin Legassick (2008), who has singled out three of the contributors to SADET publications – Ben Magubane, Sifiso Ndlovu (A scholar whose writings on the June 16, 1976 uprisings will be discussed in the literature review) and Jabulani Sithole – as propagating a post-apartheid patriotic history that sings praises to the governing party. Though the dispute is about the interpretation of worker history in volume 4 Part 2 of *The Road to Democracy in South Africa 1980-1990*, Legassick seems to use words like patriotic history to hyperbolise the differences so as to suggest that these writers have "succumbed to prevailing power relations" (ibid.: 265), that is, to using history to privilege the perspectives of the governing party. This charge is contested by Jabulani Sithole (2009), who is of the view that Legassick is an ideological bully, who wants to impose his own ideological worldview.

Museums, Memorialisation and Archival Expansions

In many respects, these initiatives are adding new layers to the history and memory landscape of South Africa, as well as opening up other areas of contestation. Initiatives take advantage of the availability of the hitherto inaccessible archives of the formerly banned liberation movements and their exiled members. The significance of the latter, according to Verne Harris (2002: 138), a former employee of the National Archives, former Director of the South African History Archive, and currently a Programme Manager for the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, lies in "bringing the hidden, the marginalised, the exiled, the 'other's [memories] into the mainstream". However, it must always be kept in mind that the archive of former activists and their organisations has its own gaps and experience of "memory

erasure" (ibid.; 138), to use Harris's phrase. By this he refers to the practice of former activists, wherein they were reluctant "to commit certain types of information to paper and [were always ready] to destroy records rather than allow them to fall into the hands of state operatives" (ibid.: 138). Further, Martin Legassick (2007: 144), who has been mentioned above and has also been involved in a number of research, history and memorialisation projects including Curriculum 2005 and the teaching of history; the South African History Project (SAHP), as well as the South African Democracy Education Trust (since his return to South Africa after years of exile), notes the following: "a big problem has been our access to archives – in particular the security (military, police, intelligence) archives of the apartheid regime." This problem of access has been experienced in the context of the post-1994 democratic order, whose constitution and a number of legislations champion transparency and access to information.[21] This thesis does not suggest that the archive would be complete and devoid of contestation if the security agencies had not destroyed or prevented certain information from being preserved and accessed. It also acknowledges the truism that "there is a body of knowledge residing in large measure in the consciousness or memories of people who may never write books. From their own experiences, activity and knowledge they have a version of history fundamentally different from that found in textbooks. They generally do not have access to media in order to correct such 'absences' and imbalances" (Suttner, 2009: 164).

These absences apply equally to the archives of the uprisings, as well as to their commemoration over the years. Apart from "absences" and imbalances, the archive of the uprisings is scattered across various parts of the country, Africa and the world where many of the "Class of '76"were dispersed or settled. The dispersed archive of '76 includes documentation of the activities of many solidarity groups who commemorated the uprisings until the advent of the democratic South Africa in 1994. This study will not address the commemoration of the June 16 uprisings in the international arena, a gap it is hoped will be filled by other students of the uprisings in the growing body of literature pertaining to the exile experiences of the South African struggle.

[21] For indepth reflections and discussions of challenges of access to information, see Kate Allan (ed.) *Paper Wars: Access to Information in South Africa.* (Wits University Press, Johannesburg, 2009).

Memorialisation projects are not unique to post-apartheid South Africa. Various societies have, over the years used memorialisation for multiple purposes. These purposes include mourning; political mobilization; promoting reconciliation; symbolic reparations; authoring emergent nation-states; negotiating and re-negotiating meanings of the past; and validating new political establishments. Memorialisation is also a potent tool for counter-commemoration by sections of society not at ease with dominant or state-sanctioned memorials and historical narratives.

These varied uses of memorialisation are in many respects the defining features of the commemoration and "heritagisation" of the June 16, 1976 student uprisings over the last three decades. According to Joan McGregor and Lyn Schumaker (2006: 655), "heritagisation" involves a shift from writing history as represented in texts to heritage production through curating, conservation and performance. Therefore, this complex process can also, in Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (2006: 196) view, be understood as "a mode of metacultural production that produces something new, which, though it has recourse to the past, is fundamentally different from it". This view of a shift from history to heritage is shared by Cosgrove, as quoted in Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006: 650) thus: "heritage is artefactual more than textual; it is realized in material objects such as … works of art, … buildings, sites, special places … or else it is performed in speech or dress, in ritual, ceremony, dance or song." This study notes that the latter, does raise a number of questions, or one may say it may be problematic in terms of presenting a curatorial process that involves text and artefacts that are too static. One example is the practice of creating "cultural villages where "culture" is fossilized hinted at earlier in this chapter.

Memorialisation, like history, is an act of defining and representing the past in public space. In the view of historian Liz Stanley (2006: 77), subjects chosen for and methods for memorialisation are greatly affected by social circumstances and understandings. History, heritage and memorialisation are thus strategies for exploring the past in the present, a process that can also be understood as "a conversation that the present has with the past [...] [that] includes several voices in the present arguing about exactly what kind of past actually existed" (Brundage, 2004:6).

As noted above, memorialisation can act either to validate or contest the historical and mythical meanings of the present. These processes often take place between contestants of unequal strength, with different "levels of significance" (ibid.:5) being assigned to history and memory. This hand of power and authority can induce silence. Conversely, memorialisation can provide space for alternative memories of those who "refuse to forget or remember what [power and authority] prescribes" (Baines, 2007: 169).

Counter-memories often have to contest for space in an environment that is shaped by the master narrative whose stated aim is nation-building born of reconciliation. This master-narrative is rooted in the state formation agenda, that seeks to affirm that nation-building has developed, among a number of features, a society that appears to know the truth about its painful past and has taken bold steps to effect reconciliation. Consequently:

> the idea of dealing with the past through a national truth commission ascribes a collective identity to a nation, and assumes that nations have psyches which experience traumas similar to individuals [...] [that] the pursuit of national unity is a unitary and coherent process, and the national processes of dealing with the past and individual processes are largely concurrent and equivalent. Thus a national process of uncovering and remembering the past is said to allow the country to develop a common and shared memory, and in so doing, creates a sense of unity and reconciliation for its people (Hamber & Wilson, 2007:1).

Memorialisation and International Tourism

Memorialisation is also inextricably connected with the rise of national and international tourism. Politicians, civil society formations and government officials see heritage or "struggle" tourism as a strategy for job creation and national as well as local economic development. Post-apartheid South Africa is a clear example of this, where "struggle" tourism includes visits to sites associated with the anti-apartheid struggle, as well as experiencing the conditions of life in former African townships created under apartheid. Sites of "struggle" tourism to be discussed in this

study include the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum and the Tsietsi Mashinini commemorative art site in Soweto, as well as the June 16, 1976 Soweto Heritage Trail, initiated on the 30th anniversary of the uprisings. This thesis also examines the contests and contradictions arising from claiming a site for restorative justice and reconciliation, while at the same time trying to sell commemorative activity to the tourist market. It is important to indicate that this contradiction is perhaps an inherent part of memorials. What is of significance to this study is how the tension between tourism and its emphasis on the commercial value of memorials and alternative approaches to memorialisation as dialogue and sharing of stories, is managed, theorised and rationalized.

Tourism and globalisation also shape the aesthetics of destinations. Barbara Kirkshenblatt-Gimblet (2006: 187) argues that new technologies have made possible "spaces of instantaneous and ubiquitous communication and global consciousness". Consequently, these and the mass media as well as older forms of mass media exert influences on heritage and museum projects by "creating a lingua franca" that cuts across national and international boundaries. So, through the power of communication technology, corporate sponsorship and foreign aid, western influences are dominating heritagisation trends. McGregor and Schumaker (2006: 656) concur that, "the globalised tourist industry has been a powerful shaping force, exerting influence through the interests of the Western tourists it caters for, creating pressure for the type of experience that sells".

Similarly, memorialising and museum design in South Africa (both pre- and post-1994) often draw on global models. In the view of Sabine Marschall (2006: 166), most of South Africa's post-apartheid museums and memorialisation projects are influenced by similar projects in the West. These she calls "western monumental traditions" (ibid.:166). These can be a powerful influence even in instances such as South Africa, where the liberation movements had strong ties with former Eastern European socialist countries and with other African states.

Historic Sites of Conscience

Another manifestation of this globalised tourist industry, informed by a different approach in its development of an alternative visitor experience, is the international movement of "sites of conscience", whose thrust is "remembering past struggles for

justice and addressing their contemporary legacies" (International Coalition of Historic Sites of Conscience, 2007) through civic engagement programmes. Dominick La Capra (1998: 26) describes these legacies as "deadly living traditions". We pointed these legacies as dispossession, homelessness, unemployment, spartial divisions in cities and rural areas and illiteracy amongst others earlier in this chapter. The concept of civic engagement has emerged as a growing form of heritage practice. It is seen by its practitioners as facilitating opportunities that "provide a counterweight to the state and the market" (Barbara Kirkshenblatt-Gimblet, 2006: 188). This trend is represented by the founding of the International Coalition of Historic Sites of Conscience, by individuals and memory institutions from around the world. In South Africa, these include the District Six Museum in Cape Town. The International Coalition of Historic Sites of Conscience has subsequently attracted participation from the Trevor Huddleston Memorial Centre in Sophiatown, and Constitution Hill in Johannesburg. The latter has since become an accredited member. International examples are the Gulag Museum in Russia, the Liberation War Museum in Bangladesh and Argentina's Memoria Abierta, among a number of others.[22]

Museum and memory practice at historic sites of conscience have been described as aiming "to foster dialogue on pressing social issues and promote democratic and humanitarian values" and to change the role of historic sites in civic life "from places of passive learning to centres for active citizen engagement" (Sevcenko 2004: 1). The heritagisation of liberation struggle histories is another vehicle for promoting new forms of civic engagement in post-conflict societies. Theoretically, through heritage sites, previously oppressed people can deal with their marginalised histories and address unresolved issues of social justice. This approach to memorialisation and its consistencies and inconsitances deserve an indepth reflection and critique that I am unable to undertake for the purpose of this study.[23] This thesis nonetheless demonstrates how these questions emerge around the understanding of the function

[22] Subsequent to the uprisings in the Middle East popularly dubbed "the Arab Spring" the International Coalition of Historic Sites of Conscience has attracted human rights activists from the Middle East. This brings a new and interesting dimension to memorialisation given the influence of Islam and the latter's approaches to rerepresentation.

[23] A study of the recent developments in the public programmes of Constitution Hill might indicate how it has embraced the state narratives on social cohesion and inculcating patriotism. Consequently, the institution has developed programmes to promote the national anthem, the South African Flag and "values" of the Constitution in ways that are contradictory to the understanding of history within the International Historic Sites of Conscience as articulated in its various publications.

of memorialisation and also play themselves out as critical messages and features of the discourse in the commemoration of the June 16, 1976 uprisings.

Literature Review

Memory and international influences in the (re)making of 'new' national symbols

International context

This study draws from the vast literature on memorialization, both internationally and nationally, to explore the influences at play in contemporary South Africa, focusing largely on the commemoration of the student uprisings of June 16, 1976. This literature review begins with reflections and lessons that can be drawn from Jay Winter's *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history* on traditions of memorialisation following the "Great War in France, Britain and Germany".Winter (1995: 7) describes his study as "a journey past a number of sites of memory [...][representing the] physical, emotional, and artistic artifacts [that] testify to the catastrophic character of the Great War and to the multifaceted effort of the survivors to understand what happened". Winter premises his study on the view that sites of memory and sites of mourning represent ways in which those affected by loss try to comprehend and then transcend the devastating effects of conflict. The memorials and memorialisation processes characterising the Great War in France, Britain and Germany are of significance to this study as it will later be demonstrated that its monuments, rituals of commemoration and their related debates have re-emerged in different contexts and circumstances over the years. The rituals of commemoration in this thesis refer to the "construction, dedication and repeated pilgrimages to memorials" (ibid.:6). The primary context in which Winter discusses sites of memory and sites of mourning is primarily the scale of human loss that this war, which he describes as "the bloody history of European disintegration" represents (ibid.:1). The scale of the loss of life is seen in the service-men who died in their millions, as well as in the many affected by the loss of family members, friends or neighbours. Consequently, those affected by the devastating war had to explore ways in which to transcend the terrible losses. Winter argues that this was dealt with through a process of mourning characterised by "remembering and forgetting" (ibid.:1). Remembering was partly a process of understanding the tragedy with the

hope that it may not be repeated, whilst forgetting partly represented the difficulty of coming to terms with the tragedy and therefore deliberately forgetting it. Further, the process of remembering and forgetting gave rise to various aspects of memorialisation. These aspects of memorialisation included the "conventional shibboleths of patriotism" (ibid.:2).The latter should be understood to mean searching and oftentimes rationalizing war and loss by invoking the rhetoric of "glory" and "sacrifice for the cause". Considering this aspect of memorialisation in relation to the study of the June 16, 1976 uprisings, will receive focus in Chapter Two. The latter will, drawing from Winter's arguments, look at how "the power of patriotic appeals [is] derived from…religious images" (ibid.: 3) along with forms of popular culture of the era of the student uprisings. Forgetting will be reflected on as the avowal of the past by sections of society.

The other aspects of memorialisation and searching for meaning of loss are manifest in the traces, monuments and ruins (Koshar,2000:1) marking the landscape of Europe. Winter observes that in the context of the Great War of France, Britain and Germany, "war memorials dot the countryside, in cities, towns, and villages, in market squares, churchyards, schools, and obscure corners of hillsides and fields" (ibid.: 1). Over the years, these war memorials have become marked by "their internationally recognized symbolic and conceptual language" (Carrier, 2005: 6), whose influences– this thesis will later demonstrate – overlap with the memorialisation processes that follow the Second World War and re-emerged in South Africa as the legacy of imperialist and nationalist monuments. Great War memorials usually feature cenotaphs, tombs of unknown soldiers, busts of heroic victims, flags and male or female icons (ibid.).

Peter Carrier in *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Cultures in France and Germany since 1989 - The Origins and Political Function of the Vel' d' Hiv' in Paris and the Holocaust Monument in Berlin* (2005), argues that more than the Great War of France, Germany, the Second World War can be seen as "a transnational point of historical reference" (ibid.) in reflecting on international influences of memory culture. Whilst there may be continuities in the memorialisation processes of the Great War (the First World War) and those of the Second World War, Winter (1995: 8) points out that "clerical patriotism had to be muted in 1939". This meant that romantic or patriotic notions of war had become discredited. The implications

were that what we described in the discussion of the language of commemoration of the Great War as the "conventional shibboleths of patriotism" were de-emphasised. According to Winter (1995: 9), "When it came to mourning fallen soldiers, many of the survivors tried to use the somber languages and forms which derived from the memory of the Great War." The question may arise as to what in essence the change represented. Winter argues that the commemorative forms created after 1918 were intended to warn (ibid.: 9). That is, the commemoration of the Great War used the "witness of those who had suffered during the war to prevent its recurrence" (ibid.: 9). That message however, was not heard by those in power and yet another war broke out in 1939, and as will be shown below, the use of witness would re-emerge yet again in the memorials of the holocaust. Chapter Four explores this theme in post-1994 memorialisation in South Africa. Before proceeding to reflect on memorialisation following the Second World War, it is important to acknowledge that the nature and consequences of warfare when compared to the First World War, had changed. In the latter, many soldiers perished and in the Second World War, many civilians became casualties, and the Nazi's attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe led to the advent of Holocaust memorials.

The advent of Holocaust memorials

It has been observed that the Holocaust is tied to the Second World War, however "its obvious antinomy to 'conventional warfare' has meant that its memorialisation required considerable departures in form and meaning" (Muniak, 2013:5). These forms vary and different scholars emphasize different forms. For example, Peter Carrier (2005: 6), observes that memorialisation largely consisted of "a list of names added to First World War Memorials". They also had as a significant feature "stones bearing the names of fallen soldiers" (ibid.: 6). These features and the various meanings attached to them reappear in various phases in the South African context, as this study will demonstrate. On the other hand Radoslaw Muniak (2013:5) places emphasis on their variety and their expansiveness. That is their location in diverse places like former concentration camps, mass graves, ruined synagogues, amongst a number of others. This trend may be discerned in the notion of the African Heritage Liberation Route which aims to identify memorial sites in various parts of Africa and

the World that are linked to African struggles for independence.[24] It should also be noted that these memorials (Holocaust memorials) were constructed in different periods and under different political circumstances which in turn influenced the forms they took. This explains why its commemoration raises a number of questions and debates about commemoration and memorialisation. Such memorials are characterised by the development of forms and concepts that Carrier describes as reversing "the traditional heroism of national memorials" (ibid.: 6). The reversal of the representation of traditional heroism has been described by Young, as quotes Carrier (2005: 6) through the adjectives "counter-" and "anti-" monuments. James E. Young (1993: 1), building on the same line of argument as Peter Carrier, describes the holocaust memorials as initially "not in stone, glass, or steel-but in narrative".

What this points to is that the memorialisation of the holocaust was partly shaped and influenced by the writings of the survivors in the form of diaries, memoirs, novels and films (ibid.: 1). This later metamorphised into a "number of memorial images and spaces" (ibid.) as pointed out above, drawing from the observations of Radoslav Muiak. The rationales behind their construction are equally diverse. To illustrate their diversity and complex forms, he argues that in Germany, "memorials recall Jews by their absence" (ibid.: 2), whilst in Poland, memorials use the "figure of its murdered Jews, utilising sites like the death camps". It is also important to point out specifically that in "postwar Poland and Czechoslovakia the Communist regimes produced Holocaust memorials that had strong antifascist interpretations, [that is], Nazis as oppressors of the working class, while former USSR states such as Latvia, Lithuania, Esonia or Ukraine were foreshadowed by the gulags" (Muniak,2013:5). Further, in Israel, Young points out that, "martyrs and heroes are remembered side by side" (ibid.: 2). In Young's view, in the American context, Holocaust memorials are guided by American ideals of liberty, pluralism, immigration as well as discomfort about how to represent the Holocaust given the nature of its "unspeakable" evil and scale (ibid.). Peter Novick (2001) in his book *The Holocaust and Collective Memory* explores the curiosity whilst expressing skepticism about the reasons behind America's entry into Holocaust memorialisation in the 1990s, which appear almost fifty years after the "fact" of the tragedy and given the distance America has with many sites of these atrocities.

[24] The Liberation Heritage Route is a national project championed byThe National Heritage Council to identify and develop precincts on the sites of historical and heritage significance.

What forms have the memorials of the Holocaust taken? Earlier we pointed out that memorials of the Holocaust first took the form of a narrative. Over the years they have taken the forms of public art, which negotiates a thin line between experimenting with abstract form and the imperatives of remembering through realistic artistic forms. The question posed here is: what are available or emerging aesthetics of memorialisation? What implications do they have for remembrance and history? This study will return to the question of Holocaust memorials, particularly those of the 1980s, and look at their influences on the memorials of the June 16, 1976 uprisings, particularly the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. One other trend in memorialisation worth mentioning here are the debates or the quest for an African "signature" in the making of local memorials. The debate tends to focus more on physical memorials and monuments, partly because of the influence of architects and politicians, who sometimes measure development in terms of the "substantiality" of bricks and mortar, as opposed to the performance and rituals of memorialization, with their inherent forms of song, dance, poetry and costume.

The struggle to define "African" forms of memorialisation

Earlier, it was indicated that the notion of indigeneity is part of the discourse of memorialisation in South Africa. Sabine Marschall (2006) takes up this issue, by looking at the interplay of western influences and the search for an "indigenous signature". In her article, "Transforming the landscape of memory: The South African commemorative effort in international perspective", she argues that "just as the newly established democracy in South Africa [is][…] influenced by a variety of theoretical international models (specifically the western tradition), so public monuments and memorials are informed by past and present trends in western international practices of commemoration" (Marschall, 2006: 16). As a result, the significant features of post-1994 monuments, memorials as well as museums reflect "western monumental traditions" (ibid.:166) side by side with experiments for "African-inspired models of memorialization" (ibid.).

The dominant western monumental traditions are viewed with irony by Sarah Mandrup in her MA dissertation submitted to the department of Anthropology and Ethnology, University of Aarhus, in Denmark Aarhus, and entitled: "Izwe lethu i Africa, Ons vir jou Suid Afrika, South Africa our land – The multifaceted claim to South Africa" (2004). Sandrup critiques a memorial erected by the PAC in Mamelodi

near Pretoria, arguing that though the PAC privileges the primacy of the African experiences in advocating for national liberation in South Africa, it has nonetheless used western styles of memorialisation to commemorate its history and its fallen members. This criticism could be seen as rather simplistic, as it fails to see how the form of the memorial draws on the symbolism of *Isivivane* [25]as well as the Egyptian pyramid, and uses stones to express the stonework experience of former PAC prisoners on Robben Island. On the other hand, the PAC approach emerges in David Bunn's (1998: 4) writing equally as a contradiction in terms. Bunn traces the use of stone in establishing a settled European identity for memorials and monumental architecture in the 19th century (ibid.). As will be argued below, this practice suggests that borrowing from various experiences, particularly European traditions, has a long history in South Africa. However, as Bunn argues in his article, the early monuments – particularly those of Afrikaner nationalism – were also preoccupied with imagining and entrenching a discourse of a separate white identity. This means that in many monuments, the dominant elements of white identity have been retained. This, in Bunn's view, reflects the failure or difficulty of broadening white memorial discourse to include other citizens of South Africa, particularly its majority population of African people. Instead, argues Bunn, further many white monuments "broadcast their meaning over the heads of surrounding African communities" (ibid.). In yet other instances, certain aspects of an "imagined" African experience, as manifest for example in the institution of chieftaincy, was accommodated as it served to promote obedience to authority.

Marschall makes a similar point about the influence of western monumental traditions on the governing African National Congress (ANC), whose post-1994 memorial projects (with the exeption of Freedom Park) draw widely from western monumental traditions, including during the presidency of Thabo Mbeki from 1999 to 2008, when transformation was framed around the notion of an "African Renaissance". [26] Marschall does acknowledge the search for an African-inspired memorialisation "signature" (which I also hint at), by pointing at the role of

[25] Isivivane as a symbol of memorialisation has been developed practically and theoretical by the various "authors" of the Freedom Park in Pretoria. See Andries Oliphant, Mongane Wally Serote and Pattabi Ganapathi Raman, (Editors) *Freedom Park- A place of emancipation and meaning*. Freedom Park Publishers. 2014

[26] The notion of an "African Renaissance" was popularized by former President Thabo Mbeki. Since his removal from office, the concept "African Renaissance" has disappeared from the language of the ANC as a party in government, as well as from its policy and ideological pronouncements generally.

indigenous knowledge system in the making of Freedom Park and its annual commemorative rituals. A different and useful argument on how memorials metamorphise as indigenous part of a given landscape is provided by James Young (1993: 2), who argues that memorials indeed "suggest themselves as indigenous [...] geological outcroppings in a national landscape".Over time, these geological outcroppings become "natural to the eye as the landscape in which [they] stand" (ibid.: 2).

On the other hand, it is important to point out that there is no widely accepted understanding of what would constitute an "African" memorial. The South African memorialisation projects are so hybridized that it is difficult to separate a "western" influence from other forms of influence. Monumentalism as it is presently practised in the "west", is itself of fairly recent origin. It can be traced to the rise of the nation-state and its use to harness the growth of nationalism. According to James Young, "the state-sponsored memory of a national past [had as one of its] aims to affirm the righteousness of a nation's birth, even its divine election" (ibid.: 2). Monumentalism was also used in imperial competition and gave meaning to the devastating impact of the two world wars, wherein some way had to be found to justify the loss of human life (Winter, 1995: 2). In fact, Winter argues that a number of memorials of the 1914 and 1918 wars in Europe were a search "for the 'meaning' of the unprecedented slaughter" (ibid.: 2).

The influence of holocaust memorials of the 1980s

The influence of international practice is also noted by Darren Newbury in his article "Lest we forget: photography and the presentation of history at the Apartheid Museum, Gold Reef City, and the Hector Pieterson Museum, Soweto"(2005). Newbury points to the influence of holocaust memorials and architecture in the works of the South African architects Mashabane Rose Associates, who designed the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum and collaborated in the design of the Apartheid Museum, and who recently designed Liliesleaf: A place of liberation in Johannesburg along with the Mandela Museum in Soweto. Lindsay Bremner (2010: 39) has also argued that "it is appropriate, on the basis of the human trauma they recall, to compare apartheid and Holocaust memory work". Bremner, in her article

on the Apartheid Museum, points out how the Apartheid Museum and to some extent the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum are deliberately designed to "function similarly to Daniel Liebeskind's extension to the Jewish Museum in Berlin" (ibid.: 239); that is, to re-represent the harsh realities of life under apartheid. The commemoration of the Holocaust is also often invoked as a point of reference in the debates and critiques of how the June 16, 1976 uprisings have been commemorated since 1994. In this context, the view popularly expressed by critics of government organized commemorations is that various countries commemorate the violation of human rights through somber and "dignified" activities, in contrast to the commemoration of apartheid atrocities that has, since 1994, been turned into government-organized music festivals.

Sifiso Ndlovu (2007:1), a previous principal researcher for the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, argues that the latter should be seen as part of international memory projects that belong to the category of the "never again" memorial. Ndlovu was referring here to memory projects on dictatorships and racist regimes such as Nazi Germany, the military regimes in South America and the genocide in Rwanda. A "never again" memorial is understood to epitomise a determination to remember what happened in such a way that the atrocities in question should not be repeated. The case studies included here will examine how the "never again" theme emerges in the accounts of the uprisings. There is a question as to whether this form of memorialisation simplifies these accounts, or whether its use suggests an easy way-out of complex questions. One of these questions is on whether human rights violations can also be perpetrated by those who were once the victims. This question has become concrete following the recent killing of protesters in what has become known as the Marikana massacre as well as widely reported police brutality in contemporary South Africa.

Monuments, memorials and museums

Post-1994 memorialisation projects have taken the form of monuments and memorials and resulted in both the creation of new museums as well as transformation of old museums. On the question of monuments in general, Liz Stanley (2006: 219) has argued that the memory-making process manifests as "the activity of memory in monuments", that monuments are about time and that their key function is to prompt remembrance (ibid.: 220). They are constructed so that

they can be seen, in a particular space to be spectacles (ibid.: 220). Their relationship to space and landscape concretise the memory that something significant took place in a given space and time.

The 1976 uprisings have their fair share of "monuments", statues and memorials born out of different periods and driven by different motives. For instance, the memorial in the entrance of Avalon Cemetery was primarily a project of City Funerals – a company that is involved in the funeral business. Their project has, as will be further demonstrated in Chapter Four, become with time a forgotten memorial, in spite of attempts by the City of Johannesburg to animate it as a tourist destination, using text panels and displays of images. There is a statue by a Zimbabwean artist that has been standing and covered with hessian cloth at the home of photographer, Sam Nzima in Mpumalanga. The statue inspired by the iconic photograph of Hector Pieterson being carried by Mbuyisa Makhubu with Antoinette running beside was made by a Zimbabwean artist out of soft stone, a popular medium in the "craft" sector in Zimbabwe, who wanted to pay tribute to the people of South Africa. The artist initially approached the Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum to assist him to relocate the sculpture to South Africa. He had fears for his life or that the sculpture might be destroyed as Antoinette's lifted hand came close to the open palm salute of the Zimbabwe opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Sam Nzima was able to locate and statue through his eldest son who works in the tourism sector. Once the statue was in the hands of the Nzima family, there were negotiations between the family, the City of Johannesburg and the National Department of Arts and Culture, to purchase the statue as part of the 30th anniversary of the uprisings. The talks collapsed due to complications on the price, copyright and how the statue found its way to South Africa as pointed out in a letter that Xaba wrote to the City of Johannesburg in 2006. This demonstrates the impact of monetary rewards in the making of memorials, what Jay Winter (1995:90) calls the "business of memorials". A similar statue of Hector Pieterson, Antoinette Sithole and Mbuyisa Makhubu has found its way into the Maponya Mall[27] in Soweto. The latter was a project of undisclosed business people who supposedly

[27] This statue has subsequently been removed by management of the Maponya Mall following a protest march ON June 16 2014 organized by the Makhubu family who argued that they were not consulted about the making of the statue and further claiming financial compensation. The march was joined by members of the newly formed Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF).

commissioned the statue as a gift to the people of Soweto.[28] Following the advent of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the Johannesburg City Park created a memorial on a bridge where Hastings Ndlovu is thought to have been shot in Orlando West. This was to be one of the legacies of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Johannesburg. This project is linked to the June 16, 1976 student trail that marks the routes used by marching students on June 16, 1976; there is also the commemorative wall marking the site that is thought to be where Hector Pieterson was shot in Vilakazi Street in the Orlando West township,[29] a stone's throw from the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum which has, in Marschall's (2006: 166) definition, been transformed from being a *memorial* to a *monument*. Marschall makes a distinction between monuments and memorials by arguing that in certain given circumstances a "'monument'[…] refers exclusively to intentionally constructed, commemorative monuments [in contrast to] landmark buildings or features of nature"(ibid.: 166). The core feature of monuments is triumphalism and the celebration of heroes and victories (ibid.: 166). A memorial on the other hand "is a solemn precinct honouring the dead" (ibid.: 166). This thesis teases out whether Marschall's distinction between memorial and monument applies to the memorials of the June 16 uprisings, and whether or not triumphalism emerges in the heroic symbolism accrued by the "Class of '76". Marita Sturken (1991: 120), arguing along the same lines as James E. Young on the intersections of monuments and memorials writes: "monuments are not generally built to commemorate defeats; the defeated dead are remembered in memorials. While a monument most often signifies victory, a memorial refers to the life or lives sacrificed for a particular set of values. Memorials embody grief, loss, and tribute or obligation; in so doing, they serve to frame particular historical narratives."

Young's views on monuments and memorials, as pointed out earlier, are along similar lines. That is, they reverse traditional heroism and focus on loss and sacrifice. However he acknowledges that some of the post World War One and Two memorials acknowledge human sacrifice; the numbers of those who had to die to win the victory; and how this in turn is re-represented as the country that was saved.

[28]For a detailed discussion of the making of this statue see Ali Khangela Hlongwane, "Resistance, Atrocity, Commodification, Leisure: A Critique of the Sculpture of Hector Pieterson, Antoinette Sithole and Mbuyisa Makhubu at Maponya Mall",*Hector Pieterson Museum News*, November, 2008.

[29] Since the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum was opened to the public, there has been debate and contestation over the location of the exact site at which Hector Pieterson was shot.

Some even re-represent the ideals of democracy (Young, 1993: 2) by eschewing triumphalist forms of memorialisation.

This thesis aims to demonstrate why the June 16, 1976 uprisings have been represented in eclectic forms, a memorial museum with text and "a list" of names of the dead and symbolic monumental features in various parts of Soweto. There are also statues, murals and other forms of commemoration like struggle t-shirts, fashion designs, as well as curios. All these forms have been used to mourn those who died as a result of the uprisings; to celebrate triumph over the apartheid system as well as to justify the new political order.

Stanley identifies other characteristics of a monument. These include the fact that "it tells those who behold it to do homage and remember; [it] assumes they are insiders, descendants; [it] has a narrative about what is remembered [which] is both stated and implied" (Stanley, 2006: 220). Furthermore, monuments attract visitors from other countries, who wish to understand the country they are visiting. Consequently, the makers of monuments keep outsiders in mind, as well as considering what the monument should say about the nation to those who are outsiders. Jackie Grobler (2008: 170) notes that "national monuments which are initiated by the state and are intended to forge a specific national identity can represent key themes of a country's foundation myth". In turn, those whose stories and myths are visualised, as well as outsiders, "have the opportunity to gaze upon the message"(ibid.: 170) which suggests itself as a message imposed from the top.

Calendar-driven forms of remembering

Another dominant feature of memory-practice is its institutionalisation as a "calendar-driven" form of remembering. Mary Fulbrook (1999: 84), a historian of the ambiguities and political functions of constructing German identity after the Holocaust, considers the two Germanies where she notes that the "regular or calendar-driven forms of remembering [...] help to shape what is remembered, how it is signified, and what is forgotten". Whilst "calendar driven" forms of commemoration were an integral part of early apartheid state and nation formation processes, of political mobilization against apartheid, since 1994 they are also the new state actors project of nation-building. Yonah Seleti, an academic and former

heritage specialist at Freedom Park, asserts that this has also been the case with the post-apartheid government in South Africa since 1994. Seleti (n.d.:6) writes "... the instituting of national holidays that commemorate significant milestones in the struggle for freedom in South Africa helps the nation to appreciate the importance of history, heritage and memory in the crafting of the present and future of this country. It attempts to counteract amnesia as the basis for nation-building".

This is a process that leads to the creation of national symbols. In this context, part of the new state's agenda of nation-building and fashioning a new "imagined nation" (to use Benedict Anderson's (2006) popular phrase), was to select certain milestones like March 21 and August 9 that mark certain events and experiences as turning points in the history of the liberation struggle, which is the founding myth of the "New" South Africa. The choice of such milestones also reintroduces a consideration of the "theme" of "'never again". Clearly, certain influential figures in the new state, along with sections of the country's public intellectuals, including heritage practitioners, also moves from the premise that if the wrongs of the past are forgotten, they can be repeated. The institutionalising of national holidays has also entailed investing these days with new meaning, as shown above. This further demonstrates that shared myths of a common past and a need to evolve a sense of collective identity are inventions by interested parties at a particular point in time to address challenges confronting the imagined nation. It will be shown later in this study that national holidays and other forms of memorialisation have taken on a politicised and ever divisive significance in South Africa, characterised by competition and contested interpretation, which is in many respects part of the legacy of the conflict of the past as well as the competing loyalties of the present.

Memorialisation practices: tradition and continuity

The literature on memory and commemoration in South Africa acknowledges that post-1994 memorialisation practices are not in all respects a new phenomenon in South Africa,[30] as alluded to in the earlier discussion of the Day of the Vow. Further literature includes Dunbar Moodie's book *The Rise of Afrikanerdom. Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (1975), which argued that the "sacred" history of the

[30] See J.J. Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa.* (The Rembrant Van Rijn Foundation for Culture and The National Monuments Council, Cape Town, 1972).

Afrikaner was mobilised behind the National Party's struggle for political power in the 20th century. Moodie argues that"sacred" history had to undergo certain modifications according to ever-changing political circumstances. The difference between the earlier myth-making processes and post-apartheid myth making are the ideological emphasis on unity in diversity integrated into the latter, although as this thesis will reiterate throughout, there are sometimes overt forms of intolerance, particularly of the diverse political traditions and legacies of the liberation struggle. Memorialisation practices of the early apartheid state formation are demonstrated in Leslie Witz's book, *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts* (2003). In this study, Witz discusses the three hundredth commemoration of the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 at the Cape. He points out how commemoration – largely in the form of a festival – was used to bring English speaking constituencies closer to Afrikaner nationalism, author the history of a nation; and similarly how the pageantry was employed to fix the idea of nation in these select people's minds at the height of the National Party's ascendency by manipulating rural constituencies to create its majority. In this context, that is the staging of festivities to commemorate the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck, the new nation-in-the-making was to be constituted by the Afrikaners and English, to consolidate the National Party's tenuous victory in 1948. The festival points out Witz (2003), based on Van Riebeeck's arrival was supposed to unite the white "nation" behind the ideas of European progress and civilisation in "darkest" Africa.

Witz's (2003) book argues that, to best understand "the making and definition of cultural meanings", it is critical to investigate "the forms, practices, and social contexts that go into the production of history" (ibid.). This approach provides insights into the manifestation of history in the form of re-enactments and performances. This argument has informed this study to look critically at how the commemoration of June 16, 1976 uprisings are manifested in a performative nature, as well as how the meaning and definition of these events are constantly being re-negotiated in the changing socio-political South African landscape.

In *Mourning becomes …Post/memory, commemoration and the concentration camps of the South African War* (2006), Liz Stanley supports Witz's argument. Stanley discusses how the South African War of 1899-1902, known in the past as the Anglo-Boer

War,[31] has been remembered and points out that a manufactured memory is "a product of a political mythologising"(Stanley, 2006: 3). In this context (the making of an imagined Afrikaner nation), remembering in a particular way was engineered to strengthen emergent Afrikaner nationalism and according to Groebler (2008:174), to further assert the view that "their history consisted of struggle against injustice" and a justification of apartheid. The manipulation of memory included the National Women's Memorial in Bloemfontein, commemorating those who "died as a sacrifice to the freedom of those who survived"(referring to women who died in the British camps during the Anglo-Boer War) (ibid.: 172). Remembering allowed nationalism and nationalists "to grief-ride on, and gain political and moral capital from" (Stanley, 2006: 4) the pain of the Anglo- Boer war of 1899 to 1902. Further, notes Stanley, such a use of remembering manufactures "facts" and "history" as part of the process of constructing a political mythology that is contested in various contradictory historical records that show that the myth only reflects a partial story.

Memorialisation as a "founding myth"

These arguments echo in many ways the post-1994 memory and heritage practice in South Africa. The notion of the founding myth emerges among a number of researchers and scholars, including G. J. Ashworth (2004), Sabine Marschall (2006), Albert Grundlingh and Hilary Sapire (2008), Jackie Grobler (2008), and Martin J. Murray (2013), in their writings on post-1994 heritage practice in South Africa. This concept and its use to understand memorialisation is not new in the South African context. For instance, Leonard Thompson writing well before 1994, titled his book *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*. The book was written to counter what he saw as Afrikaner "abuses" of history. As a way of exposing the lies that shored up the apartheid government he wrote from self-imposed exile and defined a political myth as "a tale told about the past to legitimize or discredit a regime; and by a political mythology, a cluster of such myths that reinforce one another and jointly constitute the historical element in the ideology of the regime" (Thompson, 1985: 1).

[31]Groebler notes that there is a handful of Afrikaners who do not accept the "politically correct name 'South African War'". The same applies to other former liberation movements, like the PAC, who argue that this was rather a war between two former colonialists.

Frank Welsh, in his book *A History of South Africa* (2000) also points out how the Afrikaners created myths around the Great Trek to represent defiance of the British Empire and the fight for freedom. This myth was later "symbolised by the huge voortrekker monument at Pretoria" (Welsh, 2000: 146). Dunbar Moodie (1975), discusses the symbols of Afrikaner founding myths as civil religion. Civil religion included the re-representation of the Anglo-Boer War, now known as the South African War.[32] Isabel Hofmeyr (1985) writes about the same subject as the invention of twentieth century Afrikaner tradition or a saga that tells the story of Afrikaner suffering as part of God's plan. Invented traditions such as this are not necessarily static and fixed, as this study will demonstrate, by tracking the change and continuity in commemorating the uprisings. The tradition and the ideological myths this sequence of events embodies are indeed constantly "reshaped to provide meaning for present realities" (Grundlingh, Sapire, 2008: 282).

In Sabine Marschall's *Visualising Memories: The Hector Pieterson Memorial in Soweto* (2006), the author looks at the broader issues around the use of memorialisation as a tool to create notions of a new South African nationhood. Marschall, whose research work includes a study of community murals, heritage and South African architecture, calls this a foundation myth. She explores how it is manifested as a key tool, used by the post-apartheid state in appropriating memorialisation. Her approach differs somewhat from that of other writers who identify reconciliation and the notion of a "rainbow" nation, as defining founding discourses in the making of a "new" South Africa.

As is widely noted, following the advent of the new democratic political order the new government led by the ANC, some intellectuals and ideologues of the party including a number of scholars and academics began to project the ANC as the liberator of the country. Their version of the struggle for liberation became the new founding myth. Marschall identifies this "new" founding myth as the "struggle". By "struggle", she means the various incidents of conflict in the national liberation struggle. However, the essence of the argument is the same, referring to the use of memory and history to legitimise the emergent political order. The foundation

[32] There is a fairly long tradition of scholarship pointing to the importance of founding myths. See also Leonard Thompson, *The political mythology of Apartheid* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1985).

myth, in Marschall's view, is the selection of historical narratives to buttress a given people's imagined sense of who they are, where they come from, and visions of their future. According to Assman, as quoted by Marschall (2006:148), a myth "is any past that has been (or is being) fixed and internalised as foundational history".

Memorialisation as symbolic reparations

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has had, to some extent, an important impact in shaping commemoration and memorialisation, particularly its recommendations on symbolic reparations. There is a growing body of literature that continues to reflect on the work of the TRC since it was established, and following its conclusion of its business.[33] Below we will only draw from a few writings to show that apart from the "political and functionalist" (Marschall, 2008: 104) role of memorialisation discussed above, relevant literature for this thesis includes writings discussing "the sense of duty to pay tribute to the dead" (ibid.: 104) as part of symbolic reparations. The 1998 final report of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2007) recommended that reparations should be considered "as legal and moral obligations to survivors of gross human rights violations". Reparations were to be guided by "principles of redress, restitution, rehabilitation, restoration of dignity and reassurance of non-repetition" (ibid.).

Various forms of reparation were recommended, including symbolic reparations, which were understood to mean "the communal process of remembering and commemorating the pain and victories of the past" (ibid.). These would include: exhumations; the erection of tombstones; memorials and monuments; and the renaming of streets and public buildings (ibid.). Ereshnee Naidoo (2007:4), who has done extensive research on post 1994 memory projects, the TRC, genocide memorials in Rwanda and is programme director for Africa, Asia, the Middle East and North Africa for the International Coalition of Historic Sites of Conscience,

[33] For further readings on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, see Foster, D., Haupt, P. and De Beer, M. "Theatre of Violence. Narratives of Protagonists in the South African Conflict."In Deborah Posel and Graeme Simpson (eds.)*Commissioning the past: Understanding South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.* (Wits University Press, 2002);Charles Villa-Vicencio and Fanie Du Toit, *Truth & Reconciliation in South Africa: 10 Years On*(Institute for Justice and Reconciliation & David Philip).

went further to argue that symbolic reparation in the form of opening new museums, memorials and monuments should be "linked to processes that seek to improve the daily socio-economic conditions of victims and their communities". Brandon Hamber in a booklet entitled"*Narrowing the Micro and Macro: A Psychological Perspective on Reparations in Societies in Transition"* (2006), defines symbolic reparations as the following, "reparations can imply a range of responses and actions. Generally reparations entails, amongst others, acts of restoring what has been lost, giving something to a victim equivalent to a loss, or making amends for what has been done whether symbolic or material, and may even entail specific gestures such as an apology" (Hamber, 2006:562).

Ereshnee Naidoo (2007:2), in an article entitled "Memorialisation: A fractured opportunity", discusses the use of memorials for symbolic reparations. Naidoo writes: "In its attempt at uncovering the truth around gross human right violations, injustices and human suffering, the TRC aimed at simultaneously recreating and reconstituting a national narrative that saw a nation coming to terms with its past". This showed the TRC's recognition that "memorialisation plays a significant role in post-conflict societies as it serves as a tool for building sustainable peace within a newly evolved democracy" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2007). The question that has not been asked is: to what extent do South Africans see the new museums and memorials as symbolic reparations? Further, do the museum and memory practitioners involved in the various memorialisation projects see themselves as responding to the call for symbolic reparations? Do people who visit these museums see them as symbolic reparations?

Testimonies and Oral Histories

Given the central role of the archive of oral testimonies in representations of the recollections of the June 16, 1976 uprisings utilised in this study, it is important to reflect on some of the literature that has been of major influence. University of the Western Cape historian Ciraj Rassool in his doctoral dissertation "The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa" (2004) traces the interest in oral history internationally in the 1970s when historians began to pay attention to social groups marginalised by traditional histories. This era of the 1970s saw the rise of the notion of history from below as different to history of the great men. In this

intervention Rassool acknowledges the influential work of E.P. Thompson particularly his book *The Voice of the Past: Oral history* published in 1963. The methodological approach was the writing of life histories of working people using oral testimonies and evidence.

Discussing oral evidence, in his book *Oral Tradition as History*, Jan Vansina (1985: 13) writes: "the sources of oral historians are reminiscences, hearsay or eyewitness accounts about events and situations which are contemporary, that is, which occurred during the lifetime of the informants". This was not always the case. In fact Carolyn Hamilton (2011: 128) picks up on Vansina's earlier arguments on oral texts by pointing out that they were not always accorded the status of archive. This in her view was largely because oral sources were treated as unreliable. Over the years, and through the work of several scholars, oral testimonies have come to be widely acknowledged, as in the view of Trevor Lummis quoted in (Day, 1996:13), as having a historical purpose. Therefore, oral evidence is "an account of first-hand experiences recalled retrospectively, communicated to an interviewer for historical purposes"(ibid.: 13). Lummis's idea of historical purpose makes a distinction between oral history as first-hand recollection and reminiscences of people on contemporary history, and the oral tradition, which in the view of Griffiths'quoted in (Day, 1996:13), refers to "the narratives and descriptions of people and events in the past which have been handed down by word of mouth over several generations". In this thesis, oral testimonies are used as sources that provide highly mediated views of reality. According to Alessandro Portelli, the stress falls on mediation because oral history focuses less on events than on their meaning. In other words, Portelli (1998) is of the view that oral informants are not always the most reliable sources. Consequently, their testimonies are read for the meaning that they assign to events or the understanding they reveal of events. They can also be read for the silences that sometimes characterise them. Clearly, Portelli's view of the purposes of oral history is quite distinct from that of the History Workshop historians, who like Vansina, tend to rely on oral histories to fill the gaps where there is no written record available or to provide alternative perspectives. This, according to (Houston, 2010:36) has also been the approach in the use of oral testimonies by the South African Democracy Education Trust, a project of the post 1994 period discussed earlier where oral sources privilege the interviewee's subjectivity. This thesis has therefore, followed closely on the latter's views of oral history also shared by, among

others, Olivia Bennet (1999). The author argues in her article, "Breaking the threads: The real costs of forced resettlement", that there is an ever-growing appreciation of the uses of oral history in understanding "perception as much as any more factual information"(Bennet, 1999: 46) as an integral part of the making of public histories.

Sean Field (2008: 177), who has more connection with Portelli through their membership of the International Association of Oral History and in terms of intellectual sympathies in his article "Turning up the volume: Dialogues about memory create oral histories", traces the growth of South African oral history to the rise of the anti-apartheid movement shortly after the suppression of the Black Consciousness Movement, which had breached the government repression of the 1960s. The mid-1970s to the 1980s gave rise to the History Workshop based at the University of the Witwatersrand. Rassool (2004:112) in his doctoral thesis quoted above, also acknowledges Wits History Workshop as "perhaps the central institution in establishing social 'history from below' as hegemonic in South African historical scholarship". He nonetheless points to contradictions and a shift manifested in the production of popular histories through Wits History Workshop's series of "A People's History of South Africa", which focuses on "a study of class formation and the emergence of migrant labour studies of working people…[and]…the role of leaders in resistance" (ibid.:112). The Natal Workers History Project in Durban on the other hand inscribed through oral history "biography as the agency and organizational careers of ordinary people" (Minkley and Rassool, 1998:93). In the Western Cape Oral History Project at the University of Cape Town and the Peoples History Project at the University of the Western Cape, the dominant approach to the making and use of oral histories, according to Field, was to break "silences" that were as a result of state repression and were also aimed at letting the "views from below" be heard (ibid.: 178) – a view that is along similar lines with Wits History Workshop. Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool on the other hand, in their article "Orality, memory, and social history in South Africa", published in 1998, critique the intervention of the Wits History Workshop as representing not just homogenised voices "from below" but as also representing "oral history [being] used as the 'voice of the people' or even the 'voice of the worker' authenticating academic research" (Minkley & Rassool, 1998:92). Minkley and Rassool are thus suggesting that the Wits History Workshop was not radically different to the work associated with the UDF wherein "voices from below" were

presented as though they were the same as those framed as "voices of the people", thus promoting a nationalist revival that underplayed complex class questions (ibid.:92).

Another view of oral histories is in relation to their intersections with the written sources. The story of the 1976 uprisings has an abundance of written sources that has in many ways been shaped by oral histories. A significant part of this archive is held at the National Archives in Pretoria. This archive, however, has been viewed through Paul Thompson, who argues that the "nature of existing records is to reflect the standpoints of authority" (Thompson, 2000: 75). This can be used to partly explain the view that the June 16, 1976 official archive is to a large extent characterised by silences and gaps. Therefore, these silences and gaps can be "filled" by oral histories. This study breaks with that approach, and reflects on the role of memory, remembering and oral histories as tools of commemoration. This means that the orality that will be studied relates to the complex interconnections between commemoration and memorialisation of the 1976 Soweto student uprisings. Indeed, the memorialisation of the uprisings, as demonstrated in Chapter Two, are profoundly shaped by the nature of the social act or purpose for which memory and remembering are utilised in South Africa's contemporary setting.

Through memory, people search for the past by grappling with the evidence of what happened. At the same time, memory of the past entails remembering that past to utilise it for contemporary needs. Therefore, argues David Thelen, "instead of viewing memory as the retrieval of a record, we are asked to see it as the active construction of a story that meets the needs of the teller" (1993:119). The storyteller not only relates but interprets her experiences. The process of interpreting involves the construction of one's place in relation to the other actors in the story (Yow,1994:2). This is largely the case with oral testimonies commemorating the 1976 Soweto uprisings. Remembering the uprisings entails recollections of "not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, [and] what they now think they did" (Day, 1999: 91). Therefore, oral testimonies of a given experience are manifestations of "hindsight and distance [as well as a] personal and collective retrospective view of the past" (ibid.:91). Memories and oral testimonies of the June 16, 1976 uprisings are also within the trend that Minkley and Rassool identify as characteristics of the 1990s, where in the "dichotomy

between apartheid and resistance" (Minkley and Rassool, 1998:95) became simplified on the one hand and on the other history became equated with the liberation struggle.

The literature of the June 16, 1976 uprisings

It can be said that the June 16, 1976 uprisings have not been short of chroniclers. The vast body of secondary literature on the uprisings exhibits various trends, ranging from the understanding of the uprisings as being the result of failure of state reform; to their interpretation as representing a qualitative development of organisation and resistance by the liberation movements; to contestations of its ideological influences that at once analyse and propose a number of different causes. Some authors assert student activism was the leading factor behind the uprisings. The various authors also exhibit changes in analysis that have been influenced by the various political turns in South African politics and scholarship over the last three decades.

On the second anniversary of the uprisings in 1978, two books were published that drew from similar sources, such as newspaper reports, police reports, statements made in parliament as well as interviews with participants and observers, in order to interpret the causes of the uprisings, and which did so from a similar ideological outlook. The first, *Soweto. Black Revolt White Reaction* (1978), was written by John Kane-Berman of the Institute of Race Relations. The Institute of Race Relations was established in 1929 to conduct research into "race" relations, and made representation in a number of government appointed commissions of enquiry, including one on the uprisings to be discussed here. Kane-Berman's book describes the development of the uprisings in Soweto and nationally following the police disruption and killing of protesting students. It identifies and outlines the social, economic and political grievances, particularly the imposition of the equal use of Afrikaans in schooling. Berman observes that "for the shooting on June 16 to have been the last straw, there had to have been countless other straws laid upon the camel's back before" (1978: 52), like overcrowding in schools, youth unemployment and high rents, amongst many others. These, in Berman's view, also include the impact of Black Consciousness, which was contested as June 16 was commemorated in the 1980s. The rise of Black Consciousness coincided with the liberation of

Angola and Mozambique. Another of Berman's key arguments that will be discussed later is the level of organisation on the part of students and the activities of the banned liberation movements, the ANC and the PAC. For Berman, "the most important point of all, however, is that the students' revolt was a spontaneous, furious reaction to the shooting on 16 June, 1976, not a planned insurrection with a country-wide organisational network, funds, and a series of strategies and fall-back positions worked in advance" (1978: 218). It should be noted that Berman was writing very much in the wake of the uprisings. It might be pointed out that he did not have the advantage of being able to look back on several decades of history to assess their significance and extent. Consequently he does not discuss the contested role of former Robben Island Prisoners who were released in the period 1974 and 1975 as well as the major political trials of this period and their impact on the emergent political consciousness. This gap is filled well by Michael Lobban in his book *South African Political Trials in the Black Consciousness Era: White man's justice* published in1996. This book also points to the complex nature of political allegiances in the era of the 1976 uprising.

The second book published in 1978 consisted largely of the submissions of the Institute of Race Relations to the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and elsewhere from 16 June, 1976 to 28 February, 1977 (Republic of South Africa, 1980). Commissions of enquiry have been a feature of Segregationist and Apartheid South Africa since the beginning of the 20th century. These involved 'experts' who would examine evidence and question witnesses as part of attempts to understand the attitudes to African urbanisation, the extent of poverty, and so-called Native Education. These commissions were also thought of as supposedly scientific and therefore irreproachable. Titled, *South Africa in Travail: The disturbances of 1976/77*, it details the chronology of the events leading up to and following 16 June, 1976; provides an in-depth historical background of Soweto and the racist laws that made life unbearable for its people; looks at the development of the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, and concludes that this was a factor that lead directly to the uprisings. Both publications, though allowing various voices to speak on a variety of subjects and issues, are rooted in the ideology of *gradual reform.* As the uprisings continued to be commemorated, other publications emerged that situated the oppressed as agents of and as vehicles for change.

In 1979, Baruch Hirson published *Year of Fire, Year of Ash - The Soweto Revolt: Roots of a Revolution?* Hirson was a former activist of the African Resistance Movement, who had also written about the political formation of South African labour. In the introduction to his book, Hirson (1979: 1) argued that "all revolts have their origins in events, both remote and recent". His book goes deeply into the historical events – social, economic and political – that directly and indirectly constituted the build-up to the 1976 rebellion. He traces the discontent with the provision of education from the 1700s, when it was provided by missionaries, and shows that education was segregated from the onset and that it was premised upon the perceived inferiority of Africans. He further points out that roots of conflict were planted from the beginning. For instance, when Bantu Education and ethnic universities were imposed, student unrest gradually developed into political resistance. Hirson writes:

> The educational system had to breed rebels, and the students had to react [...] when time came, as it did in 1976, [...] the revolts were too large to be concealed, and when, furthermore, they coincided with deep antagonism in the country, such student disturbances were to take the country to the edge of revolution. At such a time the young men and women of the country would step right outside the classroom and enter the battleground (Hirson, 1979: 56).

Hirson's argument was that the route to the 1976 rebellion was preceded by and was in many respects a development of earlier political, student and worker struggles. He however takes the view that Black Consciousness was unable to influence worker struggles that broke out in the early 1970s, and argues further that it could not have influenced the student rebellion of 1976 (ibid.: 156).

In 1980 *Whirlwind before the storm* was published by Alan Brooks and Jeremy Brickhill, who were at the time of writing, researchers at the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF). The authors saw the role of their book as aimed at partly "to record, from the press, the events of each day, so that in future, when memory would blur all into one continuous and vaguely recalled 'disturbance' there would be available a more precise narrative, which could not hope to be complete, but would tell most of the story" (Brooks and Brickhill, 1980: 1). The

authors noted that as the book writing project was unfolding, it became clear that it would go beyond recording the events of each day to probing the roots of the uprising, its formative influences and the circumstances of its beginning (ibid.: 1).

Brooks and Brickhill draw largely from newspaper reports of the time, which carried eyewitness accounts of participants, and from public pronouncements of observers and representatives of extra-parliamentary organisations, such as the Black Consciousness Movement and representatives of government institutions such as the police, the West Rand Administration Board and politicians in the apartheid parliament. They follow the days after June 16, and describe how the uprisings, characterised by protests, police shootings, retaliation, the burning of government buildings, arrests and further killings, spread to other parts of Soweto. They also write on the responses of the banned liberation movements, the PAC and ANC.

After sketching the unfolding uprisings, Brooks and Brickhill then set out to trace the roots of the uprisings. They do this by first identifying the introduction of Bantu Education in 1953, and the consequent struggles that followed. Their central argument in this context is that, "the imposition of Bantu Education was bitterly resisted. But this resistance was largely unknown to the school children of 1976, many of whom believed that their parents had quietly capitulated to the government's will" (ibid.: 34). This argument emerges later, as part of the contestation that characterises the memorialisation of the uprisings, in the rhetorical question of who "owns" June 16.[34]

Whilst putting emphasis on the structural constraints (social, economic and political) that were in many respects the source of grievances, Brooks and Brickhill return to discuss the role of pupils in the resistance. The authors trace the role of the Thomas Mofolo Secondary School's clash with the police that took place as early as 24 February, 1976, as well as that of the Ngungunyane Secondary School on March 7, with the Orlando West Junior Secondary School beginning their protest on May 17 (Brooks, Brickhill, 1980: 50). The authors point out that by that time "of the seven schools on strike [...] five were Higher Primary Schools" (ibid.: 51). This

[34] The question over who owns June 16 was a theme of a teacher's seminar in July, 2006, organised by the Wits History Workshop and the Gauteng Department of Education. A proposal for Chapter 5 of this study was presented at this seminar.

point is highlighted here, because as the uprisings are remembered over the years, it is the role of high schools that tends to take a prominent role in this narrative.

One critical question that Brooks and Brickhill (1980: 67) pose is whether "the Soweto generation (was) a wholly new and distinctive phenomenon". This question is likewise contested in later remembrances of the uprisings. The contestation centres around the influence of the Black Consciousness movement and the banned PAC and ANC on student protests. Brooks and Brickhill (1980: 76) argue that "the Black Consciousness movement has been an effective conscientising agent but not an effective mobiliser (ibid.: 76)",a view supported to a great extent by John Kane-Berman. However, they argue firmly that the South African Student Movement (SASM) contributed directly to the uprisings, and draws on the role of the ANC through the latter organisation. The latter position is consistently contested by activists of the Black Consciousness Movement, who see SASM as one of their formations and other students as part of networks of the PAC underground (Hlongwane, 2009:56).

This leads the discussion to another significant book by Harry Mashabela, a former journalist who wrote as participant observer. Unlike Kane-Berman and Brooks and Brickhill, who used a variety of sources including submissions to the Cillie Commission, Mashabela's sources are interviews and anecdotes of people he interacted with, namely students, student leaders, civic leaders, parents and police. The book also includes an account of his own life experiences at the time of the uprisings. Though Mashabela was not a student, he sat in a number of student meetings as the uprisings were unfolding in Soweto. According to Mashabela (1987:i) his book "is not a treatise on black politics in South Africa, but rather a human story: the story of a people trapped in a wicked system and fighting to wriggle out, to free themselves". His book, *A People on the Boil- Reflections on Soweto* was published in 1987. Like the three books discussed above, Mashabela looks at the social, economic and political factors influencing the uprisings. He also discusses the impact of the philosophy of Black Consciousness on the political psyche of the youth in the 1970s, and the emergence of new organisations among university students, high school pupils and the general community. His approach has commonalities with Brooks and Brickhill, who see the liberation struggle as a people-driven process of

change in contrast to Kane-Beman, who sees popular struggles as a result of or mere reaction to the refusal by the ruling regime to effect reforms.

Another contribution of a participant observer is that of Sifiso Ndlovu, a former student at Phefeni Junior Secondary School, and now a historian, who writes on pre-colonial history as well as the history of the liberation struggle in South Africa. His book, *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-Memories of June 1976* was published in 1998. It takes the form of a local history approach "to dig beneath the surface and discover the memories and intimate, personal stories behind the official version of history" (Callinicos, Seeber, 1998:i). Ndlovu counters the narratives of the uprisings discussed above by situating the story of 1976 in classroom struggles. In his view, frustrations arising from the imposition of Afrikaans were widely felt in the classrooms of the day. He argues that:

> during these formative days of the uprisings we discussed student issues only – issues that affected us directly in the school and classroom [...] I do not remember any liberation movement, such as the Black Consciousness Movement or the South African Student Movement (SASM) contributing to our daily meetings and discussions. In short, as students we faced our destiny and problems (Ndlovu, 1998: 6).

Ndlovu acknowledges that the student population was not homogeneous. Consequently, he takes the story of 1976 back to those students who were at Junior Secondary Schools, where the Afrikaans experiment was introduced. His approach is informed by the view that the young students who took up the struggle at the classroom level "had not developed intellectually to understand complex theoretical paradigms involving the ANC, PAC, liberation theory or Black Consciousness" (ibid.: 46). This approach departs from the dominant approach of telling the story from the point of view of high school student leaders. Ndlovu further writes:

> In putting forward my counter-memories as a 14-year old Form Two student at PJSS (Phefeni Junior Secondary School) in Soweto, I argue that it is these students

> (including Form Ones) themselves who were the actual champions of their own struggles, and very young students indeed (ibid:46).

This thesis will later show how the post apartheid memory-projects on the uprisings have taken the memory of the June 16 uprisings back to the experiences of high school students, who in Ndlovu's view, were initially not interested in the problem and in other instances had to be intimidated to pledge solidarity with their younger brothers and sisters. He also argues that the banned liberation movement – the ANC and PAC – were caught by surprise by the events, but were later given a new lease of life by the "Class of '76", the thousands of young people who fled the country and joined the exiled movements.

Clearly, Ndlovu's book, as the title indicates, is premised on the view that commemorations are contested. Therefore, "the contributions of the liberation movements and other students' organisations to the major discussions and actual events prior to 16 June, 1976 are debatable" (ibid.: 45). This literature review points to the different ways in which the histories of the uprisings are remembered and the study will further unpack how this contestation manifests itself in the memories of the uprisings in the post apartheid environment. Since Ndlovu writes in the post-1994 period, his book touches on the question of commemoration and remembrance. He notes that the remembrance of June 16, 1976 is a contested activity. The study will return to this subject later when examining recent writings on the commemoration and memorialisation of June 16, 1976. This is the particular area to which this thesis seeks out a nuanced contribution to the construction of its memory-making practices.

Ndlovu has also contributed a chapter entitled "The Soweto Uprising" to *The Road to Democracy: Volume 2 (1970-1980)*, a publication of the South African Democracy Education Trust which he now heads as Executive Director. In this article, Ndlovu like the other writers discussed above, looks at the broader social, economic, cultural and political factors as the major contributory causes of the uprising. Whilst he sketches well the contributions of other neglected players like teachers, homeland leaders, journalists and school boards, he situates his narrative in the struggles in the classrooms, particularly the Junior Secondary Schools. Ndlovu also discusses the

state, as well as claims by the then-banned liberation movements, the ANC and PAC. The discussion of the latter includes looking at their attempts to rebuild networks in Soweto, led by former Robben Island prisoners, who had been released in the late 1970s. These networks had begun to make links with activists in the Black Consciousness Movement and among high school formations like the South African Student Movement (SASM). Among the many casualties of the uprisings, Ndlovu draws on recent writings that discuss the killing of Hastings Ndlovu, who is now mentioned in commemorations of the uprisings as likely to have been the first student to be shot or killed.[35]

Into this arena of contestation of the events that led to the outbreak of the uprisings enter Pat Hopkins and Helen Grange, whose book with a rather frivolous sounding title *The Rocky Rioter Teargas Show - The Inside Story of the 1976 Soweto Uprising*, published in 2001. The title of the book is based on the title of a satirical theatre production performed by Cape Town students at the time of the uprisings in 1976. According to the two authors, there are "over a million pages of newspaper reports, commission of enquiry notes and personal reflections [...] generated [...] because of this rich source, we should know everything - yet we know nothing, as each page appears to be describing events on a different planet. The upshot is that the event is shrouded in a myriad interpretations and contradictions - fertile ground indeed for fanciful claims and mythology" (Hopkins, Grange, 2001:88). What then are the author's contributions to the understanding of this story?

Hopkins and Grange add to the socio-economic structural analysis[36] that creates intersections of nationalism, history, language and memory in the making of Afrikaner domination, explaining that this is how "South Africa's apartheid regime also put history to equally utilitarian uses in order to construct an exclusive Afrikaner and then, later, a more inclusive white nationalism" (Baines, 2007: 174).

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[35] For discussions of the killing of Hastings Ndlovu and the claims that he is likely to have been the first child to be shot on June 16 (later to die at the then-Baragwanath Hospital) see Malcolm Klein, "Hastings and Hector: Completing the Record of June 16."In *Soweto'76: Reflections on the Liberation Struggle: Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of June 16, 1976* edited by Khangela Ali Hlongwane, Sifiso Ndlovu and Mothobi Mutloatse(Mutloatse Arts Heritage Trust, Johannesburg, 2006). See also Lucille Davis,"Hastings Ndlovu's Day too."
From:http://www.joburg.org.za/content/view/298/51/[Accessedon 21/06/2005.]

[36] I am indebted to Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu for this concept.

They then trace the process leading to the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. They assert the role of Black Consciousness in directly influencing student consciousness and the part played by the South African Student Movement (SASM) in organising the student protests against Afrikaans. The authors likewise reject any interpretation of the student struggles as being outside of the concept of the liberation struggle, unlike Berman as pointed out earlier who takes a state driven reformist approach. On the question of the role of the banned organisations, they reject the claims of the ANC that it was behind the outbreak of the uprising but assert the significant role played by Mandela (Winnie) and her interaction with student leaders. It is not clear on what grounds they perceive a division between Winnie and the ANC and are silent on the PAC and its internal leader, Zeph Mothopeng and other party activists.[37]

Another critical question raised by the authors is the "myth of secrecy" (Hopkins, Grange, 2001: 88). The theory behind secrecy suggests that no one knew about the march except a core of student leaders. However, it has emerged over the years that some principals, community leaders and journalists knew about the planned march. It would seem that even the police had received information. According to Hopkins and Grange, (2001: 88) "the reason this myth of secrecy continues to receive currency is because it suits all sides. It adds a romantic air to the students' endeavours, while emphasising their solidarity. For the police, it was important to cover up their gross incompetence in not acting on information presented to them" (ibid.: 88). Helena Pohlandt-McCormick in her PhD thesis completed in 1999 and entitled, "'I Saw a Nightmare….' Doing Violence to Memory: The Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976", argues on the other hand that the emphasis on spontaneity may have been a way of denying the role of and silencing the Black Consciousness Movement. She writes:

> The students of the Black Consciousness movement had been struggling for years to emancipate their own thoughts and to transform their philosophies into effective political action and institutions for change [...] the importance and

[37] On the discussion of activities of Zeph Mothopeng and the PAC during the era of student upheavals in the 1970s, see Ali Khangela Hlonwane, "To Independence Now! Tomorrow the United States of Africa: The Story of Zephania Lekoame Mothopeng (1913 to 1990)" (Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2002).

> impact of the Black Consciousness movement, I argue, was underestimated and could be diminished partly because placing June 16 as a turning point inadvertently shifted analysis and understanding toward a chronology that began with that day, as if there had not been much to prepare for it (Pohlandt-McCormick, 1999: 14).

Hopkins and Grange further provide a narrative of how the uprisings unfolded after June 16, and subsequently spread throughout the country. But most important for this thesis is their narrative of how funerals and calls for mourning in the form of stayaways and a "Black Christmas" for students killed by the police, became political platforms for commemoration and further mobilisation. The book ends with the unbanning of political organisations and the release of political prisoners, from 1990 onwards. In the view of the writers, "the Soweto uprising, unlike the Sharpeville massacre that heralded the end of a phase in the struggle for liberation, marked the beginning of the final battle for freedom" (Hopkins, Grange, 2001: 60).

The year 2001 was also the year for yet another twenty-fifth anniversary publication on the 1976 uprisings, published by Elsabe Brink, Gandhi Malungane, Steve Lebelo, Dumisani Ntshangase and Sue Krige. The book is titled *Recollected 25 years later: Soweto 16 June, 1976 - It started with a dog…* The book brings together several former students who were at Higher Primary, Junior Secondary and High School at the time of the uprisings. They are all asked to respond to similar questions. This approach brings to the fore the complexity that surrounded the imposition of Afrikaans, first at high schools around 1973-4. Subsequently, Afrikaans was imposed at higher primary and junior secondary level. Some of the respondents had experienced doing some subjects in Afrikaans at high school level, others only as a subject until it was re-introduced at Junior Secondary level. This means that at some point, particularly early in 1975 there were high school students who had to study certain subjects in Afrikaans. Through the intervention of school boards this was changed, only to be introduced again in 1976, this time largely at higher primary level although not in all schools and the views of school boards were disregarded. Some, like Phefeni Junior, were used as pilot cases and it was in these schools where the unrest began.

This approach indirectly responds to questions raised by authors like Sifiso Ndlovu discussed above, on the tendency to tell the story of 1976 from the point of view of high school students. Further, most of the respondents do not speak of organised student bodies, with the exception of those few who knew of the existence of the SASM. But there is no mention of knowledge of ideological allegiances in the form of Black Consciousness, or of the banned liberation movements. Pohlandt-McCormick (1999: 10) asserts the need for an approach to the history and memory of the uprisings that "attempts to shift the point of entry, first to include the voices and the stories of the participants in this historical event…". She writes:

> Shifting the angle, the focus, the strategic point of entry in terms of the methodology and the "units" of analysis away from the state and its structures, its politics and policies, to the historical actors, primarily school children and students, produces a richer, more nuanced and different history (ibid.: 10).

She critiques the appropriation of the story of 1976 by the apartheid state, through various devices including a commission of enquiry. She unpacks the role that this commission played in the "construction of social meaning (of the uprisings) by the state" (ibid.: 137). Further, she points out how the discourse of the Commission's report "sought to restore the tarnished image of the South African police" (ibid.: 137). Pohlandt-McCormick also critiques the appropriation of June 16, 1976 by former liberation movements like the ANC and PAC.

The people interviewed in *Recollected 25 years later: Soweto 16 June, 1976- It started with a dog…* also speak of their recollections of the marches from various schools to Orlando West. These recollections are equally complex and diverse. In their testimonies, there is no mention of planned routes – an idea that has gained currency and thus the making of the June 16 Trail in the memorialisation initiatives. Indeed, some of the routes used by the marchers are the same as those routes that are currently memorialised as the trail of the 1976 uprisings. Some former students are of the view that there were no planned routes, whilst others believe that they were planned. Similarly, some acknowledge that there were student leaders, whilst others are of the view that other than fellow students, there were to their knowledge no

leaders. Some define leaders as those who played a leading role in the debating societies, as opposed to those who see leaders as activists in the South African Students Movement.

The oral testimonies in *Recollected 25 years later: Soweto 16 June, 1976 - It started with a dog…* acknowledge the role played by unemployed youths in the student marches.[38] This issue is also discussed by Ndlovu, who points out in his writings on the uprisings that youths were not a homogeneous social group. High school students in the 1970s were a mixed group of young students and young adults, who either started school late or had at some point dropped out of school to work for a period and returned to school at a later stage.

The former students in Ndlovu's book discussed earlier, begin to mention the names of the banned liberation movements some months after June 1976. They mention largely the ANC and the name of Nelson Mandela. Hopkins and Grange write along the same lines. They argue that the ANC was able to assert its role in the uprisings within its own internal narrative some months after June 1976.

The oral testimonies in *Recollected 25 years later: Soweto 16 June, 1976- It started with a dog…*include accounts of students' experiences in exile. Many went to countries like Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. In Botswana, some joined the ANC and were subsequently taken to its various camps for political education and military training. Some report being recruited by members of the Black Consciousness Movement and some ending up becoming mere refugees. The founding of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO), which organised the commemoration of the uprisings in 1979, is mentioned. This study does not cover the commemoration in exile by the banned liberation movements and international solidarity groups as pointed out earlier. This area nonetheless deserves further study.

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the uprisings, Peter Magubane published his book of photographs entitled *June 16, 1976 - Never, Never Again, 25th Anniversary.* Magubane is a well known photojournalist who began his career with *Drum*

[38] For a discussion of the role of unemployed youths and gangsters in liberation struggle related social action, see Clive Glaser, "When are they going to fight? Tsotsis, Youth Politics and the PAC."In *Apartheid's Genesis, 1935-1962* edited by P. Bonner, P. Delius and D. Posel (Ravan Press & Wits University Press, Johannesburg, 1993).

Magazine in the 1950s. His biographer, Paul Von Blum (2008: 3), describes Magubane's career as characterised by a "remarkable technical expertise with chilling but compelling subject matter". His documentary photography is part of "the long tradition of socially conscious artists who use all forms to elevate the dignity of ordinary people" (ibid.: 4).

June 16, 1976 - Never, Never Again, 25th Anniversary is divided into sections focusing on the various areas where the uprisings spread outside Soweto. These include Alexandra township, Springs, Pretoria, and the Eastern Cape. Each section is represented by black and white photographs of student marches and protest; of conflict between youths and the police; of retaliation and anger directed at government-owned buildings and of funerals. The destruction and death captured in the photographs fails to overshadow the positive spirit symbolised by the smiles in the faces of children in the streets. These photographs have been used to illustrate various books on the 1976 uprisings. They have also featured in several exhibitions, including the permanent exhibition at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum,[39] which will be discussed in depth in Chapter Four. A 30th anniversary exhibition curated by Christopher Till and Emilia Potenza that, was held in 2006 at the Apartheid Museum under the title, Witness to 1976, The photographs of Peter Magubane: An exhibition commemorating the 30th anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

In addition to photography, the story of the June 16 uprisings is also told through, poetry, drama, biography, autobiography and novels. According to Es'kia Mphahlele (2003: 13):

> Novelists, dramatists, poets, and writers of the impressionist personalised essay – who draw from historical events, environmental, economic and other social realities as an organic part of their creations – "fill in" the numerous gaps the historian and sociologist are not called upon to do

[39] For a discussion of the use of photographs at the Hector Pieterson Museum see Darren Newbury, "Lest we forget: photography and the presentation of history at the Apartheid Museum, Gold Reef City, and the Hector Pieterson Museum, Soweto." *Visual Communication.* 4 (2005),3.

> by their specific craft. The Soweto novels cannot but do the same.

Mphahlele was referring to four novels, set in Soweto at the time of the uprisings: Mbulelo Mzamane's *The Children of Soweto* (1984); Miriam Tlali's *Amandla* (1980); Sipho Sepamla's *A Ride on the Whirlwind* (1981); and Mongane Serote's *To Every Birth its Blood* (1981). These novels are the subject of Aubrey Mokadi's *Narrative History as Creative History - The 1976 Soweto Uprising as Depicted in Black South African Novels*, published in 2003. Mokadi discusses these novels as "creative history", describing them as "the combination of fiction and fact" (Mokadi, 2003: 45). This makes the novels "a commemoration of the uprising itself" (ibid.: 45).

The novels discussed in Mokadi's book commemorate June 16, 1976 by offering a fictional account of the uprisings located in the historical period in which they occurred (ibid.: 28). One of the authors, Mbulelo Mzamane, quoted in Mokadi (2003: 90) has written that his novel "has been written to preserve the memory of these events". What does commemoration and preservation of the uprisings in the form of narrative as creative history entail? Mokadi (2003:90) writes: "the emphasis is on preservation - writing a story in such a way that it will never be forgotten [...] the novelists graphically depict what happened during the period of the uprising and attempt to interpret the meaning of the events for the readers."

Biography and autobiography are yet other forms of narrative as creative history that have been used on the one hand to commemorate the uprisings and on the other to correct perceived distortions of their history and memory. These include Sibongile Mkhabela's *Open Earth & Black Roses - Remembering 16 June, 1976 (1998)*, Majakathatha Mokuena's *Triumphant Casualties: A Battlefield Diary of the 'Class of* 1976' (2013) and Lynda Schuster's *A Burning Hunger - One Family's Struggle Against Apartheid* (2004). The latter focuses on the life history of the Mashinini family.

Soweto Explodes: the beginning of the End of Apartheid by Mosala Mosegomi (2007), is yet another narrative of the history of the June 16 Soweto uprisings. It draws on publications of former liberation movements, web-based archives, police records, interviews and conversations with former activists. Mosegomi's book is of significance in the sense that, like Harry Mashabela, Sifiso Ndlovu, Sibongile

Mkhabela, Majakathatha Mokuena's contributions, it is written by a 1976 participant and insider. Mokadi, whose own book is discussed previously, takes up this point. He writes:

> in the wide range of historical accounts about the Soweto uprising of 1976, Black people contribute only at a journalistic and informal, rather than at the formal or academic level. As a result, the history of the Soweto uprisings is largely accounted for by official or state agencies on the one hand and by liberal institutions and individuals on the other (ibid.:48).

Secondly, Mosegomi's book takes a critical approach to the systematic political organization among students and the role of Black Consciousness Movement and its activists in this organization. Further, the book explores political organization in so-called coloured areas. The latter are treated in most books as merely responding to the political crisis following the student unrest, and not as historical actors in the period of the 1970s.

The book also covers terrain explored by earlier writers discussed above, by taking a critical look at the level of political consciousness amongst high school students who are characterised as participating in social clubs, school choirs, debates and music competitions oblivious of the social, economic and political conditions shaping their lives of deprivation. Mosegomi records that this state of affairs would be tempered by the arrival at various high schools of university students who had been expelled from university because of their political activities, and whose salaries were paid for by the Association of Education and Cultural Advancement (ASSECA). Among these were Tom Manthata, who taught at Musi High School, Aubrey Mokoena, who taught at Orlando North Secondary School, and Onkgopotse Tiro, who taught at Morris Isaacson High School.

With the influence of the Black Consciousness philosophy, the South African Student Movement (SASM) began to emerge and to politicize high school students, as well as to encourage political action at high school level. Mosegomi's narrative suggests that SASM organized at a national level until its demise in the early 1970s.

One other critical feature of Mosegomi's historical narrative was the names of student activists that have with time disappeared from the hegemonic narrative on student leaders.

From the ruins of SASM and at the height of Black Consciousness, emerges the route that led to the founding of the National Youth Organisation (NAYO) in 1973. One of the tasks of NAYO was to revive SASM. Mosegomi points to the complex environment that saw the emergence of activists linked to banned organizations like the PAC and ANC; these included the role of Lilian Ngoyi of the ANC during the Sharpeville commemoration in March 1974, and the role of Zeph Mothopeng of the PAC in the SASO and BPC organized event around the same time. The emergence of debates on the question of ideological alignment with either the PAC or the ANC challenges the myth that students were completely uninformed about the banned liberation movements. This issue is further taken up by Raymond Suttner in his 2008 study entitled: *Rendering Visible: The underground organizational experience of the ANC-led Alliance until 1976*. He argues that:

> it is not suggested that the organization [ANC] instigated or directed the 1976 rising. The significance of the ANC 'presence' through formal and less formal underground structures or other manifestations in various parts of the country, may have primary relevance as part of the explanation for the subsequent re-emergence of ANC symbols and organizations supportive of the Congress Movement (Suttner, 2008: 114).

Mosegomi traces the involvement of SASM in mobilizing against Afrikaans, leading to the convening of a meeting of all high schools in Soweto on 13 June, 1976; the Naledi High School incident of June 8; and the organization of a student demonstration on Wednesday June 16. Mosegomi's narrative of developments here is not different from those of authors discussed above. One radical exception is Mosegomi's claim that Lieutenant Colonel Johannes Augstinus Kleingeld, the Station Commander at Orlando Police Station, had already been informed of the planned student protests, as hinted at by Hopkins and Grange, who also contest the popular view that police were caught by surprise on June 16.

Theoretical assumptions

Drawing from a diverse body of literature on oral history, heritage, tourism, memory and public history, this thesis seeks to contribute to the development of memory-culture in South Africa. That is to say, to a memory culture that acknowledges the space for multiple voices and meanings in the creation of the "myth" of a new South African nationhood. Drawing from theories on the social uses of oral history, this thesis unpacks and develops necessary insight into the complex interconnection of processes of memory-making in evolving a new myth of South African nationhood and its contestation, through counter-commemoration.

Theories of oral history, memory, heritage and public history have provided an analytical tool by means of which to study the character and processes of political hegemony on the part of the post-1994 South African government, and the consistent counter-commemoration on the margins. It is my view that counter-commemoration is an essential component of participatory democracy and a committed public history. The latter is informed by the view that participative democracy has the emancipatory potential to redeem the passive cultural "consumption" of memorials and monuments. In other words, society's sense of its own history should be actively constructed and at the same time critically debated. However, this is only possible through a well-articulated philosophy of history that is informed by an understanding of the past and its links to the present. Further, the making of public history should not be aimed at making people comfortable, but it should also be aimed at providing a challenge, whilst understanding of contemporary challenges. Accordingly, public history and collective memory involves sharing, discussion, negotiation and in many instances, contestation.

Memorialisation represents two opposite poles and a continuum amongst a given society. On the one hand, there are the dominant classes, who constantly strive to fashion memory as a static and all-embracing practice. On the other hand, there are those sections of society who see memory as a social and political practice of representing the past characterised by means of continuous contestation. The actors in these processes are not equals. In the South African context, the ANC as a former liberation movement has effectively used its hold on state power to ensure that its narrative of the history of the liberation struggle takes centre stage in the new South

African memory landscape. Also, as Suttner (2008: 41) points out, ANC hegemony is not only exercised through control of state resources or "in purely numerical terms [...] it embraces primarily symbolic and organizational elements, which lead to the displacement of other [political] trends" or contributors to the liberation struggle. These draw upon a general mindset that has established the liberation struggle, as represented by one tradition. As a result, the influence of power, authority and symbolic hegemony is constantly at play in the memory-making process, assigning levels of importance to history and memory, and in some instances, even inducing silence.

In this thesis, a theoretical distinction is made between memory and history. Drawing from Peter Novick (1999:4), this study is premised on the view that collective memory tends to simplify complex historial experiences and privileges a single perspective. History on the other hand is understood to be occupied with the historicity of events. That is, unlike memory, history has a sense of time and allows space for reflection and distance on the then circumstances. Memory as public history entails public commemoration and the active participation of large numbers of people "doing work of mourning and public remembering" (Liddington, 2002: 84).

I further take the view that the re-representation of the past(s) as a form of public history in many respects also includes a significant move away from a singularity of voice and master narrative, to an exploration of the remembered past by individuals as part of collectives. Therefore, this study's theoretical assumptions include an understanding of public history as the processes of individual and collective memory-making that manifest "a living connection between a celebrated past, a problematic present, and [a] future requiring complex policy choices on every level" (Thomas, Michael, Hamilton, 1994: 37). It is not a straightforward process, but is dialectical, manifesting in part in "reunions and anniversaries [which] are often forums for bitter debate between participants about the memory of an event, even when [those members of the community involved] were all witnesses to it" (ibid.: 40).

Indeed, the exact details of June 16 remain highly contested and debated, despite the many first-hand accounts available in local archives, depositories and research centres across the country and abroad. Certainly, participants in the events of June

1976 "argue over what happened and what interpretation to place on the experience, which is usually negotiated through the collective process of remembering" (Thomson, Frisch, Hamilton, 1994: 37).

The thesis question

Located in the political landscape of a nation-in-the-making, emerging from a past divided along ideological, class, ethnic and so-called "racial" lines, this thesis investigates how the memory and meaning of the 16 June, 1976 student uprisings have been constructed, framed and fashioned over the last three decades from 1976 to 2006, by tracking and analysing the complex, diverse forms and character of its memorialisation. The study delineates and recognises the multiplicity of its intangible features, such as division, contestation and counter-commemoration, and its tangible manifestation in memorials, monuments and museums. Further, it also teases out how memorialisation is, in many respects, a spontaneous as well as an organised and controlled process, that shape[s] what is remembered, how what is remembered is signified, and what is forgotten. It is hoped that the thesis also contributes to the theory and practice of heritage in South Africa.

The following questions are posed: after the tragic events of 1976, a process of commemorating the uprising was initiated in various parts of South Africa and internationally, the leading centre of which designated to be the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto. What forms of narrative and performance did the early commemorations take, and what dominant political questions emanated from the early commemorations? Given the view that, because memories are transitory, people yearn to make them permanent by rendering them in physical form, it can be asked what physical or tangible form did the commemoration of the uprisings take over time. Further, taking into consideration that the act of remembering the past and of assigning levels of significance to that past is an act of interpretation, what has been the hegemonic discourse emanating from the contestations of the memory and meaning of June 16, 1976 in the post-1994 period? Given that social and political changes impact on the evolution of historical memories, what has been the impact of the post-1994 socio-political changes on the commemoration and memories of the June 16, 1976 Soweto uprisings?

Ethics of the Research

People attach emotions to their experiences of the past. As a result, whilst conducting this research, and particularly in collecting oral testimonies, I have made sure to inform all respondents about the way in which the material will be used. Respondents have also been afforded the opportunity to listen to or read their transcribed interviews with the option to either changing or withdrawing their contributions at will. It was anticipated that the recording of oral testimonies could give rise to unresolved traumas, and respondents were afforded the opportunity to discontinue with the interviews if they elected to do so. All respondents were also informed prior to the recording of interviews that this research project will not address unresolved cases of murder, disappearances or human rights abuse.

Methodology

Printed primary sources

All the questions raised by this thesis have been widely covered by the print media. As a result, this study has drawn widely on reported statements and debates to trace the outline of and interpret the ideological trends marking the commemoration of the uprisings in various phases over the past thirty years. The print media has also provided wide-ranging information on the pre-1994 political establishment's response, through ideological and physical repression of the memorialisation of the uprisings.

The newspaper sources have presented a series of interesting dilemmas. White reporters had to obtain permits (Pohlandt-McCormick, 2008:1) to enter the township, and many did not know their way around. In many instances, they had "to find out from the police what was happening" (ibid.:2). Therefore, newspaper reports are themselves representative of limited and sometimes contested perspectives of the events in the townships during the uprisings. African reporters and photographers had a different experience. Some had the privilege of sitting in meetings, and were informed about the student's plans. In other instances, they drove student activists from one part of the township to another when they were on their errands (Sizani,

2006). As a result, their reports are also considered subjective, but they do present observations from the inside.

Apart from reports on commemorations, newspapers and magazines like the *Sowetan, City Press, Mail & Guardian,* and *the Star* as well as magazines like *Tribute* have published calendars of the various commemorations. They have also published feature articles or opinion pieces, debates, cartoons and advertisements on the commemoration and contestation of the meaning of the uprisings. For example, the *Tribute* issue of June/July 2007, featured an opinion piece by Sipho Seepe (2007:22) titled "Let the young be teenagers", where the author deals with the pertinent question: Who owns June 16? Another example is an article by Ali Mphaki titled "June 16 no longer a day of dignity", published in *Sowetan Sunday World* in June 2001, arguing that the behaviour of youths during commemorations is not befitting the sacrifices made by the "Class of '76".

A critical aspect of the print media sources used in this thesis is the way in which the commemorations were documented through photography. Photographs of the time provide the best records of the dress code during commemorations, and provide a sense of the numbers and age groups of participants. Photographs published together with reports of the commemorations provide impressions of the conflict between the participants and the police.

There are two important features of South African photography that have been of significance for this thesis. The first feature, to quote Newbury (2009: 259), is "the close relationship between the development of photography and social and political issues in South Africa". The development of photography in South Africa over the years took place within the traditions of cultural resistance against apartheid colonialism. This makes the large body of photographic material available in the country a unique archive of various memories of the liberation struggle. This archive has also "since 1994 [...] played an important role in articulating public histories of apartheid" (ibid.: 260). Photography is used in the thesis for its "ability to tell stories about the past" (ibid.:260). It also has the capacity to "capture a whole repertoire of human gestures [...] [to] weave violence and love, damnation and deliverance [as well as] exposing what we need to see and remember" (Richards, 2001:4). According to Helena Pohlandt-McCormick (2008:1):

> As stories they [photographs] become part of the discourse of liberation or, in the hands of apartheid's spokesmen, part of the rhetoric of the necessity of suppression of threats to the security of the state. As photographs they become part of the inventory of public history or, in the past, material evidence or documentation for the government's investigations.

Therefore, in analysing these images or "records of witness", this study has taken into account the fact that this medium can also be biased and selective, just as with memory. According to Richards (2001,4), "artistic licence informs even photographs through selective cropping, captioning, framing and focus".

In the more than ten years that the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum has been in operation, its archives section has recorded and documented all the "official" annual commemorations of June, 1976. The thesis reflects and analyses the speeches of "government officials", and contrasts these with those of the "unofficial" commemorations. From these sources, the thesis explores how the two forms of commemoration reflect the continuous contestations of the message of memory and perceptions of the future South African society.

Participant and field observations

As a participant in projects memorialising the 1976 uprisings over the years, and as a political activist in my own right and a heritage practitioner, I draw largely on my observations, hands-on experience and note taking of the memory-making processes. My appointment in 2002 as the first Chief Curator of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum afforded me a rare opportunity to have direct contact and access to recollections on and off record with different activists of the 1970s. The 1976 uprisings has elicited much contestation and working in the museum and being a student of their memorialisation process has meant that I was at the centre of multiple discourses of contestation. These ranged from community meetings, where the processes of memorialisation were discussed; to workshops with government officials from various departments and tiers, as well as consultants, architects and

historians; to various meetings of the June 16, 1976 Foundation and Task Teams organising the annual commemoration, which includes representatives of the Gauteng Provincial Government, the City of Johannesburg, the Gauteng Youth Commission, among a number of many stakeholders. At some point, this Task Team had the responsibility of hearing presentations from various civil society formations, who had plans (but not the financial resources) and views on how the uprisings should be commemorated. The data collected as private notes as well as from the field research, has been utilized in this thesis in a variety of ways. It has been analysed and reported "descriptively, expositorily, narratively and analytically" (Henning, Gravett and Van Rensburg, 2002: 99). According to Henning, Gravett and Van Rensburg, a participant observer should "illustrate [the] text almost abundantly with examples of 'raw data' (ibid.: 99), and should be fully aware of and able to interrogate his or her own position".

For several years now, I have undertaken visits with various participants in the 1976 student march. I have kept detailed notes and maps of the various routes used, as well as of the contestations around these routes. I have also taken notes about and photographs of key signposts that are remembered as part of the built environment. In fact, in conducting interviews, I have found that the built environment emerges strongly as part of oral recollections, and memories of the built environment are usually linked to remembering highlights of the students' protest march.

Information has also been drawn from notes of discussion and spatial mapping of the Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum exhibits by, amongst others, the project management team that included Mashabane and Rose Architects. It was also drawn from the museum's principal researchers, Harry Mashabela (one of the journalists who covered the march, and witnessed the shooting of Hector Pieterson and subsequently authored a book titled *A People on the Boil* (1987), and Dr Sifiso Ndlovu, a former student at Phefeni Junior that began the resistance against the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, and who later wrote *The Soweto Uprisings. Counter-memories of June 1976* (1998). Other participants in the curatorial forum included curators, former journalists, film-makers and people who were students at the time.

Notes taken during most discussions and debates during the conceptualisation of the museum exhibition, and the mapping of student routes are utilised. Developments in the post-1994 context are characterised by community consultation forums. These include consultation with community leaders and elected councillors, as well as residents of a given locality. Records of their views and suggestions including their points of agreement and areas of disagreement and how these were negotiated into the mapping and later the commemoration of June 16, are reflected upon in Chapter Four.

Field observation in this thesis has been influenced by Grandison's method, which "treat[s] the landscape itself as a primary source [by] analysing it directly through field observation" (Grandison, 2001: 56). According to Hayden (1995: 13) a study of landscapes has to "explore their physical shapes along with their social and political meanings". Some of the personalities I have interviewed have actually re-enacted the march by walking through the same streets they marched down in 1976. Stops were made at significant landmarks, while their conversation and recollections were being recorded. The thesis has subsequently complemented the exploration of the landscapes through the study of "primary and secondary written material, as well as through such graphic materials as regional and local maps, site and building plans, photographs, sketches and elevations …" (ibid.: 58). The latter materials "document the current as well as the historical landscape" (Grandison, 2001:59). Examples of these plans and maps appear in the various chapters and some in the appendix of the thesis.

Oral sources

The process of researching and documenting various facets of the memorialisation of June 16, 1976 uprisings has taken place during the lifetime of many participants and witnesses to this historical event. The historical consciousness of many of the participants and witnesses "is still in flux" (Vansina, 1985: 13). The thesis logically utilises these diverse oral sources. Drawing from the ideas of Dominick LaCapra, the approach to oral sources acknowledges the existence of primary and secondary memory. According to LaCapra (1998: 20), "primary memory is that of a person who has lived through events and remembers them in a certain manner". In this thesis, the individuals who provide primary accounts are referred to as the "Class of '76".

Secondary memory on the other hand "is a result of critical work on primary memory" (ibid.: 21). LaCapra is of the view that secondary memory is a meeting point of the "participant and the observer-participant" (ibid.: 21). Secondary memory includes memories that have been passed on to the next generation.

The primary memories have been collected as interviews conducted through an open-ended life-history questionnaire that has served as a guideline, allowing participants to pursue issues that were unanticipated. For instance, Allesandro Portelli (1998: 35) notes that oral sources have shifts of emphasis. They may spend more time on one experience and less time on another. Therefore, through an open-ended life history interview, there emerge possibilities for exploring in greater detail those areas that have received little narration. The core issues that have been drawn from the oral testimonies are autobiographical narratives, that return the former students to the time of the uprisings. The thesis uses these testimonies to trace the complicated web of social and political relationships that defined the formative years of the "Class of 1976". These critical social and political relationships have, over the years, displayed different dimensions, as the processes of memory redefine and create new meanings informed by the needs of the now-dominant former liberation movement and the new ANC-led government on one side, and former liberation movements, who now form part of the opposition.

As will be demonstrated in the various chapters, the life history approach affords storytellers an opportunity to reflect on their experiences as part of the quest to be human, as opposed to presenting themselves as helpless victims of oppression. The latter seemed to be a dominant feature of the testimonies given during the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This could be because the agenda in the TRC process was to prove that human rights abuses did indeed take place. However, in the life-history interviews, the storytellers explore moments of humour and discovery, particularly of new ideas, in the midst of censorship and repression, and of generations who led the struggle before them. A sophisticated network had to be created, as many of them were banned and closely watched by the security establishment. There was also a celebration of triumph over adversity that included survival in prison and successful escape into exile.

Further, the oral testimonies bring back to the memory of the uprisings, historical figures of major influence in the processes of political mobilisation. With time, some of these personalities have disappeared from the dominant narratives of the Soweto uprisings and the history of the South African liberation struggle. One of the contributions of this thesis is to return to the centre of the memory of the uprisings, the now-forgotten historical figures who became a source of political guidance to many young activists, and who kept the liberation struggle on course when the historical personalities widely celebrated today, were in prison or exile.

Oral testimonies have also been used to map the development of the processes of commemoration. The thesis looks in particular at how the various processes of party-political and ideological realignment are remembered; at the need for commemorating with "respect" and "dignity"; as well as at recollections of those forms of expression that characterised memorialisation before 1994. Apart from life-history testimonies, the thesis has also used recorded songs and poems to document and reflect on these various methods of commemoration.

Initially, I had envisaged interviewing about twelve former students from different former junior secondary schools and high schools in Soweto. Secondly, I tried to identify those who can be said to be part of the "non-hegemonic"[40] former participants in the events that led to the June 16, 1976 uprisings. This has not been easy as initially thought. Former students, who are seen as having hegemonic voices, are active in memorialisation projects today and therefore easily accessible. To balance this shortcoming, I have also interviewed six people who were employed as teachers in Soweto during the 1970s and who have shared their complex and diverse recollections and perspectives of the events of 1976. Young people of today have also been interviewed to find out what meaning they draw from the memories of June 16, 1976 and what new meanings they give to it.

A semi-structured life-history interview has been used as a guide for the interview process. These were used to elicit respondents' recollections in three areas. Firstly, the respondents were asked about their family history; early education; the formative

[40] This concept is borrowed from Alessandro Portelli in "What makes oral history different". In *The Oral History Reader* edited by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson. (Routledge, London and New York, 1998).

years of their political consciousness; the nature of cultural and political activism during their school-going days; their educational grievances; and the build-up to the student march on June 16, 1976. Secondly, the questions were structured to elicit recollections of the day itself, particularly the march from the various schools to the identified destinations and how things turned awry. Thirdly, the questionnaire asked for respondents' recollections of how the uprisings have been commemorated over the past three decades.

All the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. They have been deposited at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum and in certain cases, have subsequently been published.[41] The transcriptions have been analysed to point out thematic patterns and the way in which informants structure their historical consciousness. The interviews have also been analysed to elicit how informants recreate a multiplicity of standpoints (Thompson,1978: 28). The thesis has deliberately used widely documented oral testimonies by well-known personalities to contrast the consistency and change in perspectives over the years.

Summary of Chapters

Chapter Two

June 16, 1976 Soweto uprisings: A retrospective journey into the contested world of its commemoration and collective memory

In this chapter I will discuss how the memory and meaning of the June 16, 1976 Soweto student uprisings has been constructed and signified over the last three decades. The chapter traces, describes and analyses the complex, diverse forms and character of the uprising's memorialisation, in the process delineating the multiplicity of its features – such as division, contestation and counter-commemoration. The chapters' arguments are located in the context of an equally complex political landscape representing a nation-in-the making, emerging from a past, divided along ideological, class, ethnic and so-called "racial" lines.

[41] See Ali Khangela Hlongwane, Sifiso Ndlovu and Mothobi Mutloatse, *Soweto'76: Reflections on the Liberation Struggle: Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of June 16, 1976.*

The chapter poses the following questions: after the tragic events of June 16, 1976, a process of commemorating the uprisings was initiated, largely within African communities, the leading centre being the Regina Mundi Church. What forms of narrative and performance did the early commemoration take and what dominant political questions emanated from the early commemorations?.

Further, taking into consideration that "the act of remembering the past and of assigning levels of significance to [that past]…is an act of interpretation", what has been the hegemonic discourse emanating from the contestations of the memory and meaning of June 16, 1976 in the post-1994 period? Indeed, social and political changes impact on the evolution of historical memories. What therefore, has been the impact of the post-1994 socio-political changes on the commemoration and memories of June 16, 1976 uprisings?

Chapter Three

"Bricks-and-mortar testimonies":[42] The interactive and dialogical features of the memorials and monuments of the June 16, 1976 Soweto Uprisings

This chapter argues that the June 16, 1976 uprisings have had a fair share of processes that manifest as the yearning to make its memories permanent by rendering them in physical forms. Consequently, the chapter traces and problematises the making of the physical forms of commemorating the uprisings over the years.It does this by exploring the short biographies of the various physical structures and unpacking the politics of their aesthetics as well as how they are imbued with meaning through memory activities organized around them.

Chapter Four

History, Memory, Tourism and Curatorial Mediations:The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum and the Representation of the Story of the June 16, 1976 Uprisings

[42]The concept bricks and mortar testimonies is borrowed from Griswold, Charles L. "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Washington Mall: Philosophical Thoughts on Political Iconography,"*Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985).

This chapter reflects on the curatorial process that informed active memory making and the silences and the assumed recovery of history in the (re)representation of the story of the Soweto uprisings at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. It problematises the negotiation of a complex and nuanced approach to museological practice, in the context of constraints and pressures presented by the post apartheid state narratives of reconciliation; of triumphalism and nation-building; of the political economy of tourism; and of the memory making process characteristic of a site of conscience. The chapter explores how these questions constitute a subtle subtext that attempts to offer the visitor multiple meanings and interpretations of the story of 1976, mediated through a curatorial process that employs various forms of evidence ranging from life histories; material objects; the built environment; photographs; newspapers; documents and ephemera; audio visual documentaries; recorded installations and collected oral testimonies to represent a complex and contested historical event.

Chapter Five

Oral Testimonies and Public Memory: Contesting representations of the June 16, 1976 Soweto students' protest marches and uprisings

The June 16, 1976 Soweto uprisings are continuously being memorialized as public history in various ways. One of these ways has been the mapping of the routes used by students on that historic and fateful day. This chapter provides a narrative of the student routes as constituting significant routes of travel by the Class of '76. It seeks to identify the debates around the routes that are now imagined to be as close as possible to those travelled by different students. Drawing from the rich tradition of oral history and the paper trail of student writings and police records, this chapter revisits recollections of students, teachers, parents and police and reconstructs a narrative of oral testimonies on the protest march; the debates and contestations on the causes of the uprisings and on who the participants were; as well as who did not participate; and the political or ideological body of ideas that influenced students of the time.

Chapter Six

Convergence, Shifts and Contestation: Three decades of the June 16, 1976 Soweto Uprisings and the complexities of its pasts and presents

This chapter attempts a summation of the overall study by capturing some of the key debates that constitute – in their own right – the multiple and sometimes conflicting narratives of the memorialisation of the uprisings from 1976 to 2006, a period marking 30 years of commemoration activities. The chapter also reflects on the historical evolution of the various mediums – tangible and intangible – that have become a defining feature of the memorial landscape of the uprisings as discussed in the core chapters of the study. This concluding chapter draws on the theory that storytelling, a core feature in the remembering of the past, attempts to recall what happened, whilst at the same time framing new and ever-changing meanings of the past as a result of contemporary challenges. The latter, in part serves to explain why there is a vast range and intensity of contestation of the memory of the uprisings, when on the surface it could be perceived to be a straightforward story.

CHAPTER TWO

June 16, 1976 Soweto uprisings: A retrospective journey into the contested world of its commemoration and collective memory

Those who claim the monopoly of truth
Blinded by their own discoveries of power,
Curb the thrust of their own fierce vision.
For there is not one eye over the universe
But a seething nest of rays ever dividing and ever linking
(Kunene, 1982:235).

In this chapter I will be exploring the view that commemorations, by their very nature, give their own shape and form to public understanding of the past. That is, the rituals of commemoration and remembering serve as a potent vehicle through which the past becomes useful in relation to contemporary realities and their challenges. The chapter will map, and at the same time tease out issues around resistance, memory and history, as they play themselves out in the complex and multi-layered journey of the contested commemoration of the June 16, 1976 uprisings over a period of three decades, from 1976 to 2006.

On Wednesday the 16 June 1976 the South African Police opened fire on a peaceful protest by Soweto students aggrieved by the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in some African schools. Subsequently, there was an outbreak of unrest that engulfed large parts of the country and gave rise to the annual commemoration in South Africa and internationally for those killed on June 16 and the following days. These commemorations were to take various forms, and would evolve and change, just as the political context was also changing as a result of various social, economic and particularly political pressures. These forms included the "expressions of grief, sorrow" (Bodnar, 1992: 4), and loss. It also became a platform to express the will to continue pursuing the liberation struggle in South Africa. This chapter will map out the various periods of commemoration and the features that characterised the given period. The first period will be mapped as beginning in 1976 and then taking a different turn in the beginning of 1980. Indeed, with the advent of the 1980s, commemoration was part of continued resistance and struggle for liberation,

but it was also a platform for competition for ideological hegemony among the former liberation movements. This was unavoidable, as the process of memorialisation was inextricably entangled in interpretations of contemporary social problems. Subsequently, the commemoration has become even more complex and multifaceted.

Its complexity is marked by contestation over what precisely occurred on the day, as well as subsequent to that day. It has also been characterised by a struggle for symbolic ownership over this historic event. That is, who was behind the uprisings? There has also been contestation around the framing of its meaning, its significance and its place in the South African liberation struggle history. Its commemoration also took place within a political order bent on demonising the meaning, significance and legacy of the uprisings, and in some instances, even attempting to erase their memory from popular consciousness, and as public history. In this it did not succeed. In the post-1994 period, the contestation of the memorialisation of the uprisings has continued to take place along the historical ideological divide of the former liberation movements – the new master narrative of the post-apartheid state – as well as along a discussion of how the new generation commemorates the day now known as Youth Day.

Clearly, commemoration is an integral part of those complex issues facing contemporary society. In the commemoration of the June 16, 1976 uprisings, the social and political life under apartheid colonialism was challenged, in part, by drawing inspiration from the symbols and narratives of the freedom struggle that unfolded at the time. This practice continues in the post-apartheid period. The political uses of the past in the present entail using "historical stories and symbols" (ibid.: x11) to evoke notions of patriotism. According to Dominic La Capra (1998: 8), this is part of processes where "memory – along with its lapses and tricks – poses questions to history [by] point[ing] to problems that are still alive or invested with emotion and value". On the other hand, the political uses of history and memory in the post-apartheid period include "a celebration of national unity or the glorious triumph of the nation" (Bodnar, 1992: 4). The glorious triumph of the nation is invoked as a victory of the freedom struggle, as well as the will to reconcile and pursue nation-building efforts. This master narrative of the new nation-state is constantly contradicted by the counter- commemoration of ordinary people, who see

the sacrifices of their loved ones as ordinary acts, whilst reinstating the human pain and sorrow of conflict (ibid.: 8).

The acts of commemoration also bring into question how new generations relate to the past and of their contribution to the manner in which that past is remembered. Peter Carrier, writing on holocaust monuments and national memory cultures in France and Germany since 1989, asks a question of significance to this chapter, in terms of generational relations to memory culture:

> But do representations ensure that future generations remember events of the past? And if so, do they take forms which are fitting for the events, and which do justice to victims, their relatives or even to states and societies in whose name they are created? (Carrier, 2005: 1)

Indeed, this is one question characterising the memory culture of the June 16, 1976 student uprisings. It was probably a major source of inspiration to former journalist and poet, Mandla Ndlanzi who wrote the following provocative lines:

You may dance everyday
but not on this day
let history teach you
how to observe this day
by signs of grief
immortalise them (Ndlanzi, 2005:24).

Certainly, every year the anticipation leading up to the commemoration sparks heated public debates on the meaning, significance, and most importantly, the way in which the day should be commemorated. These debates have resulted in a rich and diverse archive of oral testimonies, speeches, obituaries, parliamentary debates, press articles, posters, t-shirts, and newspaper advertisements. The archival material on the uprisings includes exhibitions, poetry and freedom songs. These will be treated as constituting "the discursive existence" (Carrier, 2005: 4) of the memory culture of the uprisings. The 1976 archive of debates and discussion is thus a mode of

commemoration in its own right. This discourse represents 30 years of memory-making processes and facilitates reflection on the existence of the memory culture of June 16, 1976 in intangible form, while informing the various ways in which this archive mediates this memory and the context of its making.

John Bodnar (1992: 13) puts it that "public memory emerges from the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions". In the context of the June 1976 uprisings, the discourse expresses the shared concerns of leaders in various official structures of society, with regard to social unity and "loyalty to the status quo" (ibid.: 13). Meanwhile, vernacular cultural expression can be seen in the diverse voices and interests "that are grounded in parts of the whole" (ibid.: 14). However, these interest groups are constantly changing, and joined by new formations from time to time. There are also contradictions amongst the vernacular interest groups, even though they all in various ways shy away from reductionism when it comes to the master narratives of reconciliation and nation-building. It is equally important to point out here that individuals, at times, support both these forms of memory. There are instances where they are one with the official expressions of the "sacred and timeless" (ibid.: 14) notion of the past, and at some point retreat to remembering the reality of firsthand experience characterised by pain and loss.

This chapter demonstrates that memories of the uprisings entails recollections of "not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, [and] what they now think they did" (ibid.: 91). Given that memory and remembering entails making pronouncements and interpreting the past and the present, they are therefore fundamentally ideological. Bodnar point out that, "because [memory] takes the form of an ideological system with special language, beliefs, symbols, and stories, people can use it as a cognitive device to mediate competing interpretations and privilege some explanations over others" (1992:14).

Forgetting and silence can also be deliberate choices. Individuals, or even the collective, may choose not to remember as a way of dealing with the past. In the South African context, particularly in relation to the 1976 Soweto uprisings, many people have spoken out about their experiences. However, it cannot be overlooked that there is also a large section of society that has opted to remain silent. These include the many people – both black and white – who were on the side of the

political administration of the time, such as police, education inspectors and government officials. Many of these people have simply disappeared from the discourse, with their memories. There are also families who lost loved ones, who have deliberately chosen to withdraw from public debate. Sean Field (1999: 4) notes that, "how people remember, forget and silence the distant and recent past is central to the making of collective forms of identity in the present". This making of identity in the present could represent a way of facilitating closure, and moving on with life. This view is shared by Alex Boraine (1999:23), former Deputy Chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that "truth telling [as opposed to forgetting and silence] would be too traumatic and it would be better to leave people in a state of permanent denial …[where] denial [is] a mechanism, both individual and collective, that has enabled survival" (ibid.).

The various processes of commemoration have also been characterised by tradition, change and continuity. "Tradition" here is used to refer to a near ritual act that is repeated over a period of time. This tradition has constantly manifested itself as a ritual that is dynamic and vibrant, while some features of tradition tend to be easily "fossilised" and removed of any content that relates to the changed circumstances in a given society, or at best, tend to merely romanticise the past of that society. Therefore, I acknowledge that what is understood as tradition is always changing and transforming, due to the various forces in society. Further, I also acknowledge that in the process of change, there is continuity with the past and the memorialisation of the June 16 uprisings, as will be argued below is one example. That is, the memories of June 16, 1976 are a "work in progress, [among individuals and communities] cognitively and emotionally grappling with the contradictions and complexities of their lives" (Michael, Hamilton, 1999: 41).

Raymond Williams quoted in Thomas, Michael and Hamilton (1999: 41) concurs that memorialisation represents "ordinary processes of human societies and human minds, and we see through them the nature of a culture: that it is always both traditional and creative". Memories, then, are ever-changing and never complete. This is because "the material of memories is the experiences of the past and present, but the words, sentences and stories shaped around these experiences, feelings and images have been internalised from the world around" (Field, 1999: 4). Below, I

discuss the commemoration activities that manifest as a public drama or Carnival of the June 16, 1976 uprisings in a period of three decades.

"June 16 shall go down in the annals of history as The Students' Day"[43]



Figure 1: Bishop Tutu addressing a commemoration service at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto. Photograph by Bongani Mnguni. (Courtesy of the Motluatse Arts Culture & Heritage Trust, 2013)

The memorialisation of the June 16, 1976 Soweto student uprisings were held annually in the country from 1976, particularly (but not exclusively) at Regina Mundi Church as reflected in figure 1 above in Soweto. The Soweto Student Representative Council issued a pamphlet declaring June 16 a "student day" and provided guidance on how the day was to be commemorated. The pamphlet read thus:

> We shall share sufferance and joyous moments
> Anniversary to mark boycott on Bantu Education
> Procedure on before and after June 16.

[43]This title is borrowed from one of the first pamphlets to be issued by organized students after the shootings. See"Soweto Disturbances 1976 -77", *Soweto Student Representative Council Pamphlets.* University of the Witwatersrand, Department of Historical Papers. AD 2652.

> June shall go down in the annals of history as 'The Students' Day.' It shall stand known to all Blacks [sic] throughout South Africa who identified themselves with the students' struggles as a holiday viz. Students' day.
>
> On this day prayer meetings shall be arranged and attended by both student and parent…
>
> On this Day we plead for a complete moment of silence from the early of the morning till 9 am when vehicles taking people to prayer meeting centres and hospitals only shall be allowed to move. At 10a.m., three hours service of prayer shall be held…(Soweto Student's Representative Council, 1976: AD 2652).

The language of the pamphlet reveals several influences that were at play during this historical period. Firstly, the language is framed as religious observance. There could be a few reasons for this. Student activists at the time were active in religious formations like the Student Christian Movement, and therefore drew significant inspiration from religious teachings, particularly Christianity. The influence of Christianity is also evident in the freedom songs of the time. That is, a number of freedom songs are adaptations of religious songs.[44] The Black Consciousness Movement, which was also a dominant ideological current of the time, had a strong influence on the thinking and ideological outlook of students. The language of the pamphlet is also prescriptive, partly demonstrating that – though social movements like the June 16, 1976 uprisings were a struggle for democracy – in the heat of the unfolding conflict and police repression the liberation movement tended to be prescriptive about the course of action that was to be followed. In certain instances, there was even intimidation. The liberation discourse of the "class of 76" was also characterised by pleading by the youths to the authorities inspite of the fact that the

[44] This was not unique to the South African liberation struggle. One example is that of the freedom songs of the Mau Mau. See Maina wa Kinyatti, *Thunder from the Mountains: Poems and Songs from the Mau Mau*(Africa World Press, Trenton, New Jersey, 1990).

shootings at Sharpeville in the 1960s and the banning of the liberation movements was described as a move from protest to challenge.[45]

One of these prayer services was held at Regina Mundi Church in Rockville, Soweto. According to John K. Berman (1978: 1978), it was "attended by between 5 000 and 7 000 people, [but] the service broke up in pandemonium when teargas was fired into the church". In 1978, the commemoration practice continued under the auspices of the Soweto Action Committee (SAC) and the Soweto Students' League (SSL) as reported in the daily newspaper of the time- *Post* of 14 June, 1978. The latter was formed after the banning of the SSRC. The commemoration of the Soweto uprisings was then characterised by calls from student leaders to sporting bodies, shebeens and show-business organisers, to close down operations as part of the mourning process. The call could, in some respects, be likened to an appropriation of the puritanism of the Apartheid state, as embodied in the Sunday Observance Act. The latter entrenched the religious values and moral norms of Afrikaner civil religion. The Sunday Observance Act provided for the observance of the Lord's Day (Sunday) and listed several activities that were illegal to undertake on that day. These included the opening of shops as well as restrictions on entertainment. Student activists, in similar language, pronounced:

> All shops and their business centres shall be closed on the 16th and opened on the 17th for half a day.
>
> All shebeens should be closed on the 13th June to 19th on Sunday. This should be done to honour the June 16 period.
>
> …the NPSL together with its 'Multiracial Football League' should suspend its games.

[45] The idea that Black politics in South Africa moved from protest to challenge has been argued in various writings. See Thomas Karis and Gwendolene M. Carter (eds.)*From Protest to Challenge. A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964*, Volumes 2 and 3 (Hoover Press, Stanford, Califonia, 1977).

> Discos and Cinemas shall not operate too during this period16th June to 19th Sunday. [sic] (Soweto Student's Representative Council, 1976).

In 1978, such businesses were asked to suspend business from 12 noon to 2 pm on June 16. Workers were also called upon to pledge their solidarity by staying away from work on that day. The Soweto Students' League went to the extent of appealing to people throughout the country to abstain from any form of celebration or merriment.A pamphlet issued by the Soweto Student Representative Council urged:

> TO: ALL FATHERS AND MOTHERS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS, FRIENDS AND WORKERS IN ALL CITIES, TOWNS, VILLAGES IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.
>
> Death has become a common thing to all in the townships. There is no peace, there shall be none until we are all free.
>
> Soweto and all Black townships are now going into a period of MOURNING for the dead. We are to pay respect to all students and adults murdered by the police.
>
> We are to pledge our solidarity with those detained in police cells and are suffering torture on our behalf… [sic] (Soweto Students Representative Council, 1976).

Earlier it was pointed out that the language of protest and commemoration tended to be religious. This also applied to calls as well as practices of mourning. One reason could be the number of deaths, particularly those of young people. Hjalte Tin writes:

> It is doubtful whether accurate figures can be collected. Some of the police data from 1976 are in Pretoria, but most are scattered in the 'archives' of more than 1400 local police

> stations, in various states of completeness both as to the original reporting and the subsequent filing. Death registers are highly incomplete, in part because of secret burials and clandestine emigration (Tin, 2001: 130).

One way of giving meaning to "death [that has] become a common thing" (ibid.: 130) was to resort to religion. This view is shared by the Freedom Trust Park. In the Trust's publication entitled *Rites of passage and their normative significance in South Africa* (2006), it is argued that though funeral rites are not consistent among the various South African cultures "beneath the surface, there are certain universals" (Freedom Park, 2006: 7). These, argues the Freedom Park Trust include, "a strong sense of bereavement and loss [and] also general compassion for the deceased as well as the bereaved" (ibid.:7).

Sam Mhangwane, who was then a producer for the People's Theatre Association, called off all engagements of his theatre company, saying: "This is a period of mourning for blacks throughout the country and obviously nobody expects there should be any kind of fanfare" (Makobane, 1978: 140). A number of other groups followed suit. The Post of June 14, 1978 reported that "the Transvaal Amateur Dance Association, which controls many dance schools and clubs in the Transvaal, also cancelled activities"(ibid.).This reflected the respect people had for the symbolism of June 16, and the fact that it was a day for political mobilisation that continued for the whole of that year, and included calls for a Black Christmas by the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC). Yet another SSRC pamphlet declared:

> The year 1976 is the year of sorrow and blood and sweating for the freedom of Africans.
> We will then show this by cooperating in this fight by not having wonderful things for Christmas.
> No clothes.
> No furniture.
> No liquor.
> No toys [sic] (Soweto Student's Representative Council, 1976).

Weeks before the commemoration, police carried out raids and arrests in many parts of the country. They set road-blocks in and around Soweto and other Reef townships, the Vaal Triangle, roads leading to the then-Northern Transvaal. They also conducted house to house searches. According to Berman (1978: 140), "between 2000 and 3000 people were arrested on the Reef and in Natal, the Cape, and the Northern and far Eastern Transvaal".

The main commemoration service was held at Regina Mundi Church. The role and historic significance of Regina Mundi Church and the way in which it has become part of the memory landscape of the June 16 uprisings will be discussed in the next chapter. Dr Nthato Motlana, the then-chairman of the Committee of Ten and at the time a popular civic leader, "was greeted by thunderous applause as he entered to speak" (ibid.: 139). At the service, Motlana made remarks about the increased police activities and authoritarianism following the uprisings. He remarked:

> Time was when we thought the senseless deaths in the streets and in prison had brought a sense of remorse over those who ruled over us. We remember the many promises made while the dirty, smog-filled, neglected black ghettoes of Azania[46] went up in smoke. We thought that this time the promises were for real. We thought that the noises from South Africa's friends in the West would convince her that she should change her racist ways. And when the clamour for change came from the Afrikaners themselves, we were convinced that this was for real.
>
> But it appears that, to make sure that June 16 never returns, the security police now exhibit the mailed fist. When we expected that those cruelly and unnecessarily detained throughout the land might be released, the prison

[46]"Azania" was a name used widely in the 1970s as an alternative name for South Africa or as a name for a liberated South Africa. The name was proposed by the then-banned PAC in a statement issued on the 11th of September, 1965. See "The PAC Statement on Azania" in David Dube's *The Rise of Azania. The Fall of South Africa.* (Lusaka: Daystar Publications Ltd).

> population is continuing to increase by leaps and bounds. The sentences handed down by the courts are becoming more harsh: to throw a stone or break a window has now become sabotage punishable by a five-year jail sentence; boys under the age of sixteen are being sent to the dreaded Robben Island. The twilight of freedom is upon us. We are entering a period of darkness. All the lights are dimming, all the lights are going out (Motlana cited in Berman, 1978: 140) [sic].

Hector Pieterson, who is believed to have been the first student or among the first students to be killed by the police, and whose image was captured in what became the "era's defining image" (Alfred, 1999) became the symbolic representation of all victims of police killings as a result of the student uprisings. A wreath-laying ceremony was held at his gravesite in 1978, before people congregated at Regina Mundi Church to remember and commemorate the killings (Makobane,1978). At the service in Regina Mundi, "students re-enacted the death of Hector Petersen" (Berman,1978: 138) [sic].

Night Vigils and Political Funerals as a Platform for Mobilising in the Unfolding Liberation Struggle

The funerals of those killed became platforms for mourning, commemoration and political mobilisation. Berman (1978: 6) observed that "funerals of people killed in street shootings or dying in detention often amounted to political gatherings, and were frequently attended by crowds running into several thousands". These funerals and early commemoration initiatives were an all-embracing forum of mourning and remembrance of an experience that was still, for the majority who attended these services, marked by rawness. To many it was a moment to express collective grief and resilience. It was also a very personal experience, as many still had fresh memories of being tear-gassed and assaulted by the police, of seeing people shot at under cruel circumstances, of losing a brother or a sister, a close friend or a relative, and of knowing of people languishing in prison or having left the country to an unknown world of exile. Tseko Tshehlana recalls:

> I remember vividly well that around two o'clock on the 16th of June was when I knew that something was wrong. And what made me to know these things was the shootings that were taking place; I was ducking some bullets next to Ipelegeng [Ipelegeng Community Centre]. One important thing about that particular day was when I first saw the human muscles of the hand. There was a boy who was shot next to me, I saw him watching with disbelief his muscles there, and there was nothing I could do but to jump into the yard and take cover and watch things as they were unfolding in front of me. I had known that boy for quite some time, he stayed next to the Salvation Army in White City, but there was nothing I could do because I had to also run to save my own skin [sic] (Tshehlana, 2006).

The mood and grief of the period – and importantly, the despondence caused by the killings – was in part captured in a poem written by Mafika Gwala on the 20 June, 1976 titled "Old Man Nxele's Remorse". The Poem reads:

Sons,
They are gunning down
Our children
in Soweto;
What more
are we still living for?
(Gwala,1982:36)

This process of mourning exhibits various characteristics. These characteristics are described by Liz Stanley (2006: 26) as "mourning [which] grieves for those who have been killed and now are dead". Therefore mourning "eventually recognises the finality of death, a frontier that cannot be breached" (ibid.: 26). She further characterises it as that "mourning [which] accepts the loss of those who died, and acceptance eventually commutes mourning, blunts its sharpness, enables life to resume and memory to fade, with the tragedy of loss not forgotten" (ibid.: 26). Moreover, in the pre-liberation process, the tragedy that is not forgotten becomes a

tool to continue pursuing the cause, what is termed below "the imperative of political mobilisation".

The imperatives of political mobilisation played a critical role in shaping the way in which June 16 was remembered, particularly through the form of night vigils for those killed as a result of political activity. Tseko Tshehlana, quoted earlier, remembers that as a then19-year old, how his political consciousness was shaped and developed as a result of attending these night vigils and political funerals:

> The night vigils were very significant. You will remember that after June 16 until 1978, virtually every weekend there was a political funeral. And at that time we did not only attend political funerals, we went to night vigils. Night vigils were a place where we met leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement who knew about these particular things. And they would come and give a perspective to us. What is happening and all those things [...] the Bible was put aside and people were talking about Sechaba [Nation] [...] Sechaba seyashwa [the nation is dying]. And they also used to call us Ma Africa [sic] (Tshehlana, 2006).

Afrikaans, which had sparked the uprisings, was not the focus of the various speakers during the night vigils. According to Tsehlana, they spoke mainly about the rate of deaths and about the broader struggle. The leaders who addressed these night vigils did not argue for ideological identity, just as they were themselves not easily categorised into ideological boxes. The people who spoke at some of the night vigils were ANC and PAC veterans, former Robben Island Prisoners, and adherents of Black Consciousness. Some of those who were seen as adherents of Black Consciousness as constantly shown in this chapter, also had historical associations with the exiled liberations movements. Tsehlana remembers Ntate Philip Mathews an ANC veteran who had been on Robben Island from 1964 to 1974; Aubrey Mokoena, at the time an activist in the South African Student Organisation, who took up a teaching position at Orlando West; Frank Chikane also a SASO activist, who took up a teaching position at Naledi High School before the uprisings; Amanda Kwadi, who later became a founder member of the Federation of Transvaal Women,

and Kenneth Rachidi, who emerged as a Black Consciousness activist at the time (Moloi, 2005; Tshehlana, 2009).

Clearly, commemoration side by side with the continuing killings and police harassment, meant that these early reflections and commemoration processes were characterised by the theme and practice of unity in the struggle, as well as by continuous defiance of an illegitimate political order. This political order did all it could to cordon off the sites of commemoration, but people found ways to breach it. This included defying fear of reprisals. For instance, Salim Vally and Mandla Seloane (2006) point out that "for many years we braved the teargas and armed cordons around key commemoration sites like Regina Mundi" (Lodge 1988). Further, people known for their different ideological persuasions and "underground" political links assembled to remember the fallen heroes of 1976 and to reaffirm their commitment to the pursuit of the unfolding freedom struggle.

In this short period (1977 to 1978) of commemoration, characterised by political mobilisation, the ideological divide was still subtle and unity in the struggle prevailed. Activists who continued to attend night vigils, political funerals and commemorations had respect for leaders like Dr Ntatho Motlana, a former ANC member and civic activist, Dr Naboath Ntshuntsha and Zeph Mothopeng – both activists of the then banned PAC, Winnie Mandela, a well known ANC activist and community leaders Dr Matlare and Manas Buthelezi, who were also speakers on a number of occasions. This unity was further manifested in the fact that people from different schools of political thought attended the funeral of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko at Ginsberg in 1977, as well as that of PAC leader Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe at Graaf Reinet in 1978. Leaders associated with the banned organisations spoke at these funerals and used slogans that, to some extent, were the "symbolic repertoire" (Lodge, 1988) that reflected their party political identities. This continued to be the case with the deaths of Laurence Nzana, Wellington Tshazibane and Dr Naboarth Ntshuntsha. Their deaths and subsequent burials were rallying points for people from across the political spectrum. This state of affairs, characterised by political tolerance and unity in action, would change at the beginning of 1979, after the founding of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO).

Political Party-Oriented Ideological Re-alignments

The founding of AZAPO, particularly coming as it did after the funeral of Sobukwe in 1978, was a critical development. In spite of the fact that individuals with leanings towards the Congress or Africanist tradition attended the launch, the latter began to represent Black Consciousness as an ideology and a political formation independent of the Congress Movement and the Africanist tradition. The latter trend began to be referred to as a third force, which meant the Black Consciousness Movement was a political tendency independent of the older liberation movements.[47] The Congress movement, on the other hand, went on to form the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) in 1979. According to Tsehlana, "the mandate of the formation of Cosas was to revive the so-called progressive movement aligned to the so-called Charterist Movement. Cosas was to [...] set up community-based organisations and rally them around the Freedom Charter"(Tshehlana, 2006).

As a result of these developments, a number of activists began to promote either the Freedom Charter, Black Consciousness ideology or Africanist ideology during commemorations of events like the June 16, 1976 uprisings. Behind the scenes, the Africanists were also preparing to launch a youth formation, launched as the Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU) in 1980. A number of founding members of AZANYU – most of whom were student activists at the time of the uprisings – are of the view that its formation was a result of a directive from Nyati Pokela, then-leader of the external wing of the PAC (Khala, 2004). In his address at the plenary session of the PAC held in Bagamoyo, Tanzania, Pokela stated that his office had received communication from Joe Mkwanazi, the then-administrative secretary of the PAC – who had received many students who fled the country and joined the PAC (ibid.) – making him aware of a PAC document setting out reasons for the establishment of a youth movement. "I personally recommend forthwith the establishment of the Azanian Youth Movement without delay", he declared (Pokela, 1983). In time, these formations would begin to commemorate and memorialise the uprisings along party political lines.

[47] The use of the concept "third force" in this context was different to its later use in the late 1980s and early 1990s to refer to clandestine state-sponsored operatives, who wreaked violence in African townships.

The ideological contradictions started widening and turning into division and conflict in the 1980s. As it happened, a number of early 1970s activists were released around this time from Robben Island. Some, like Eric Molobi and Mosia "Terror" Lekota had been arrested for Black Consciousness activities but, while in Robben Island Prison, had converted to the Congress Movement. Molobi in particular played a major role in moving the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO), a Black Consciousness student formation which had been formed in 1979, towards adopting the Freedom Charter. Saki Macozoma, who was also with the Black Consciousness Movement and converted to the Congress Movement on Robben Island Prison, writes:

> Eric arrived on Robben Island in 1976 and I and a group of 30 students arrived, from kwa-Zakhele High School in January 1977. We had something in common – our political consciousness had been shaped by Black Consciousness. We found ourselves in a microcosmic world of South Africa's political and ideological traditions, and our BC philosophy and tactical positions on how to uproot apartheid were greatly challenged. We soon learned the importance of intellectual rigour in the defence of one's philosophical and political views [sic](Macozoma, 2006).

Macozoma notes: "Soon we came to terms with the fact that BC was not adequate as a philosophical reference point in our struggle to defeat apartheid" (ibid.). The Black Consciousness Movement had to be broken, and Molobi was to engineer this agenda. Macozoma recalls: "Eric was critical in our strategy to influence as many BC adherents as possible to cross the Rubicon into the realm of congress alliance politics. Eric was so committed to the "conversion" project that he agreed to join the Azanian People's Organisation on his release from Robben Island in 1980, in order to ensure that the transition from BC to congress politics happened on a large scale" (ibid.) [sic].

The ideological battle also became manifest in the hostile remarks of adherents to the various schools of thought about one another. For instance, the adherents of the Freedom Charter would ridicule Black Consciousness adherents with statements

such as "you guys want everything black. Soon you will want a black Colgate"[48] [sic]. In turn, adherents of Black Consciousness and Africanists would ridicule the followers of the Freedom Charter, saying its armed struggle was aimed at "blowing [up] dustbins, empty toilets and electric poles" (Macozoma, 2006) [sic].This was to lead to tensions, with some activists beginning to express reservations about sharing the political platform with those they now considered their opponents. Subsequently, seating arrangements at Regina Mundi Church began to form along party political lines, and each school of political thought began to have what could be considered their own freedom songs. Tsehlana recalls:"... you will find the Charterists sitting that other side. You can identify them by [their] songs. We [Charterists] needed Regina Mundi because that's where the crowds would assemble" [sic] (ibid.).

Around 1980, ideological shifts were very clear and began to impinge upon the unity that the uprisings had inspired. The ANC sent a unit of its military wing (including among others Barney Molokoane)[49] to bomb the Sasol plant. The impact of this act was acknowledged even by media hostile to the liberation movements. In July 1980, *RSA World* (1980) wrote, "On the night of Sunday 1, the most spectacular act of sabotage in South Africa occurred when an attack was made on storage tanks and plant at the country's massive oil-from-coal undertaking, Sasol (Sabotage at Sasol)" (RSA World, 1980).

Tsehlana recounts the impact that this act had on commemorations at Regina Mundi Church thus:

> Sasol was bombed before June 16, I mean before the 16th of June. When we went to Regina Mundi; we were armed now. A song was composed especially to go and boast to the BC and the Africanist camp.
>
> Nans' I Sasolburg ivuth' umlilo
> abafana bo Mkhonto bayishaye izolo
> Oyaya! Jealous down.

[48] Referring to a brand of toothpaste.
[49] Richard 'Barney' Molokoane belonged to the June 16 Detachment of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

(There is Sasolburg in flames
MK boys have hit it
Jealous down)

> When we say jealous down, we look at those other ones [Africanist and Black Consciousness Movement activists] and ask, what do you have to offer? [Meaning what examples do you have of attacking the apartheid state] And at that time that was the dawn of toyi toyi-slogan, we called it slogan, which was led by other comrades like Murphy. When we were singing that side, Haw! Haw! PAC and Black Consciousness didn't have anything like that. The impact of mobilisation saw a lot of people coming to join the song and going back to that side (laughs) of those other ones. And the speeches right out there, there was no way a person could miss the impact of armed struggle and begin to associate armed struggle with the ANC [sic] (Tshehlana, 2006).

Organs of the Apartheid administration would be watching proceedings from a distance; the political competition in the church meant nothing to them. The commemorations at Regina Mundi Church would inevitably end in conflict. Police would gather every year in a spot opposite the church, armed with guns and teargas canisters.[50] As the commemorations neared their end, tension built inside the hall. Church leaders would plead with the mourners to exercise restraint in the midst of provocation by the police presence, and not to provoke the police in return. The church leaders would also plead with the police, who were not interested in what

[50] The developments of the area around the Regina Mundi Church to establish what is now known as the Regina Mundi Precinct, unfortunately failed to map the site where police used to be stationed on commemoration days or during political funerals. The location of Azapo activist Dr Abubaker Asvat's mobile clinic has also not been mapped out. The mobile clinic employed Mrs Albertina Sisulu, and is believed to be where young activist "Stompie" may have been treated before he lost his life. Stompie Seipei was a fourteen year-old boy, who lived in a Methodist Mission House in Orlando West run by Paul Verryn. In December 1988, Xiliswa Falati is alleged to have spread rumours that Verryn was a homosexual who was abusing the boys. She is also said to have alleged that Stompie was a spy. Subsequently, he and three other boys were abducted by the Football Club and taken to Winnie Mandela's house in Diepkloof, where they were beaten by members of the club, including Jerry Richardson, in the presence of Winnie. A few days later, Stompie's decomposing body was found in Soweto.

was being said, but rather were present to disperse the mourners as quick as possible.

Popular chants that would echo inside the church included the call: *Niyabesaba Na!* (Are you afraid of them) and the popular response would be: *Hayi asibesabi siyabafuna!* (No we are not afraid of them, we want them!). Using a loudhailer, police would make their infamous demand – that the hundreds of people gathered in the church should disperse in a few minutes. They would then without hesitation spray people with teargas, assaulting them with baton charges and setting their dogs upon them.

State Repression

Indeed, state power was used to suppress commemoration and memorialisation. Poppy Buthelezi, a former student at Sekano Ntoane Secondary School in Soweto, who participated in the student protests and was shot at the age of 16, recalled in an interview with a daily newspaper that, "the day was not recognised by the apartheid government, but we defied it. We would organise commemorative services and the police would disrupt them with their sjamboks and teargas. But we continued to remember our dead with dignity" [sic] (Mphaki, 2001).

One of the points that Poppy makes is that the apartheid state did not treat people and the day of commemoration with dignity. As will be shown, this concern re-emerges with regards to the post apartheid state and the youth would be perceived as not according the day the dignity it deserves because of the new forms of commemoration, particularly the use of pop and kwaito.

The political establishment of the time tried every method possible to intimidate and discourage people from commemorating the 1976 uprisings. For instance, the anticipation leading up to June 16, 1985 saw soldiers on horseback stationed around Soweto and neighbouring townships. Journalist Mandla Ndlazi wrote:

> Since earlier this week, the soldiers and their horses have been on exercises, moving outside Soweto, Lenasia and Eldorado Park and led by a "guide". Sowetan Sunday Mirror found a herd of horses at the Protea Police Station

> on Wednesday. Their handlers, soldiers in uniform, were also in the yard of the police station. Brigadier G Murphy, the army commander on the Witwatersrand, said the cavalry was on a "routine training exercise around Soweto" (Ndlazi, 1985).

When police intimidation did not work, the establishment accused the foreign media of influencing unrest. The police and pro-establishment – sponsored by the National Party government newspapers like the *Citizen* and *Die Vaderland* – went so far as to allege that June 16 of 1981 had been peaceful until the foreign media took up positions outside Regina Mundi Church (De Villiers,1981). On 18 June 1981, a newspaper reported the following about Leon Mellet, a lieutenant colonel, who was head of the Directorate of Public Relations at police headquarters: "he had approached foreign television teams who had taken up position outside Regina Mundi Church. Col. Mellet politely requested them to keep their cameras out of sight as they attracted the blacks" (ibid.).

Political Party-Oriented Ideological Re-alignments turn into Sectarianism

In spite of the intransigence of the police and the establishment, the spirit of unity did not last long. With the banned movements having improved the organisation of their underground networks, and operating sophisticated networks internally, the struggle for political hegemony of the liberation struggle became manifest in the commemorations of various incidents in the history of the liberation struggle, such as Sharpeville Day (renamed Human Rights Day after 1994) and the June 16 uprisings. By the late 1980s, commemorations had begun to take place along party-political lines. Thabo Leshilo writes:

> the yearly June 16 commemoration services were held along partisan lines. If you believed in the ANC's Freedom Charter, you attended a UDF service; if you swore by the BCM and the Azanian Manifesto, you went to an AZAPO rally. And, if you were Pan Africanist, as espoused by Robert Sobukwe, you attended services organised by the internal organs of the PAC. Though one could be cynical

> and argue that people were spoilt for choice, it was sad to see how June 16 had lost its unifying quality of the early 1980s [sic]. The services had become platforms for denouncing political rivals (2006:124).

In addition to remembering the fallen, delivering heated speeches about the continued suffering under the yoke of the apartheid colonial system and calling for the release of political prisoners, the freedom fighters would also turn on each other viciously. Leshilo states:

> AZAPO would blast the ANC for selling out the country to whites; the ANC would dismiss the BCM as a spent force and gloat over its ascendancy in political fortunes; the PAC would depict itself as the purest liberation movement and the true custodian of pan-Africanism. You could even be attacked for choosing to attend the 'wrong' commemoration service amid all the internecine violence of those days (ibid.) [sic].

The rise of political intolerance, which later led to conflict among activists adhering to various schools of political thought, also gave rise to cynicism about the commemoration of the Soweto uprisings. Journalist Sam Mabe, writing in Sowetan, June 13, 1990 makes the following observation:

> What will happen at commemoration services to be held across the nation is predictable. We will recall the introduction of Bantu education and events leading to the unrest of 1976. We will condemn the authorities for imposing an unacceptable system of education on us. We'll denounce the police for killing innocent and unarmed children. *We'll also denounce our political rivals* [emphasis added] (Mabe, 1990).

The 1980s saw the founding of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983. With the formation of the Congress-aligned UDF, political expression assumed a more hegemonic form. To the left of the UDF emerged a National Forum, representing the Africanist and the Black Consciousness tendency, as well as a number of socialist groupings. Though this formation did not have a mass appeal of the same magnitude as the UDF, it nonetheless played an important role in keeping aloft the banner of Pan Africanism and Black Consciousness as part of the popular consciousness.

During the 1980s, various parts of the country were engulfed by uprisings. At the national level, there were four decisive highlights of revolt. Firstly, there was the Vaal uprising, which began in September 1984, sparked by a rent increase announced by the Lekoa Town Council. This uprising led to the deaths of some 31 people. Then there was the nationwide schools boycott. This began in Cradock in 1983, when students protested against the dismissal of Mathew Goniwe, a headmaster and leader of the UDF. The schools boycott spread to Pretoria in early 1984 and on to the rest of the country.

The student's struggles were led mainly by COSAS, with lower profile attempts at mobilising by the Azanian Student Movement (AZASM), representing the Black Consciousness tendency, and later the All African Students Organisation (later launched as the Pan Africanist Students Organisation-PASO), representing the Africanist tendency. These student struggles were centred on demands for the "recognition of elected student representatives councils, an end to sexual harassment of female students and corporal punishment, the release of detained students, and upgrading of educational facilities" (Swilling, 1987).

The Advent of Insurrectionism

Then there was the mass November 1984 worker stay-away, in what was then known as the Transvaal. This stay-away saw the emergence of close links between community organisations, student movements and trade unions. It has been noted that these mass actions:

> …mobilised unprecedented numbers of people, and displayed new features, which signalled a turning point in […] black protest. They mobilised all sectors of the township population including youth and older residents; they involved co-ordinated action between trade unions and political organisations; they were called in support of demands that challenged the coercive, urban and educational policies of the apartheid state; and they gave rise to ungovernable areas as state authority collapsed in many townships in the wake of the resignation of black local authority councillors (ibid.).

The year 1985 can be characterised as a period of urban civil warfare, with a state of emergency declared in July of that year. In a number of areas, organs of civil governance had collapsed; others were unable to operate as a result of mass action and violent opposition. The police and the military began to be mobilised in re-establishing civil governance. In places, they took on a permanent presence, while certain other townships became ungovernable.

The youth began to mobilise around quasi-military action squads. Urban guerrilla actions directed at the security forces began to emerge, and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the military wing of the ANC, took on a high profile. In addition, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the military wing of the PAC and now led largely by the class of 1976, showed signs of renewing its presence inside the country.[51]

These developments heightened the competition between the various political tendencies. The internecine violence between the political organisations waging the struggle for freedom in South Africa were, for a while, brought under control for the commemoration of June 16, in 1985. The *Financial Mail* (1985) of June 14 of that year reported:

[51] The PAC's military wing deployed its first group of trained cadres drawn from the "class of '76" in 1977. The campaign was known as operation curtain raisers. See Thami ka Plaatjie, "The PAC in Exile". In *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, Volume 2 (1970 – 1980) (South African Democracy Education Trust, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 2006). p. 738.

> … in spite of ideological differences and some warring among their members recently, the United Democratic Front and the rival Azanian People's Organisation came together this week to announce a joint programme to mark June 16 – the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots.

At a press conference organised jointly by the two organisations, their leaders spoke of their decision to hold a joint UDF-AZAPO memorial service. Both organisations were to provide speakers to address the commemoration. Sydney Mafumadi (Minister of Local Government from 1999 to 2008), and Saths Cooper, a former leader of AZAPO, were recorded saying that the two organisations:

> have resolved to jointly call upon the people to observe Sunday, June 16, as a day of serious reflection on the events that have led to our country being in the sad, divided and volatile situation it is in today (ibid.).

They further argued that their cooperation was a "testimony to our commitment to respecting our differences in working towards a free and democratic society" (ibid.). The commemoration service of that year involved the Manyano Women of Soweto, who led a procession from Moroka Police Station to Regina Mundi Church. June 16 of 1985 was not only considered to be about the memory of those who had lost their lives on that day in 1976, but also served to try to heal differences between the now-warring components of the broader liberation movement.

This unity was not sustained, and division and sectarianism continued to take centre stage in the commemoration of the uprisings. Another example of this is the June 16 commemorations of 1988 at Regina Mundi Church, which took place in the midst of the renewal of the state of emergency. *Arise! Vuka!*(1988), in a report titled "Azania Remembers June 16" read:

> At the Regina Mundi church in Soweto, close to 7000 people attended a meeting organised by the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee (AZACCO). The meeting was

addressed by speakers from a range of organisations, including Azapo, Azanyu, Azayo, Action Youth, Fedtraw, Ccawusa[52], Azasm and Nactu.

All the organisations mentioned above represented the Africanist, Black Consciousness and Trotskyist formations. Ironically, the key message that arose from this commemoration was one that bemoaned divisions and sectarianism within the broader liberation movement thus: "there was a constant reminder from speakers that the fallen comrades of '76 did not die for any political organisation or for any sectarian policies, but for our liberation" (ibid.). As these statements were being made at the Regina Mundi Church, organisations affiliated to the UDF held its own commemoration in White City. These divisions characterised commemorations held in other parts of the country. After the advent of the democratic political order following the first democratic elections, slightly different memorial activities were undertaken. However, a closer look at these suggests change, as well as certain continuity.

Completing the Student's March

The twentieth anniversary took as its theme the completion of the student march, which had been disrupted by the police in 1976, leading to widespread uprisings. The march was preceded by the handing to the then Justice Minister Dullah Omar (1996) of "a symbolic memorandum from the past – demands for non-racial education, written by school pupils 20 years ago" (The Citizen, 1996). The mood preceding the enactment of the march was described by two journalists thus: "the 20th anniversary of the Soweto uprisings begins in Johannesburg on a sombre note with lines of Umkhonto we-Sizwe cadres standing to attention, saluting the youths who fell in search of a better future" (ibid.). Although students had marched from various schools in 1976, the enactment of the march began at Morris Isaacson High School in Central Western Jabavu. Among the high profile participants were

[52] Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (Ccawusa) was an affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). However, a certain section of the union membership, whose political orientation was Africanist and Trotskyist, dissented when Cosatu adopted the "Freedom" Charter.

President Thabo Mbeki and former student activists, many now organised as the June 16, 1976 Foundation.

In contrast to the march of 1976, on the 20th anniversary of the uprisings, the police and traffic officers ensured that the routes were safe for the marchers. Cooke and Ndhlovu (1996) further observed that "en route, residents sitting on their stoops or mowing their lawns shout slogans of support: 'Amandla…Awethu' (Power to the People) – a saying that 20 years ago could have earned them a bullet from security forces'" (Cooke and Ndhlovu, 1996). The singing of freedom songs and the *toyi toyi*[53] were also part of this enactment. The route led to Orlando West High School and then on to the Hector Pieterson Memorial, where wreaths were laid.

From the Hector Pieterson Memorial, the crowds were bussed to the Library Gardens in Central Johannesburg, now known as Beyers Naude Square. The former Premier of Gauteng Mbazima Shilowa is on record as telling thousands of cheering crowds that "Youth Day is no longer an occasion for mourning, but of rejoicing in the achievements of the past 20 years" (Cooke and Ndhlovu, 1996). Indeed, the afternoon turned into "a day of braais, sports and music" (ibid.). In the midst of the celebration was a former student, who continued to be a reminder of the pain that June 16 represents to many – Phindile Mavuso. In 1976, Phindile was in Standard 7 and lost her right leg after being shot by police. She had "…the dreams and hopes of every girl of my age. Those dreams were shattered, not by the fact that I was lazy, but because of the handicaps I face every single day of my life" [sic](ibid.). This marked the commemoration of the uprisings as a public holiday. As the 1990s approached, new dynamics would characterise the memorialisation of the June 16, 1976 Soweto student uprisings. The dominant feature is the emergence of a "new" post apartheid democratic society.

Youth Day as a Public Holiday

On the intangible aspects of the memory of the uprisings, the proclamation of June 16 as a public holiday looms large. According to Seleti (n.d.:7), "June 16 heralds the

[53] A dance or movement characterised by the stomping of feet and spontaneous chanting of political slogans during protests, or in a political rally.

sacrifices and contributions of the youth to the struggle against colonialism and apartheid. By making the day a national public holiday, the legacy of the June 16 youth rebellion against the apartheid racial policies is popularised and perpetuated" (ibid.). Mary Fulbrook (1999: 7), in her book *German National Identity after the Holocaust*, argues that "regularly repeated ceremonies and rites of remembrance, on particular anniversaries [...] tell us a great deal about the values and emotions supported by at least those who organise and stage the ceremonies; about the interpretations propagated by those in a position to mount such efforts". Further, Fulbrook argues, the rites of commemoration represent the translation of political power into symbolic power, that "constructs perceptions of and attitudes towards the past, in the interests of a particular version of identity in the present"(ibid.:83). One of the points of contestation here, in Hjalte Tin's view is that the identity of student activists has been turned into that of "sacrificed youth and martys and not as actors, creative subjects of historical change"(Tin, 2001:127). This view is shared by a number of scholars of the uprisings, including Helena Pohlandt-McCormic (1999), who argues that the tendency not to recognise the students as makers of history is linked to attempts to underplay the role of the Black Consciousness Movement and the philosophy behind the student activism of the time. Their argument is that the exiled movements had to appropriate the uprisings in order to reposition themselves as relevant and as an integral part of unfolding struggles inside the country.

A new form of appropriation has emerged in the regularly repeated commemoration ceremonies as a platform for "government speak". In practice, this means the theme and messages used to mark Youth Day would reflect the official position of the government, and all government institutions and government-organised commemorations would have to be held under that uniform theme, as would government communication in the form of posters, leaflets and booklets, thus allowing for changes in government priorities on both economic and social terms.

> 1998: 'Youth in Service for National Development' (Youth Day Leaflet, 1998)

> 2002: 'Together, creating jobs, fighting poverty' (Youth Day leaflet, 2002)

2004: 'Celebrating a decade of opportunities' (Youth Day Advert, Sunday World, 2004)

2005: 'Creating youth employment and fighting poverty' (Youth Day Advert, The Star, 2005)

2006: 'Age of Hope: Deepening Youth Participation in Development' (Youth Day Programme, 30 anniversary, 2006)

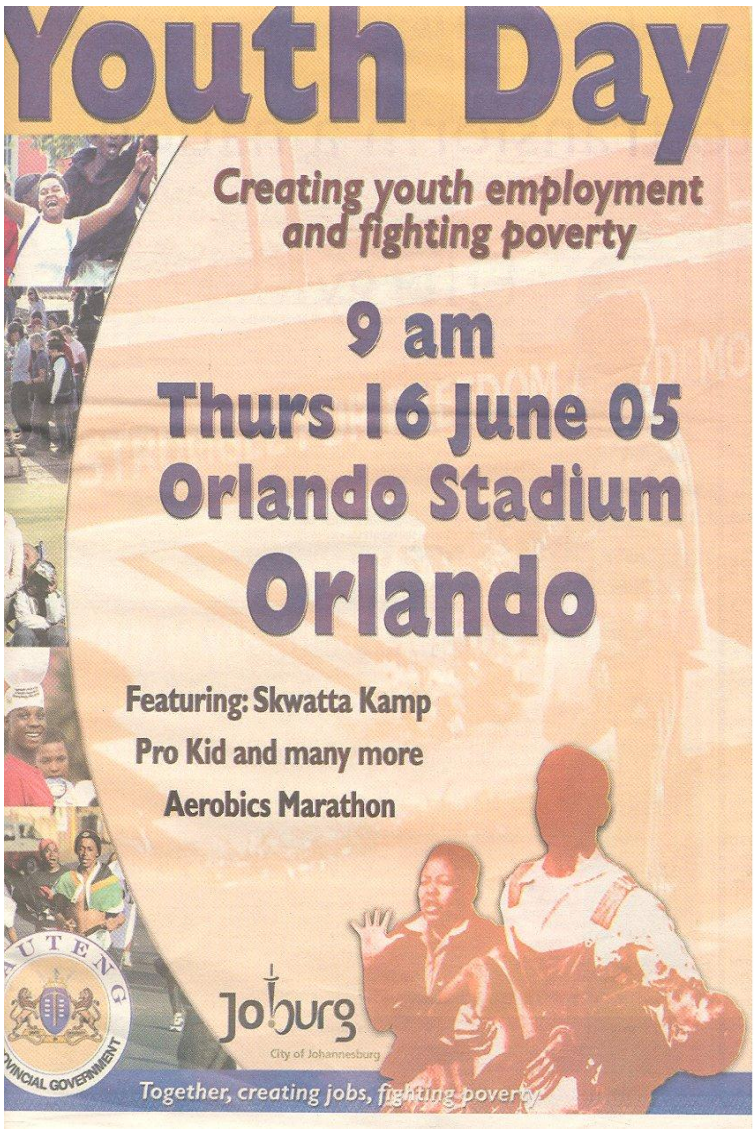


Figure 2. A leaflet issued by the Gauteng Provincial Government indicated the musical attractions at one of the commemorations of National Youth Day at Orlando Stadium. Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum Archives, 2004 (Courtesy of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum Archives, 2007).

Government-organised commemorations would feature a strong line-up of popular music, particularly Kwaito,[54] leading to debates and accusations that the day had been trivialised, and that its dignity as a day of service and suffering for liberation had been lost. The use of Kwaito[55] musicians is seen by many mainly as a means to fill stadiums. This raises questions about whether the memory of 1976 is fading from popular consciousness, particularly amongst the youth. However, the centre of controversy remains the nature of Kwaito music and its content, which transforms the day of commemoration into a wild party, and there have been reports of drunkenness among youngsters partaking in these commemoration activities (Seloane & Vally,2006).

The call for dignity in remembering and commemorating the uprisings is, in essence, a plea from the bottom of the heart for continuity with the earlier tradition of commemoration, when the memory of the uprisings was an integral part of the unfolding liberation struggle against a system of settler colonialism. Under these circumstances, commemoration was characterised by dignity and symbolism, manifested in a dress code reflecting a period of mourning and commemoration. Young people would often be in their school uniforms, which identified them with the schools they were attending until the time of the uprising. Others would dress in black and white. Black in particular was, for a long time, a widely accepted colour of mourning, as well as a respectful way to show honour to those who had lost their lives in the course of the struggle. Others would wear armbands (a piece of black cloth worn on the arm as a sign of mourning) to symbolise their mourning. One of the SSRC pamphlets quoted in the discussions of commemoration that followed shortly after June 16, 1976 had urged that, "All people in South Africa – especially Blacks – shall be clad in black to mourn the massacre of the innocent and unarmed students in the course of the prayer meetings" (Soweto Students Representative Council, 1976).

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[54] Garry Baines, "The Master Narrative of South Africa's Liberation Struggle: Remembering and Forgetting June 16, 1976." In *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 40 (2007), 2 (227) describes Kwaito as referring "to the musical form embraced by a large section of urban black youths that is said to promote consumerist culture and conspicuous materialism". p. 283.

[55] For an alternative interpretation of the significance of Kwaito see Mohau Motloi, *Kwaito Music- A cultural revolution*. Ratsosa Publishing, 2007

Another sign of both respect and political consciousness was reflected in the wearing of Dashikis, loose, brightly-coloured African garments resembling a long shirt without buttons, with some people not combing their hair. Former journalist and now spokesperson of the Department of Arts and Culture, Sandile Memela, writes:

> In the '70s I saw many of today's forty-somethings when they were lured by Black Consciousness politics and the fashion of unkempt hair, colourful Dashiki shirts and ankle-length boots. As teenagers their lives were deeply shaped by the 'Black is beautiful' philosophy, which expressed itself in their Jordache and Bang Bang jeans and attending all-night-long 'Akulalwa' gigs [sic] (Memela, 1999).

The all-night gigs Memela writes about were the social occasions patronised by the 1970s generation. This is an important point to note, as it acknowledges that the youth of the 1970s was not one-dimensional. They were not only preoccupied by the freedom struggle, but also took time to party in the midst of death, detention and exile. This point was emphasised by a parent in one of many conversations held at Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, who worked closely with former students, in a conversation with current youth, who are perceived to be uninterested in contemporary struggles or who prefer to party to Kwaito music on days of commemoration.

Tsehlana illustrates the earlier point about how the activists of the 1970s expressed their new political consciousness through dress, by recalling a former student activist, stating:

> …and there was Boy Boy Ramapepe. He was always wearing this Dashiki stuff and so on that was associated with Azania as far as we were concerned. And Azania was nothing else but the land we were aspiring to […] the land of freedom […] And the beads too, the beads that were put here [pointing to his neck] and at the feet […] Necklaces, yes. These were symbols of Azania [laughs] [sic] (Tshehlana, 2006).

Freedom Songs and Poetry of Resistance

In addition to the commemoration involving a day of speeches, there was also wide use of chants in the oral tradition of call and response, as well as the singing of freedom songs. Although the 1976 era produced its own unique songs, many were a continuation of the tradition of freedom songs that emerged in the earlier periods of struggle, like the Defiance Campaign of 1952, and the Positive Action Campaign against the Pass Laws of 1960. Some of the well-known songs of the generation of 1976 read:

Amabhunu ayizinja
Amabhunu ayizinja

Sono sethu ubumnyama
Sono sethu ubumnyama

(The boers are dogs
the boers are dogs
Is it a sin to be Black?
Is it a sin to be Black?)

Thina sizwe esimnyama
Sikhalela umhlaba wethu
Owathathwa ngabamhlophe
Mabawuyeke umhlaba wethu

(We the Black nation
Are crying for our land
Which was taken by white people
Let them give back our land)

Unzima lomthwalo ufuna sihlangane
Asikhathali noma siyaboshwa
Sifuna Inkululeko

(This burden is heavy, it requires us
to unite
We don't care if they arrest us
We want freedom)

Ba bolaile mo Azania
Ba bolaile mo Azania
Ba tswanetsi go bolaiwa

(They have killed an Azanian
They have killed an Azanian
They deserve to be killed too)

Thina sulusha
Lalapha e Azania
Asisoze subulawe
Ilamabhunu sisebasha
Sisebasha sisebasha sisebasha

(We are the youth of Azania
we won't be killed by these boers
We are youth, we are youth, we are
youth)

(Hlongwane, Ndlovu, Mutloatse, 2006:114)

Poetry became another major form of expression on the day of commemoration. There was the poetry of Ingoapele Madingoane, who became known as the poet laureate of Soweto, largely because of his epic poem *Africa My Beginning* (1979), which on other occasions was performed ensemble with the Allah Poets. Another popular poet was Joe Rahube, who was known for his poem *When will Nkosi Sikelela us*?[56] (When will God bless us?) This particular use of artistic form of expression had been popularised by the Black Consciousness movement. This, in Xolela Mangcu's

[56]See Manaka, M. "Theatre of the Dispossessed (article based on discussions with James Mthoba and Joe Rahube)" *Beyond the Echoes of Soweto-Five plays by Matsemela Manaka.* Edited by Geoffrey V. Davis. (harwood academic publishers, 1997).

view, was because Black Consciousness had a massive appeal for "the intellectual and creative dimensions of young people" (Mangcu, 2004: 117). Also, poetry as a performance art allowed for the use of cultural symbols like drums and "traditional" costumes, which reflected the early formative political consciousness of the youths and adherents of Black Consciousness expressed in the "return to the roots" themes. Piniel Viriri Shava has pointed out that this poetry "tended to be assertive, didactic, exhortatory and overtly political" (Shava, 1989: 98). Such performance during commemoration services instilled a sense of remembrance that was sombre and dignified, while affirming the will to carry on the fight. The commemoration services also became a laboratory for new talent; indeed, many looked forward to the emergence of new poets, including Mzwakhe Mbuli. Mbuli became particularly popular for his poem *Aga sies bayasinyanyisa (Oh they are disgusting to us)* (Moloi, 2006). However, the emergence of such poets took place within the ideological contestations or competition discussed earlier, which was slowly emerging as a dominant feature of memorialising the uprisings.

In contrast with the dignity and solemn remembrances undertaken during the dark days of settler colonialism, the latest developments mark the highest expression of controversy when it comes to the commemoration of the uprisings. Such controversy, though an annual event, became more pronounced during the thirtieth anniversary of '76. Metro FM, a radio station with a youth listener base, went to the extent of placing an advertisement about the issue in the form of a declaration or an oath, urging young people to commit themselves to a dignified observance of June 16.

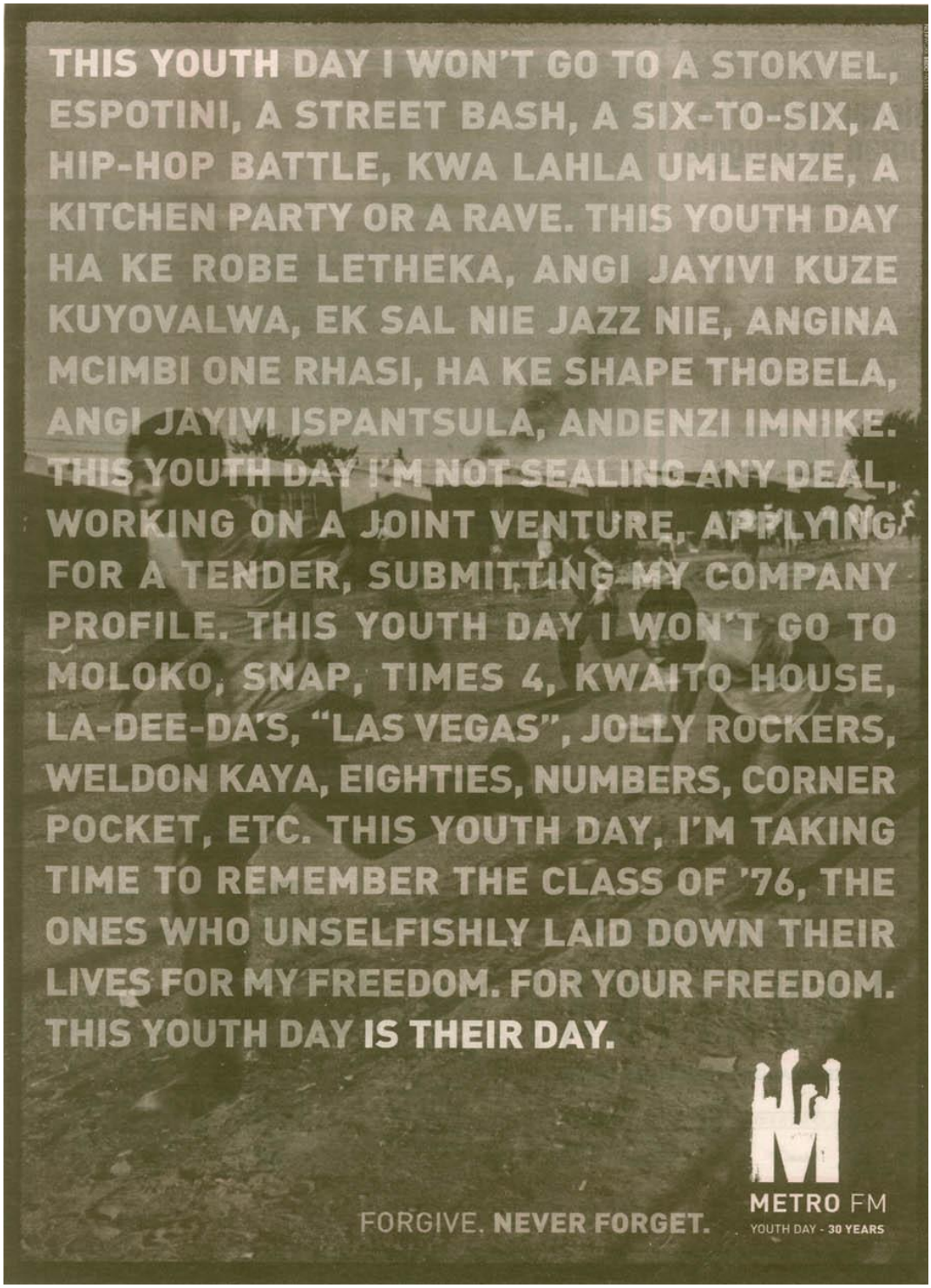


Figure 3. An advert that was placed in various newspapers bemoaning the way June 16 is now commemorated by the youth. It made a number of pledges exhorting the youth to commit themselves to uphold the memory of the fallen of 1976. (Courtesy of SOWETAN, June 15, 2006)

This advertisement reflected the general public sentiment, which bemoaned the way in which, in recent years, the Soweto uprisings had been commemorated. Another example was the editorial in the *Sowetan* of June 15, 2006, in which the editor wrote:

> Some among us think (June 16) should be a sombre day marked by a dignified commemoration of that historic milestone. They say we should show our respect for the young people who died for our freedom [...] Others argue that the best way to show our appreciation to the heroes of June 16 is to celebrate the freedom they bequeathed us [...] And a more radical variation of this view suggests that we throw wild parties and drink ourselves silly to the beat of loud music. "Stop being so hung up on the past. Let bygones be bygones. Get down and party," they say (Tsebe, 2006).

On the same page, the *Sowetan* featured two images to contrast the extremes of commemorating the uprisings. On one side is a representation of the iconic photograph of June 16, taken by Sam Nzima. On the other side is a similar picture dated 2006, with the caption 'He's Passed Out Again', showing two revellers, one a woman with a cigarette in her hand, and a fellow smoking a cigarette and carrying the unconscious body of a drunkard.

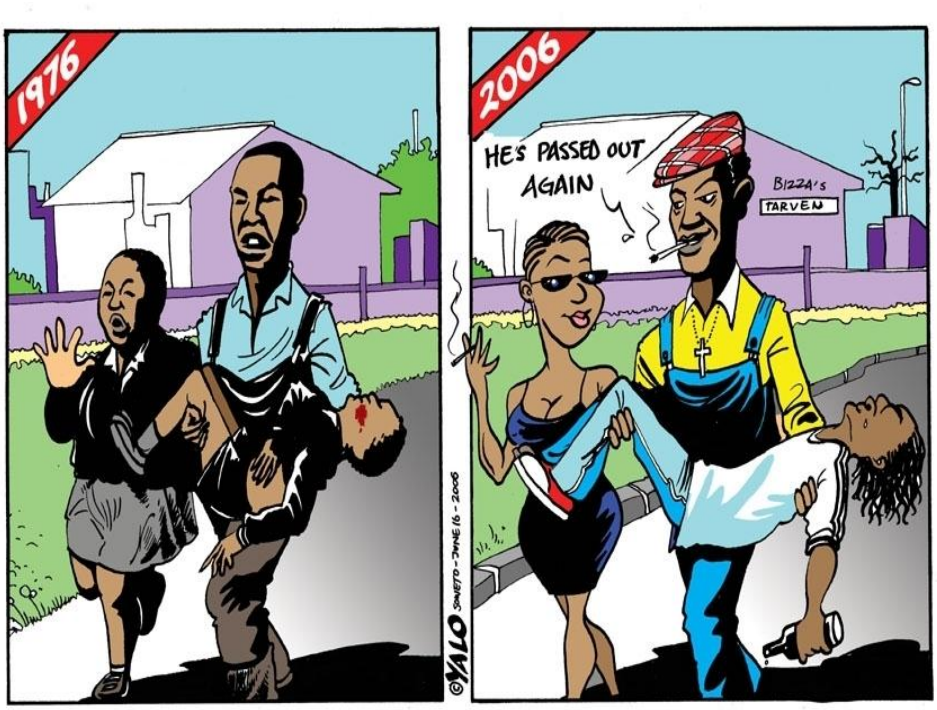


Figure 4. Cartoon reflecting the ongoing debate about what the June 16 1976 uprisings mean to the youth of today. (Cartoon by Sifiso Yalo. Courtesy of the Sowetan, 2006)

The state of affairs depicted above was rationalised by a reader, who wrote to the *Sowetan* on June 19, 2006 under the headline "Cool to party on June 16":

> Family and friends weep and there is deep sadness when someone dies. But it is also true that during and after the mourning period, family and friends also shriek with laughter when remembering the antics of the dearly departed. I therefore do not understand why some people blame the youth for organising bashes and street parties every year on June 16. There are more than enough people who will do the crying. Others will tell stories about how close they were to the deceased. They will inevitably turn the spotlight on themselves and enjoy the sympathy and condolences. But nobody will blame them or shame them by exposing their hypocrisy and crocodile tears [...] But we who laugh and celebrate the contributions of the dead of June 16 are frowned upon. Our leaders fought and died so that we could enjoy a free life, so I do not understand why we should be stopped from enjoying that legacy [...] Tsebe (2006).

And indeed, not all music for days like June 16 can be said to be degrading to the memory of the events that took place that day. In fact, it has been widely acknowledged that "singing was part of the struggle" (Klaaste, 2002). Discussing a similar challenge, the late journalist and editor of the Sowetan, Aggrey Klaaste, wrote:

> I remember a passion-filled talk I had with Benjy Francis. As an artist he believed that the very act of singing [...] was an important element of the struggle. He quoted history and religion, for instance the children of Israel singing the songs of Zion, when they were in Babylon. He quoted various struggle songs that are particularly poignant, and very effective politically. He referred to the

> struggles of the South Americans and the black American slaves [...] (ibid.).

However, government-organised commemorations are seen by many as choosing musicians whose music has no relevance to the memory of the Soweto uprisings, or to questions of social justice. Music with themes of struggle seldom features. Eighties band Sakhile, whose members are still part of the music scene, released an album with one song dedicated to the fallen of 1976, entitled *Isililo* (*The cry)*(1997). Miriam Makeba composed a song titled *Soweto Blues?* (2008). Victor Ntoni composed a tune dedicated to the uprisings entitled *Where are the children now?* Yet none of these musicians or their songs have featured in commemorations of the uprisings since 1994. This is in contrast to the commemorations of the 1980s. For instance, *Arise! Vukani!*, reporting on commemorations held at Regina Mundi Church, notes the following: "Jazz group Bayette [sic] ended the proceedings with songs dedicated to fallen comrades, and those in detention, in prison or on death row" (Action Youth, 1988). The argument may be that the post 1994 commemorations feature "up and coming artists", but the content of their music is often found to symbolically denigrate the sacrifices made during the uprisings, which are seen as the focus of commemoration.

If memory and commemoration are so highly contested among those who share the same experience and those who were adversaries, then it throws up various challenges about how a given experience can be transmitted to new generations. In the South African context, this question is imperative, given the complaints about the attitude of South African youths on national commemorative days like June 16. The way in which these challenges are dealt with may help new generations, either to embrace or to reject the memories and pain of the generations before them.

There is a view that suggests that for new generations to embrace memories of the past, the memory-making process must "allow for the mutability of collective meaning and memory [...] [to retain some kind of] significance to future generations" (Netshitenzhe, 2006). Netshitenzhe, former head of the policy unit in the South African Presidency, writing in his personal capacity, argues differently, and contests the view that sees certain youth activities on days of remembrance in a negative light. They are doing, he says, what "a free youth should do. As long as we

keep the memory alive. Working with them, we must continue searching for forms of mobilisation that accord with their lifestyles and preoccupations" (ibid.).

"Our past is still with us"

It has been noted that memory of the past is equally the subject of social concerns in the present. As Charles Villa-Vincencio has put it, "our past is still with us" (2006:167). Though Villa-Vincencio was writing about the past in the context of unresolved issues flowing from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, this chapter is reflecting on the past being with us as manifest in the discourse of commemorating the 1976 uprisings. This is a discourse not about torture, exile, imprisonment and killings but on the unfinished business of the liberation struggle, in the context of the resolution of the social question. That is, the commemoration of the uprisings as a way of raising issues focused on contemporary social problems, particularly insofar as they affect the youth.

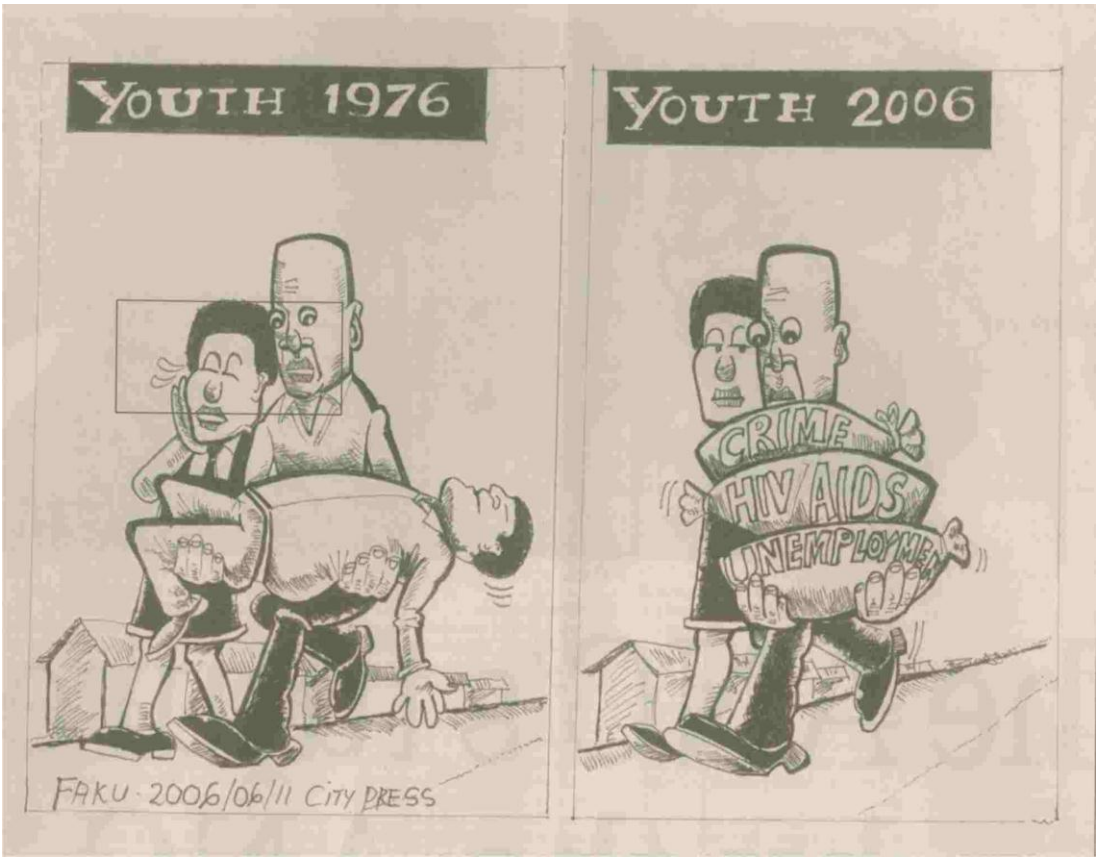


Figure 5. Cartoon depicting the iconic photograph of the lifeless body of Hector Pieterson being carried by Mbuyisa Makhubu with Hector's sister Antoinette running on the side contrasted with a depiction of the youth of 2006 carrying the heavy burden of contemporary challenges which are unemployment, HIV/AIDS and crime. Cartoon by Faku. Courtesy of the City Press, 2006.

Conclusion

I have argued in this chapter for a recognition of the complex nature and practice of commemoration. We looked at how the June 16, 1976 Soweto uprisings rapidly became a unifying rallying point amongst the oppressed. The grief and pain of the aftermath of the uprising brought people across the ideological divide together in order to commemorate and commit to the unfolding liberation struggle.

However, this was to be a short-term achievement, as the imperatives of political and ideological hegemony resulted in political intolerance and ideological rivalry, and the memory and commemoration of the June 16, 1976 uprisings became a contested societal arena, used to support the various ideological discourses of the diverse liberation movements. This was to demonstrate clearly how political activity is intrinsically a process of historical argument and definition. However, when political activity moves to the level of political domination, history and memory take on a different level of significance. The Popular Memory Group observes that "history – in particular popular memory – is at stake in the constant struggle for hegemony" (ibid.). This state of affairs in the memorialisation of the June 16, 1976 uprisings, came to the fore as the ANC began to emerge strongly in exile and internally as the key driver of the liberation struggle in South Africa. Contestation by the internal formations of the PAC and Black Consciousness traditions of struggle subsequently led to conflict.

The apartheid state also contested the memory and commemoration of the uprisings, by portraying it as a project inspired by "communists" and agitators, at the expense of the supposedly "peaceful and happy" African majority, going to the extent of reprimanding the foreign media as the instigators of unrest on commemoration days.

After 1994, the new state also appropriated memory as part of its discourse of reconciliation and nation-building. However, this tended to project reconciliation largely along the colour divide and excluded any call for reconciliation among former liberation movements. As a result, the commemoration of June 16, 1976 and Youth Day has not been explored for its potential for healing divided memories and thus as a unifying day among the former liberation movements. Instead, there has

been more focus on contested ownership of meaning by the former liberation movements.

Whilst we recognise the imperatives of social cohesion and nation-building, we further note that the memorialisation of the June 16, 1976 uprisings promotes the view that will resonate through all the chapters of this study, namely that contested memory in many respects suggest healthy memory. In the context of the memory of 1976, this is manifest in the constant challenge of its dominant meta-narratives through counter-narratives, and the ever-changing forms and rationales of its commemoration.

Further, many would argue that the commemoration of June 16, 1976, like all national days of commemoration in South Africa, has failed to bring South African youths and the population in general together across the colour line. The commemoration of Youth Day is seen as an affair for Africans. The programming of musical acts that are seen as attractions for youths is not informed by cultural diversity and the demographics of South African society. Invariably, young people whose aesthetic interests are not catered for in the programming do not participate in these commemorations. Given that the annual Youth Day commemorations have also become a tradition in their own right, it is imperative that a programming policy is evolved that will accommodate varied forms of cultural expression and symbols that can unite people across communities.

CHAPTER THREE

"Bricks-and-mortar testimonies":[57]
The interactive and dialogical features of the memorials and monuments of the June 16, 1976 Soweto Uprisings

Introduction

Physical forms of public memory have become a major feature in the processes aimed at reclaiming and humanising public space in African townships. These townships were not residential places of choice. They were imposed as backyards for a labour force of so-called sojourners, who were expected to return to their "homelands" when they were no longer of value to the labour needs of the urban areas. Consequently, the residents of the townships were not only socially degraded as people, but they were also trapped by various laws into inhabiting this dehumanising landscape. The township became known for its inadequate and under-resourced schools, libraries, recreation amenities and health facilities. Residents of these townships responded in part by affirming their humanity in ways that included innovative reconfigurations of their homes (popularly known as matchbox houses), as well as of the public spaces of their neighbourhoods. Writer and educationist, Es'kia Mphahlele (1979:146), observed the following interventions on the built environment of the township, saying that "when we occupy a municipal house, we break down walls, punch new doorways, rearrange the rooms, make extensions, to adapt the dwelling to our practical needs and aesthetics".

Mphahlele's observation is both a literal and a figurative feature of the human settlements of most African townships. It is literal in the sense that a number of homes were changed over the years by the residents, to meet their practical needs and aesthetic tastes, also becoming a negation of the impositions of the built environment. The metaphor of life in African townships were and continue to be characterised by "always having to change or rearrange this, revive that, inject new

[57]The concept bricks and mortar testimonies is borrowed from Griswold, Charles L. "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Washington Mall: Philosophical Thoughts on Political Iconography," *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985).

life into this, breath energy into that, stretch this out, shorten that, add this, destroy that" (ibid.: 46).

This process of humanising the wasteland of oppression in African townships was and is also manifest in the creation of diverse institutions of religion, *stokvels*,[58] music, dance, literature, theatre and the visual arts. It gave the townships their schools and teachers – who would make their mark in their profession and in society – and it gave them sports and players who rose beyond the confines of the township. It also gave them gangsters and hardened criminals, whose stories would later be remembered and retold with amusement and sometimes nostalgia, despite the misery they had caused local people. Reclamation of the township landscape was also manifest as a humanising process embedded in the local and national political struggles. In this context, reclamation was an act of taking back the right and the initiative to make one's own history (Thiongo, 1983: 87).

This trend continues today, taking on new forms under different political conditions. One of these forms is the memorialisation of the diverse experiences – social, cultural and political – of both township and national life. This chapter reflects specifically on the emergence of physical forms of public memory of the June 16, 1976 uprisings in Soweto. The chapter also elaborates upon the way in which the design, construction and unveiling of the 1976 memorials constitutes a form of memorial debate in its own right (Young, 1993: 40), thus turning memorials into testimonies of "bricks and mortar". Memorial debates that arise out of the making of "bricks and mortar" testimonies include public exchanges, lobbying, disputes, silencing and engagement of different interest groups as "community" labour in memory making. The June 16, 1976 uprising's memory in stone, memorial architecture or landscaped parks include the headstones erected at the burial places of Lilly Mithi, Tsietsi Mashinini, Khotso Seathlolo, Hector Pieterson and Hastings Ndlovu among others; the "never, never again" memorial at the entrance to Avalon Cemetery; the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum in Orlando West township. Others include, "a photographic montage" (Anstey, 2007;4) commemorating Tsietsi Mashinini at the June 16, 1976 Memorial Acre in Central Western Jabavu, the sculpture of Hector Pieterson, Antoinette Sithole and Mbuyisa Makhubu at Maponya Mall (installed in 2007), the

[58]"Stokvels" are clubs or syndicates serving as rotating credit unions in South Africa, where members contribute fixed sums of money to a central fund on a weekly, fortnightly or monthly basis.

newly-erected Hastings Ndlovu Bridge in Khumalo Street and the larger than life statue of Tsietsi Mashinini in the vicinity of the June 16 Memorial Acre opposite Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto. Still more public art has been installed around Vilakazi Street, which is popular as "the only street in the world where two Nobel Prize winners – Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela – lived" (Hooper-Box, 2003). The street was, however, also a gathering space for protesting students on June 16, 1976.

W. Fitzhugh Brundage (2000: 8) argues that, "because memories are transitory, people yearn to make them permanent by rendering them in physical form by erecting monuments or marking off sacred places". This practice could also be seen as a process where "political strategists [...] delegate to monuments the moral responsibility to guarantee remembrance" (Carrier, 2005: 1). Remembrance, as has been widely acknowledged, is "a human activity [that] shapes links to the past" (Huyssen; 1994: 9).

The physical forms of public memory are in many instances integrated with landscaped parks, and in other instances, landscaped parks are re-imagined as memorials. This approach was called upon earlier by Pan Africanist Congress veteran and Black Consciousness Movement activist and poet Don Mattera, who delegated the responsibility of commemorating to nature in the form of trees, which has become a popular feature of memorials. In one of his poems, written in 1983 and dedicated to the first victim of police shootings on June 16, 1976, Mattera takes a unique stance on commemoration. He looks to nature, investing trees and flowers with human attitudes of grieving. Mattera (1983: 70) wrote:

And now
Let grieving willows
Mark the spot
Let nature raise a monument
Of flowers and trees
Lest we forget the foul and wicked deed…

The permanence of physical forms of public memory is not always given. This is largely because the passage of time can change their meaning and original purpose.

This can also be as a result of the change of the political environment. Andreas Huyssen (1994: 9) argues that when this happens, monuments and memorials "stand as figures of forgetting" a view also articulated by Robert Musil thus: "they are no doubt erected to be seen– indeed, to attract attention. But at the same time they are impregnated with something that repels attention" (1987: 61). This chapter will examine how partisan political contestation over public sites of memory can in fact turn these sites into spaces of forgetting, for those sections of a community who choose to distance themselves from a memorial.

Charles Griswold cited in Marita Sturken (1991: 120) challenges us to view physical forms of public memory as a "species of pedagogy". That is, exploring ways in which they function "to instruct posterity about the past" (ibid.). There can be a one-way or top-down process that prescribes what and how the meaning and significance of the memorial should be read. Such is the dominant approach taken by tour-guides, and is a major feature of brochures and other promotional material dedicated to the expositions of heritage sites. In my work, experiences at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum – as well as the making of other heritage sites in Soweto – I have participated in debates where one school of thought argues that tour guides tend to tell the "wrong history". The notion of wrong history usually refers to those anecdotes that are not in the official brochures of the sites, but that includes the life histories or experiences of the tour guides themselves. Correct history, on the other hand, is assumed to be those officially sanctioned narratives, which in most cases they are expected to memorise. The official approach tends to be the major feature of brochures and other promotional material of heritage sites, though some always acknowledge areas of debate and contestation around the given sites.

An alternative approach seeks to be "interactive [and] dialogical" (Young; 1993: x11). I have in the previous chapter demonstrated how the evolution of the commemoration of the uprisings from 1977 to 2006 became an ever-changing ritual of ideological contestation and resistance. Since 1994, interaction around the memorials of the 1976 uprisings include guided tours linked to visits by tourists of other struggle sites in Soweto, the annual Youth Day commemorations; public education programmes in amongst others, the Hector Pieterson Museum and Memorial's Education Department, the Gauteng Youth Commission, and the June 16, 1976 Foundation; as well as events organized by political parties and individuals

from the immediate locality. These diverse forms of interaction represent dynamic processes that animate in particular the physical forms of the public memorials of the uprisings. James E. Young (1995: 37) writes that "…by themselves memorials remain inert and amnesiac, mere stones in the landscape without life or meaning. For their memory, these memorials depend completely on the visitor…in this way, we recognise the essentially dialogical character of memorials."

This understanding of memory in stone provides a perspective that challenges established arguments, which see physical forms of public memory as characterised by a possibility to "foreclose dialogue and become obsolete in short order" (Sevcenko, 2004: 14). Instead, they confirm James Young's (1993: 180) argument that "meaning and memory [...] depend not just on the forms and figures in the monument itself, but on the viewers' responses to the monument." This is a position also articulated by Annie E. Coombes (2003: 12), who argues that performances and rituals animate and reanimate memorials. So, in visiting a monument, laying wreaths, staging performances and staging protests, the public make the sites visible in "subtle and not so subtle" ways. Accordingly, James E. Young (cited in Michael, Hamilton, 1994: 37) writes: "instead of allowing the past to rigidify in its monumental forms, we would vivify our memory through the memory-work itself – whereby events, their recollection, and the role the monuments play in our lives remain animate [and] never completed."

Discussing similar projects, the Sunday Times Heritage Project, initiated to commemorate 100 years of the *Sunday Times* newspaper, refers to "bricks-and-mortar testimonies" as "story sites" (Sunday Times, 2007). One of many roles of story sites as articulated by the Sunday Times Heritage Project that resonates with the major trends in memory making and public art is that they "add a valuable stitch to the fabric of their immediate surroundings and communities" (ibid.). This in turn serves as a rationale linking their construction to the need for local economic development, thus assuming the descriptions of "attractions" or "destinations".

Fitzhugh Brundage (2000:10) challenges us to look at the rise of historical tourism as reflecting the capacity of physical forms of public memory in adapting to changing social and political circumstances. This adaptation provides us with two observable perspectives in discussing the memory of June 16, 1976 as memory in stone, which

serve the interests of both tourism and local economic development. The one perspective is described by Thompson (1988: 25) as "the bland contemporary tourism which exploits the past as if it were another foreign country to escape to." The other perspective would be what Kapstein (2007: 111) identifies as an inherent resistance to "any single reading of the nation's heritage".

Contestation of the making of physical forms of public memory has also manifested as public debates on what constitute a community? Who speaks for that community? Whose voice is the final arbiter given the multiple and sometimes conflicting interests? In an address to a conference on the establishment of the Liberation Heritage Route organised by the National Heritage Council (NHC) in Johannesburg in 2009, political scientist Mcebisi Ndletyana, who researches and writes on African intellectuals in South Africa, points out that this contestation is also broadly "…over historical subjects, between families and public institutions, and among the different spheres of government. The contestation tends to revolve around how such figures should be memorialised, and who has the right to decide on the manner of that memorialisation" (Ndletyana, 2009).

The manner of memorialisation here is understood to refer to the "visual appearance" (Marschall, 2003: 310) of the memorials. As a participant in consultation processes on the making of memorials of the 1976 uprisings in Soweto, I can attest that there is a strong preference for memorials on a large scale. This stands in clear contrast to the memorial initiative of the Sunday Times Heritage Project mentioned above, whose approach is to have small, interactive memorials. Oupa Moloto, one of the "Class of '76" behind the June 16, 1976 Foundation argues that size tends to entail visibility and is therefore interpreted to represent an appropriate form that acknowledges the sacrifices made by the individual memorialised. He further sees this insistence on a "huge" memorial to be related to the practice where people opt to pay for expensive funerals as well as tombstones that are large in scale to remember their loved ones (Moloto, 2009). The latter questions the view that memorials that are monumental in scale have a possibility to be forgotten or ignored (Coombes, 2005: 12). It will be argued in this chapter that forgetting may be as a result of the conflicts along party political lines in animating memorials.

One other form of visual memorialisation that is recorded as a preferred form in minutes of community consultation forums is either a bronze portrait. Participants in the meetings usually use the word "steel" to describe their preferred physical memorial.[59] This input by members of the public represents the influence of apartheid era monuments translated into the popular consciousness. The latter have been described by the former Director of the Sunday Times Heritage Project, Charlotte Bauer, who comes from what can be described as a democratic social history tradition as "big men on bronze installed on huge plinths eight metres up in the sky" (Bauer, 2007). Recent memorial projects or monuments following the latter tradition include the bronze statue of Chief Albert Luthuli at Groutville in KwaZulu-Natal, the monument to Solomon Mahlangu in Mamelodi, the statue of Gandhi in Gandhi Square in the centre of Johannesburg, Hector Pieterson and the Silverton Three in Diepkloof, Soweto by Pitika Ntuli. These visual forms of commemorating also represent the trend in post colonial states, where the founding fathers of the new state, like Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana (Quist: 2004) and Nelson Mandela[60] in South Africa are commemorated through larger than life bronze statues. Recently, Senegal saw the erection of the African Renaissance monument, clearly drawing from the tradition of its makers – Chinese and North Korean socialist realism. Zimbabwe's Heroes' Acre is also part of the latter tradition. In a number of instances, the end product cannot be simply seen as a result of community input. This is because the designers continue to exercise artistic license, and in some instances this is because members of a given community are more interested in the project in terms of how it may provide possibilities for job creation. This represents only but the shallowest aspects of memorial debates.

There are several documented debates on the visual appearance of memorials. Ndletyana for instance discusses the contestation on the imaging of founding leader of the ANC Sol Plaatje and Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko. He points out that to date, there are several statues meant to be in Plaatje's honour. One

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[59] See Minutes of the June 16, 1976 Steering Committee. Hector Pieterson Museum, 10 February to 13 June 2006.

[60] For an in-depth discussion of Mandela's statue in Sandton, see Mfaniseni Sihlongonyane, "The Nelson Mandela Statue in Sandton: Bridging or Broadening the Urban Devide?"" (Paper presented at *Memory in the City*, School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand, 25 August, 2009).

was built by a municipality in the Northern Cape but was never officially unveiled to the public because of disagreements over symbolism. Ndletyana writes: "some objected that the figure of Sol Plaatje seat[ed] at a desk did not quite resonate with a revolutionary figure they understand him to be. Evidently, they felt that what was worth celebrating about Plaatje was his political role, over his intellectual and journalistic pursuits" (Ndletyana, 2009).

Subsequently, another statue was built, but has also not been unveiled, though already mounted. Again the dispute was over the imagery used. This time the statue "was meant to portray Plaatje as a nationalist, political leader with a clenched fist hoisted into the air, in a sign of black power" (ibid.). On Steve Biko, Ndletyana's query is that he is represented in "what looks like a military gear, in a commanding pose" (ibid.). However, as Ndletyana points out, Biko's "imagery among those most familiar with him was not of an authoritative, commanding figure reminiscent of a military leader" (ibid.). In this respect, it is held that the sculpture failed to capture Biko's personality. The converse is King Goodwill Zwelithini's complaint that the statue of King Shaka at the new airport in Durban modelled after a contemporary sketch did not look sufficiently royal (Mdletshe, 2010).[61]

In addition to visual appearance, the location of memorials has also given rise to contestation. The place where a statue or monument is located, in Marschall's (2003: 310) view, serves "to attract attention, [and it is usually] placed to be noticed". The latter suggests that the choice of a place does not always relate to commemorating any special link between the individual or event commemorated and the site chosen for the statue, memorial or monument (Ashworth, 2004: 100). For example, the decision to locate Sarah Baartman's grave just outside Hankey, which had no proven link to her residence, was considered to be a good way of encouraging tourism to that part of the Eastern Cape. Other statues that are in places that have no historical association with the commemorated historical personality include the statue of Nelson Mandela in Sandton Square, that of Steve Biko in East London, and those of Hector Pieterson, Antoinette Sithole and Mbuyisa Makhubu in the Maponya Mall. Marschall's (2003: 310) argument contests Ndletyana's views that the choice of location is significant, as it should allow for contemplation (Ndletyana, 2009). It fact,

[61] See also Canaan Mdletshe, "Shaka Statue set for remake",*Sowetan*, Friday June 4, 2010.

it can be argued that big bronze statues do not call for contemplation. This is because the practice of monumentalising is more concerned with a celebratory triumphalism, as opposed to that of reflection. The developments in Johannesburg also point to a shift away from using statues and public art to mark the significance of place. The trend represents the use of the public memorial to rehabilitate and inject economic activity into certain public spaces. Ndletyana nonetheless makes the argument that the location of Steve Biko's statue in East London does not make any meaningful historical connection to place.

Another area of debate is the view that most statues created since 1994 are of 20th century political figures. Therefore, the argument articulated by former minister of Arts and Culture and ANC senior leader Pallo Jordan is made that they "play into the denial and the pre-1994 myth of the empty land" (Groebler, 2008: 1750). This argument may have led to the rise in recent years of a number of statues of pre-colonial historical figures such as Chief Tshwane, in front of the City Hall in Pretoria; Kgoshikgolo Sekhukhune 1; and Makhado of the Venda and Malebogo of the Hanwana in the Limpopo Province (ibid.). This trend still has to be problemitised, raising as it does the question of whether this practice reveals a connection with a past where South Africa is conceived of land that was never empty, or whether it signify a re-ethnicisation that has come with the new democratic order.

I now proceed to look at how these debates manifest themselves in relation to the following questions: why have the memorials of the 1976 uprisings been built?; whose memory are they honouring?; what has been the public's responses to the memorials?; and, what organised constituencies shape the making of these memorials?

The Regina Mundi Church



Figure 1: Regina Mundi Roman Catholic Church in Soweto. The City Press of 18 May, 2003 describes it as a "great shrine of freedom… the spiritual home of the freedom struggle because it was where political meetings, protest rallies and community gatherings were held during the apartheid era." (Photo by Angel David Nieves.)

The Regina Mundi Church is registered in the political consciousness of many South Africans as a venue for political meetings, rallies and funerals. In the previous chapter, it was pointed out that the funerals of political activists were a rallying point in the unfolding liberation struggle. The funerals and the subsequent commemoration of the dead is a major source of popular association of memory to place. Amongst these is the Regina Mundi Church.

It was built in 1962 (Siyabonga Africa, 2008:51) and is considered to be "one of the largest churches in Africa and can accommodate 6 000 people inside"(Soweto Spaza, 2003: 32). It is because of its massive structure that G.J. Ashworth (2004: 101) has described it as "a physical monument". Indeed, the building is an imposing structure within the vicinity of a landscaped precinct. The landscape around the Regina Mundi Church and Thokoza Park nearby, was designed by Newtown Landscape Architects. These developments constitute in Amy Weisser's (2002: 107) words, the mapping of the historic landscape as "a mnemonic device", mapping "the evidence by which many of the stories of history are recounted to a community and its visitors" (ibid.). Before discussing the stories that this physical monument tells, it may be necessary to also point out that the church building accommodates "diverse relics from the

'black Madonna' statue, [and] the bullet holes in the walls" (Ashworth, 2004: 101). The black Madonna is said to be "one of the only two [...] in South Africa" (Siyabonga Africa, 2008:51).The bullet holes are as a result of the use of the church for a variety of political purposes and resultant apartheid state violence. The marble altar that was broken as a result of police attack has been retained as "a reminder of the way the worshippers were attacked" (Kerkham-Simbao 2007:2). Consequently, writes Siyabonga Africa, "the church stands like a monument to the fallen heroes. Its green walls and stained-glass windows are riddled with bullet holes from the past" (Siyabonga Africa, 2008:51). Another significant artefact inside the church is the three-dimensional "Pieta, alluding to the Marian image of sorrow and suffering where Christ's dead body hangs limply in the arms of his devoted mother" (ibid.). The image of the Pieta echoes the iconic photograph of Hector Pieterson held in the arms of Mbuyisa Makhubu, with his sister Antoinette running at their side.

Regina Mundi was also a site of commemorating the 1976 uprisings. Prior to the advent of democracy in 1994, the site invited brutal police reaction. Poet and former Black Consciousness activist, Mafika Gwala, provides a reading of the significance of the church as a place of commemoration. He however questions the church's inability to be a place of safety, that is, safety from teargas and bullets. Mafika Gwala (1982: 92) writes:

Many a commemoration no tears could wipe
Till the black child of Afrika had lost all tears
As Regina Mundi swallowed teargas too
No free church services to honour our dead

Regina Mundi
qui solis pecceta mundi
how did the bible fail you?
You also tasted teargas kisses
of Christian goodwill and puritan morality

Regina Mundi
habour your bullet-stung children.

The religious symbolism that emerges as an outstanding feature of how the Regina Mundi Church is remembered by Gwala (ibid.) is the duplicity of what he calls "Christian goodwill and puritan morality". Whilst the apartheid state advocated puritanism, its supposed goodwill and morality could only be imposed through brute force. Therefore, the goodwill of the Regina Mundi Church – in accommodating commemorations and embracing those who were victims to mourn and remember – could not stop a regime that professed adherence to "puritan morality" from pumping bullets and teargas canisters into the church building, targeting its occupants. Today the church is still used for religious and other community services. It is also a site for the brand of "struggle tourism" that can be seen connected to the liberation struggle in Soweto.

Further developments of what is today known as Regina Mundi Precinct and the Thokoza Park nearby, were undertaken in 2003. These developments were based on a master plan for Regina Mundi Church, developed in 2000 as part of the Klipspruit Open Space Framework. The landscape has "incorporated mosaic art work on a small 'story wall' where the community told the story leading up to the release of Nelson Mandela and the elections in 1994" (Barnard, 2010). Within the church land the landscape architects have included a water feature. According to one of the architects, Johan Bernard, "the water feature design incorporated several cultural ideas of birth, baptism, washing of sin/forgiveness, and the presence of the forefather in the stones" (ibid.). The original road opposite the church was diverted to "create a gathering area for Sundays or for funerals" (ibid.). Unlike at the Hector Pieterson Memorial, where a gathering space was created for commemorations, in the Regina Mundi Precinct the idea was to create space for the regular users of the church. Bernard further points out that "the façade of the church was framed with indigenous white stinkwood avenues" (ibid.). The landscape architects also maintained the connection to the then Old Potch Road, which has since been renamed Chris Hani Road. According to Barnard, "the old Potch Road was not ripped up, but kept for the historic significance of it being the original road on which the youth march[ed] up in 1976 during the Soweto uprising, and where their blood was spilt" (ibid.). This has subsequently been negated by the Rea vaya Bus Rapid Transport that has changed the chacter of Chris Hani Road.

The many funerals held at Regina Mundi Church culminated in gatherings among other burial sites at Avalon Cemetery. On the other hand as well, many a commemoration service began at Avalon Cemetery, where either a wreath would be laid or the graves would have been cleaned. Regina Mundi Church became a mnemonic place of the memory of struggle martyrs, and a venue for political rallies, along with headstones that constitute another physical form of public memory. Regina Mundi Church and the area where it is located have also experienced further development along the concept of precinct and form part of the tourist route through Soweto.

I return to cemeteries and headstones. It is acknowledged that various generations of the liberation struggle are commemorated in these headstones. The focus of the next section will be on those seen as constituting the "Class of '76".

The Head Stones



Figure 2. Headstones of Tsietsi Mashinini and Hector Pieterson, at Avalon Cemetery. (Photo by Angel David Nieves.)

Sebastian Brett, Louis Bickford, Liz Sevcenko and Marcela Rios (2007: 6) in their published booklet under the auspices of the International Coalition of Historic Site Museum of Conscience titled *Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action*, argue that public memorials can and do resemble cemeteries. That is, public memorials and cemeteries are connected to the various ways in which people come to

grips with the "unknowability of death, heal after trauma, and seek immortality by 'leaving [a] trace'" (ibid.). The thin line dividing public memorials and cemeteries, where in the private and sacred act of remembering was opened up "towards the non-sacred" (ibid.). The non-sacred here entails "seeking to tell a story about the past that is meant to influence the way we think and act in future" (ibid.). In the context of the June 16, 1976 memorials, I argue that this approach began with Hector Pieterson's place of burial.[62]

The initiative to erect a head stone for Hector Pieterson in 1980 can be seen to have ushered in new forms of commemoration and memorialisation of those who lost their lives as a result of the 1976 uprisings. In the previous chapter, it was demonstrated that political rallies were the major form of commemoration and continuing political mobilisation for the then-unfolding liberation struggle. The introduction of tangible forms of memorialisation are traced to the construction of a headstone for Hector Pieterson at Avalon Cemetery as a deliberate political act. This was carried out by the Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU), an internal wing of the then-banned PAC. The tombstone was unveiled on 16 December, 1981. The choice of December 16 may have been a deliberate strategy to link Hector Pieterson's death to the ideological symbolism that the liberation movement has ascribed to this day. It was remembered as Dingane's Day or Heroes Day, in contrast to the apartheid state's framing of the day as the Day of the Covenant or the Day of the Vow, to commemorate the support supposedly given by God to the trekkers at the Battle of Blood River, where they prevailed over the Zulu regiments commanded by Dingane.

According to one AZANYU activist, the tombstone was erected because "the question of commemoration services [was] an issue that had become monotonous, hence we came up with an idea of erecting a tombstone for Hector Pieterson" (Mthimunye, 1983). The tombstone was, he continued:

> a dedication to the memory of all those who fell on June 16, 1976. They will be remembered as heroes and heroines, who followed the tradition of our struggle – BRAVERY AND

[62] I acknowledge that the use of burial grounds as public spaces for commemoration and championing a particular vision of the future is a feature of earlier burial grounds,such as with of those killed in the Sharpeville shootings in 1960.

DETERMINATION. This tombstone will also serve as an inspiration to the youth and be a constant reminder that the STRUGGLE CONTINUES (ibid.) [sic].



Figure 3. The figure on the left is that of Hector's Pieterson's mother, Dorothy Molefe; on the right is Hector's father, Victor Pieterson. In hardly any narratives about Hector Pieterson is anything said about his father, who spent the last days of his life in Alexandra. (Photos: Courtesy of Arise! Vukani Magazine of Action Youth, 1987).

The tombstone of Hector Pieterson, as reflected in the photograph above, does not carry the signature of any artist or designer. Its form and materials were influenced largely by the general practice of erecting headstones for loved ones found in graveyards throughout the country. However, its creation was a deliberate political act, as Hector was seen as a symbol of youth sacrifice for the struggle. Hector's funeral in 1976 was organised to be a symbolic statement of collective grief and solidarity, when the then apartheid state banned a mass funeral for the many who died at the hands of the police. So, though the gravestone was similar to the headstones in most graveyards, its inscription was a family's statement of loss, as well as a symbol of the role of the youth in the liberation struggle. The inscription reads:

ZOLILE HECTOR
PIETERSON

August 19, 1963
June 16, 1976

DEEPLY MOURNED BY
HIS PARENTS, SISTERS
AND A NATION
THAT REMEMBERS

TIME IS ON THE SIDE OF
THE OPPRESSED TODAY
TRUTH IS ON THE SIDE OF
THE OPPRESSED TODAY

ONE AZANIA
ONE NATION

R.I.P.
(Action Youth, 1987).

Visits to Hector Pieterson's place of burial, became, in a number of instances, part of collective remembering and mourning. In the late 1970s and 1980s, the commemoration of 16 June, 1976 included the laying of wreaths at the place of burial to be followed by a commemorative rally at the Regina Mundi Church.

It may have been this broader collective expression of struggle that led to some unknown people or agents vandalising Hector Pieterson's head stone shortly after it was unveiled.[63] However, with the advent of the cenotaph and subsequently the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, the government-organised wreath laying ceremony now takes place at the museum. In recent years however, there has been a

[63] The Headstone that stands at Hector's place of burial today reads: "This headstone was donated on behalf of the freedom loving people of South Africa by A.G. Harrow, USA."

return to the actual place of burial as a form of counter-commemoration by sections of the former liberation movement, particularly those from the Black Consciousness tradition, who felt they have been silenced in the collective memory of the uprisings in the way the new state monopolises "official" commemorations.

The practice of erecting headstones that commemorate the deceased's involvement with the liberation struggle has resurfaced in the post-1994 period. This re-emergence of headstones can be accounted for by the decision to declare some sections of the burial grounds as "Hero's Acres", where ANC, PAC and Black Consciousness Movement leaders, activists and former operatives of the military wings MK and APLA are buried. There is no prevailing government definition of what constitutes a hero. There is also no central burial ground for any individuals designated as such. Public figures associated with the June 16, 1976 uprisings like Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seathlolo have had their headstones erected with the Black Power theme and insignia as the prominent distinguishing theme. This again represents a process of counter-commemoration, asserting the role and legacy of the Black Consciousness tradition. The PAC has followed with gravestones of its former operatives, among them John Ganya with an inscription on the gravestone, protesting its marginalisation as well as asserting the PAC's claim to have been behind the 16 June, 1976 uprisings. The inscription on Ganya's head stone reads: "The Unsung Hero of June 16 Soweto Uprisings. The Bethal Trial!!! Accused Number 2".[64] The inscription refers to Ganya in the anonymous terms of the Robben Island Prison, where he was improsoned twice. The first time was in 1963 after the mass arrest of PAC activists, and for the second time after the Soweto uprisings. The prevailing rationale behind the associations of popular memory to the Regina Mundi Church and the political agendas behind the erection of headstones for dead former political activists, has emerged as a significant strategy in laying down the founding myth of the new democratic political order. Similar initiatives have also been undertaken by a number of business interests, as demonstrated by the intervention of City Funerals to mark the 20th Anniversary of the uprisings through the "never, never again" memorial erected in the entrance to the Avalon Cemetery.

[64] Inscription on the Head Stone of General Ganya at Avalon Cemetery, 31st July, 2004.

The 'Never, Never Again' Memorial



Figure 4. Located at the entrance of Avalon Cemetery. Written on the stone is a poem by Mzwakhe Mbuli paying tribute to those who contributed to the liberation struggle across the generations. (Photo: Angel David Nieves).

This memorial erected by City Funerals and made out of red bricks is located in the entrance of Avalon Cemetery. It was the brainchild of Tony Guines of City Funerals (Guines, 2006).

The message on this stone reads:

16 June, 1976

NEVER NEVER AGAIN
Dedicated to all those who lost their lives
on this day & there after
20th commemoration
16 June, 1976

On the occasion of South Africa hosting the World Summit on Sustainable Development, the Department of Tourism in the City of Johannesburg erected billboards at several historic sites in Johannesburg, including the Avalon Cemetery. Within the vicinity of this "Never Never Again" cenotaph were billboards carrying the names of some of the political activists buried at this cemetery. They also erected signage at the grave of Hector Pieterson, and South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo. The billboard referring to the latter read: "in this area lies Joe Slovo and

others who gave their lives during the liberation struggle" although Joe Slovo died of cancer, presumably in bed. Again the omissions on these billboards have not gone unnoticed. The leaders of the now defunct South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYCRO) bemoaned that, "the council (City of Johannesburg) had deliberately snubbed Seathlolo and Pan Africanist Congress stalwart John Ganya, who are buried next to Slovo" (ibid.) by referring to them as "others" in the story board at the entrance of the cemetery. On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the uprisings, adherents of the Black Consciousness philosophy exhumed the remains of former student leader Khotso Seatlolo and (re)buried him next to another former student leader Tsietsi Mashinini, who played a critical role in organising and leading the student march and protests on June 16, 1976.

In spite of the traffic to Avalon Cemetery during the course of the week and particularly on weekends, the "Never, Never Again" Memorial at Avalon Cemetery can be said to represent a figure of forgetting. The many that frequent the cemetery are preoccupied with burying their loved ones and do not tend to detour to interact with the memorial. Its creation as well as its presence has attracted negligible public comment, even though it was opened to the public by the controversial international personality, Michael Jackson. The comments by activists, from the former Saycro and Andile Mngxitama's contestation of special attention given to Slovo, do not mention memorial. We can therefore conclude that it has not aroused any public debate that can be appraised in terms of memorial activity. It does not feature in any of the major publications of memory culture in South Africa. James E. Young (1995: 23) describes such sites as devoid of "a people's intention to remember" and thus "remain[ing] little more than inert pieces of the landscape, unsuffused with the meanings and significance created by visits to them" (ibid.).

The Hector Pieterson Cenotaph



Figure 5. The original layout of the Cenotaph initially erected by the ANC Youth League in the intersection of Khumalo and Moema Street. This site was provisionally declared a national heritage site by the then National Monuments Council which was later replaced by the South African Heritage Resources Agency. (Postcard: Courtesy of the Hector Poeterson Memorial and Museum Archives)

The creation of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum is intrinsically linked to the interface of continuous memorialisation of the liberation struggle, the prominence of local economic development initiatives, as well as the rise of the tourism industry. Building on the earlier initiative by AZANYU and City Funerals, the ANCYL undertook a similar initiative to erect a "walled precinct, [that was initially] situated within the road reserve at the intersection of Moema, Khumalo and Pela street" (National Monuments Council; 1998) in the township of Orlando West. This cenotaph was provisionally declared a National Monument on 15 February, 1995 by the then-National Monument's Council, which was later replaced by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (ibid.). It later became part of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, which in turn, is now one of many sites linked to the origins of the Soweto uprisings and its aftermath. This development has become an integral part of a commemorative landscape, which includes the site where students gathered in large numbers on June 16 after marching in protest from various schools in Soweto.



Figure 6. Street furniture marking the site thought to be where Hector Pieterson was shot. (Photo: Angel David Nieves).

The commemorative feature of this site marks the place where it is thought that the young Hector Pieterson was shot in Vilakazi Street, opposite the former Phefeni Junior Secondary School, (depicted in figure 6 above) to be later certified dead in a clinic nearby. It consists of a "…bench, piece of dry stacked wall and a short description of events which lead to Hector's death" (Rose, 2006). The inscription on the wall reads: "On June 16, 1976, Hector Zolile Pieterson a thirteen year old school boy, was shot and died at this corner during a clash between the police and students in the uprisings against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction."[65] As would be expected with any process of mapping a historical landscape, the design fixes the spot in the corner of Vilakazi Street as the site of the event of his shooting. Subsequently, there has been contestation of the way in which this spot was chosen by some of the witnesses and participants in the events of June 16, 1976. The actual site of the shooting would seem controversial. Different people have come forward with different accounts of the events of the day, opening the accepted story to question, and in the process, showing the fallibility of collective memory and histories (2005:2).

Nonetheless, the site remains in close proximity to the place of gathering by protesting students on that fateful day, and to the subsequent confrontation between the police and students that led to the fatal shooting of Hector Pieterson. Apart from

[65] Shooting site inscription, Vilakazi Street, installed in 2002.

the contestation of the exact site at which Pieterson was inflicted with his fatal wound, there are other notable omissions of the stories of others said to have been shot on that day, around the same site. Their identities and fates have become lost, as the name of Hector Pieterson has assumed a symbolic role, representing all who died during the student protests.

At the time of the thirtieth anniversary of the 1976 uprisings, this site was vandalized with graffiti as a gesture of counter-narrative to the one referred to above. Written in white enamel paint, the graffiti consisted of deliberately chosen messages, which read, amongst other epithets: "Died in vain", "U will pay", "ANC sucks". These signs of counter-narrative may constitute one example of instances where the "memory of historical events [fails to] domesticate[s] such events, never makes us at home with them, never bringing them into the reassuring house of redemptory meaning" (Young, quoted in Nieves, Hlongwane, 2006: 3). It may also point to an emerging social consciousness that refuses to turn a blind eye to unresolved social problems such as a lack of housing, inadequate education and unemployment in the current dispensation. This emerging consciousness has begun to question whether the creation of memorials and name changes may not simply evidence a strategy aimed at shifting attention away from the failure to dismantle the deep-rooted legacy of oppression and inequality in South Africa.

A significant feature of commemorating the June 1976 uprisings, then, has been dispute and contestation over official commemoration on the one hand, where government officials and politicians use memorials to highlight their achievements and former liberation movements; and those on the other hand who are in the opposition, animate memorials to reflect the failures of the new government.



Figure 7. a line of grass leading to the disputed site of the killing of Hector Pieterson.

However, to return to the shooting site, the visitor follows a line of indigenous trees and grass lawns leading to the memorial as reflected in figure 7. The line of trees leads the visitor past the Methodist Church that became renowned in the 1980s as a temporary home of youths who had run away from their homes due to police harassment, but which has also always been silenced in the local discourse of commemoration. This despite its association with the fate of Stompie Seipei (Sampson, 1993: 376). His story, and that of the Methodist Church in Orlando West and its priest of the time, Paul Verryn (ibid.) – though constituting part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and related writings – have now receded from the memories of tour guides and visitors, who drive past the shooting site and the church on their way up Moema Street across Khumalo to the memorial. This is due to the fact that such a story doesn't fit into the overall narrative of liberation with ease.

The Memorial



Figure 8. Hector Pieterson Memorial, the site of the annual National Youth Day.(Photo: Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum Archives).

The memorial has become widely known and symbolically recognised. The architectural team, comprising Phil Mashabane and Jeremy Rose, see the elements of their design as speaking symbolically to the events of 1976. These include "the carefully offset slate walls at the topmost level of the site" (Lipman, 2004). The latter have also been described as being "framed by a large, dry stacked black slate wall, recalling the thousands of students who rose up against Bantu education" (Rose, 2006).Juxtaposed with the imagery of gathering crowds is a "central void". According to the architectural team, this void, "empty and austere, remembers the missing stories and individuals. The route around the centre permits glimpses of the void as a reminder of the missing individuals and their stories" (ibid.). In addition to the story of Mbuyisa Makhubu, among the missing narratives are the stories of those who went missing or disappeared as a result of the 1976 uprising.

Central to the memorial is the cenotaph, originally created by the ANC Youth League, and unveiled by the then-president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela depicted in figure 8. Its inscription reads:

To honour the youth who gave their lives in the
struggle for freedom and democracy.

In memory of Hector Peterson and all other young
heroes and heroines of our struggle, who laid down
their lives for freedom, peace and democracy.[66]

The designers also utilised "street imagery such as cobblestones, gravel, slate and kerbs … [as well as natural materials like] rocks and water" (Marschall, 2006: 153). The choice of these materials, in the view of one of the designers, was to make the memorial "a living thing … something people can relate to" (Gibbon quoted in Marschall, 2006). Two critical elements of the memorial are its interpretation as a garden of remembrance, and the wall of memory. Symbolically, the wall recognises the needs and voices of those who are "marked by loss and suffering and who are concerned with mourning rather than celebration" (Rioufol, 2000).The memorial thus provides space "whereby contemporary South Africa and future generations have a comprehensive knowledge and remembrance of the past, including painful and problematic memories" (ibid.). It also "incorporates a robust indigenous landscaping […] The gardens are patterned and shaped with road kerbs, gravel and concrete, recalling the textures of the roads upon which all the activity took place" (Rose, 2006).

Since its inception, the memorial has been a public space for a variety of activities that sustain its dialogical character. Every year on June 16, one of many commemorations of Youth Day takes place at the memorial. These are officially sanctioned commemorations, organized by the two tiers of government, the City of Johannesburg and the Gauteng Provincial government, in collaboration with the Gauteng Youth Commission. The theme of each commemoration comes as a political directive, either from national or provincial government, with all the politically approved speakers grounding their speeches on a designated official theme.

Some semblance of representation of civil society is visible in the form of the inclusion on the day's programme of a representative from the June 16, 1976

[66] Cenotaph inscription, Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, installed 1992.

Foundation. This is an organization formed by people who were student activists at the time of the uprisings. Though the majority of them are associated with the governing party, they sometimes represent a voice of dissent, particularly on the constant discourse on how the uprisings should be commemorated.

Another notable feature of the annual commemoration at the memorial is the singing by an invited choir of freedom songs of the 1976 period. All epochs of the liberation struggle in South Africa have inspired song and poetry. So it was with the June 16, 1976 uprisings. During days of commemoration in particular, these songs have come to represent nostalgia for days gone by. The question could be asked as to why nostalgia has arisen, when indeed the days gone by and remembered here were so hard. It could be that in the midst of oppression and hardship, people always created spaces for laughter, what writer and scholar Njabulo Ndebele (1991) has coined "the re-discovery of the ordinary" in his reflections on South African literature. The memorial has also been used as a space for debate and discourse by young people. One example is activities, organized by the Gauteng Youth Commission, on the challenges facing the youth in the early years of the 21st century, as part of their annual Youth Month activities. Similar activities have been tried on yet another site of the June 16 Memorial Acre, but disrupted by ongoing construction at the site.

Tsietsi Mashinini Memorial and the June 16 Memorial Acre



Figure 9. A photographic montage commemorating Tsietsi Mashinini. (Photo courtesy of Art South Africa).

The Sunday Times project aimed at "erect[ing] a number of narrative monuments to record and recognize some of the remarkable people and events that made our news century go round"(Sunday Times Heritage Project, 2009). The aim of the project as articulated by the newspaper was "…to inspire South Africans to think about our diverse past in new, imaginative ways. To unlock memory – collective, local, personal – and give it a home in the present through public "story art", which stirs curiosity, emotion and pride in a burgeoning national identity (ibid.)."

In realising these objectives, artist Johannes Phokela pointed out that when he was designing the Tsietsi Mashinini Memorial, he first thought of doing a mural. But he subsequently rejected the idea of a mural because it was "a little bit old-fashioned and [held] an old, socialist kind of ethos"(Phokela cited in Anstey, 2007). As a result, he went on to create "a photographic montage on ceramic tiles", which were placed on a "wall that looked like a text book" (ibid.). The book has "photographs of Mashinini as well as other students with clenched fists and protest posters, and posters of police shooting, interspersed with paintings of student scenes"(ibid.). The montage shows student routes from Naledi to Morris Isaacson. These draw on discussions with members of the June 16, 1976 Foundation and personnel at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. At the time of the design, the debates on the routes were still raging among the June 16 Task Team and former student activists. As a result, Phokela's design features the Naledi routes that have subsequently been abandoned as "incorrect", and which are not included in the June 16 Soweto Students Trail.



Figure 10. Some of the public Art in the June 16 Memorial Acre which has now disappeared due to ongoing construction and redevelopment of the site.(Photo: Angel David Nieves).

Since the installation of the Tsietsi Mashinini Memorial, the site where it is located was renamed the June 16 Memorial Acre as part of the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the uprisings. The renaming followed a process of consultation and debate, led by the Ward Councillor. Although Tsietsi Mashinini's name was raised several times, the technocrats who processed community input reported that the "community" wanted the park renamed the June 16, 1976 Memorial Acre. This again points to the use and abuse of the notion of "community" as well as that of "consultation". It also suggests that once a particular interest group is set to drive memorialisation in a particular direction, they are likely to dictate an outcome. This point will be demonstrated further in the case of a statue of Hector Pieterson, Antoinette Sithole and Mbuyisa Makhubu at Maponya Mall.

The Statue of Hector Pieterson, Antoinette Sithole and Mbuyisa Makhubu at Maponya Mall[67]



Figure 11. June 16 bronze statue at Maponya Mall on the left sourced from Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum Archives. (Photo: Angel David Nieves).

This statue, which was installed and unveiled in 2007, is a 300kg bronze statue based on the iconic photograph by Sam Nzima. It was donated by Mr Dan Oloffson, a wealthy European entrepreneur, who wanted to show his respect for former President Nelson Mandela.[68] Those consulted about the idea included the former President, ANC leader and businessmen Mathews Phosa, Soweto businessman and former Mayor of Soweto under the apartheid local authorities Richard Maponya, Hector Pieterson's family and the then Minister of Arts and Culture, Pallo Jordan. Phosa is quoted during the unveiling of the statue as saying, "we owe our freedom to the generation of Hector Pieterson. All South Africans were liberated by the defeat of the oppressive and dangerous apartheid policy. Now we should form a national partnership against all social ills, such as crime and corruption" (Newberry, 2008).[69]

[67] This memorial/statue was dismantled by management of Maponya Mall following a protest march organized by the Makhubu family demanding compensation for the use of Mbuyisa's name and "image". The march was joined by the newly formed Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). See
[68] Rob Newberry facilitated the commission of the Mandela and Hector Pietersen, Antoinette and Mbuyisa Makhubu sculptures, on behalf of Mr Dan Oloffson.

The statue was created by two artists: Kobus Hatting Jacob Maponyane. It is notable that these two artists had also previously been commissioned to make the Mandela statue that now stands in Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton City, another shopping mall in a northern suburb of Johannesburg. As an interpretation of Sam Nzima's photograph, it was intended as a commemoration of a turning point in South Africa's history (ibid.). An issue of copyright quickly arose, with Nzima requesting a significant fee.[70] There was however no agreement on this, the donor's view being that it was a gift "from the people of Sweden to the people of South Africa, particularly Soweto".[71]

The statue was unveiled at Maponya Mall in February, 2007. Among the high profile guests were the former Executive Mayor of Johannesburg Councillor Amos Masondo; Dr Ntato Motlana, associated with the uprisings as a former leader of the Black Parents Association, and a doctor who treated some of the students shot by the police; Richard Maponya;[72] as well as Dorothy Molefe, Hector's mother. Sam Nzima had been invited, but did not attend. Also absent was a representative of Mbuyisa Makhubu, who left the country in 1976 as a result of police harassment, and has not been seen since. According to his brother, Raul Makhubu, they were not consulted about the statue, but heard about it when the Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum personnel tried to facilitate a meeting between Raul Makhubu, Thulani Nzima (eldest son of Sam Nzima), the June 16, 1976 Foundation and a representative of Olofsson Thanda Group.[73]

Two contradictory views emerged on where the sculpture should be located. Representatives of the June 16, 1976 Foundation were of the view that it should be placed within the June 16, 1976 Student Trail that was currently being developed in

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[70] W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Where these memories grow-History, Memory and Southern Identity*.(The University of South Carolina Press, Chapel Hill and London. 2000) p. 13, writes that: "once monuments [are] erected, the origins and struggles over the sponsorship and design … recede into the background (until some latter-day controversy exposed them)." Indeed, in future, research may be undertaken on the contestations behind the scenes over intellectual property rights, tenders, entitlements and political correctness.

[71]Rob Newberry (Newberry Developments), in an interview with Ali Khangela Hlongwaneat Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum,10 May, 2008. See also Phumzile Twabu, "Hector's statue unveiled",*City Vision East*, Thursday 22 February, 2007.

[72] Richard Maponya's collaboration with black local authorities is not mentioned.

[73] According to Rob Newberry, this was "an oversight".

Soweto, as a relevant "point of reference" (Young, 1993: 102), linked to the diverse narrative of the student marches of June 16, 1976. A representative of Dan Olofsson – a Swedish entrepreneur and philanthropist linked to developments in Mvezo, the home of Nelson Mandela – was of the view that the Maponya Mall was lovely, and that the sculpture was magnificent; "the people of Soweto will come here once [pointing to the Hector Pieterson Memorial] and will once a week go to the mall." The statue was located in what according to Rob Newberry, was identified as "a prime place" within the mall and "the donor is happy". It is further stated that the mall met with the principle behind the making of the sculpture, seen as "a statement for the people of Soweto" (Newberry, 2008).

However, what is the connection between a sculpture memorialising resistance and atrocity, and a mall, symbolic as it has become of black economic empowerment (BEE), a policy seen to benefit only the few. If the sculpture of Hector Pieterson, Antoinette Sithole and Mbuyisa Makhubu is a narrative image of the uprisings, it can be asked what its location in a mall does to assist in telling the story well, or poorly (Pitchford, 2006: 3).

Jeanne Van Eeden (2005: 39) in her article "All the Mall's a Stage: The Shopping Mall as Visual Culture", defines malls as public spaces that can be read as "ideological texts that express ideas concerning space, capitalism, class and gender". Like all ideological texts, malls "embody so many contradictions" (ibid.). A mall is a "space of consumption, entertainment and social interaction", a site for "leisure, escapism, entertainment and tourism" (ibid.).

Are malls in fact public spaces? In many instances, fencing and security guards keep out certain sections of the public: the "other", who are thus marginalised and condemned to the malls' periphery. These people have few opportunities to patronize and enjoy malls, other than as car attendants or hawkers, constantly on the look-out for police. Has the sculpture of Hector Pieterson, Antoinette Sithole and Mbuyisa Makhubu thus been emptied of its resonances of resistance in this new context, or does it somehow contest the meaning of the mall as a space for entertainment and consumerism?

One way of answering these questions is to look more closely at the sculpture and its context. Maponya Mall seems very different to Sam Nzima's photograph, on which the sculpture is based. This is seen for example in the background, which depicts a simple four-room house, typical of the landscape of Orlando West township. The sculpture on the other hand has a fountain as its base. Whilst water in memorials can represent cleansing, in a mall, it is often included as a reference to an "imaginary paradise" or a place of escapism. Surrounding the statue are shop windows, trolleys, and people pre-occupied with shopping or on a date. The result is a romanticized and "clean" image. The photograph, in contrast, shows pain in the faces of Antoinette and Mbuyisa, as well as blood in young Hector's mouth.[74] What then is the function of this sculpture at the mall? It can be argued that it plays a largely decorative role in the mall. Though the sponsors of the sculpture saw it as commemorating the sacrifices made in the fight against apartheid, and further saw the location as a busy public space, months of observation of the movements of people in this part of the mall points to a similar development, as with the memorial at Avalon Cemetery, discussed earlier. The sculpture is an image of forgetting.

Hastings Ndlovu Memorial



Figure 12. "Hastings Ndlovu Bridge" created by Joburg City Parks (Photo: Angel David Nieves).

[74] This paragraph has benefited from discussions with honours and M.A. students of Public Culture at the University of the Witwatersrand, on 29th April 2008, facilitated by Professor Cynthia Kros.

The latest development in the topography of the memorials of the 16 June, 1976 uprisings is on the site thought to be where Hastings Ndlovu was killed. The name of Hastings Ndlovu has consistently emerged as part of a marginalized narrative, or an example of ongoing attempts to continuously develop an inclusive text of the June, 1976 uprisings. The story of Hastings's killing, either before Hector Pieterson or later, after his admission at Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital first came to the fore in the oral testimonies of his father and a former school teacher Mr Elliot Ndlovu, which are part of the narrative of the Hector Pieterson Museum. Hastings' story was further brought to the fore through a testimony written by Dr Malcolm Klein (2006), who was a practicing doctor at Baragwanath Hospital (now renamed Chris Hani Baragwanath Academic Hospital). The doctor had always thought the young boy to be the first to be brought to Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital casualty on the morning of June 16, 1976 was Hector Pieterson, but later discovered it was Hastings Ndlovu. His written testimony was deposited at the Hector Pieterson Museum and later published in *Soweto 76' Reflections on the liberation struggles. Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of June 16, 1976.*

In the ongoing memorialisation processes of the uprisings in Soweto, a disused bridge in Khumalo Street was identified as the site where Hastings was shot (Ndlovu, 2006:68). Consequently, various consultation processes kept indicating a need to create a memorial in honour of Hastings. This took "concrete form" in 2009, when Johannesburg City Parks took a decision to develop a "Orlando West Regional Park across Orlando Stadium" (Coetzee, 2010). The latter is part of the City of Johannesburg's legacy projects, linked to South Africa hosting the FIFA 2010 World Cup. In-site landscape architects & Environmental Consultants identified this site as "an access node to the Hector Pieterson Museum [that needed] to be upgraded and recognized" (ibid.). In the process, it came to their attention that "this bridge was on the route of the June 16 March" (ibid.). Whilst a number of interest groups including the June 16, 1976 Foundation wanted the site to memorialize Hastings, the brief given to the architects by Johannesburg City Parks was "to provide an information area where visitors can learn more about the neighbourhood they find themselves in and also to indicate close proximity of other heritage sites of importance"(ibid.). This brief largely informed the design of the site. Drawing from the brief given by Johannesburg City Parks, the in-site Landscape Architects & Environmental Consultants saw the main objective of their design as "the provision

of information signage, seating and shaded areas" (ibid.). Currently, there is no memorial activity that overly associates this site with the killing of Hastings Ndlovu and the 1976 uprisings. Neither does it function as an information centre for people visiting Soweto. It may nonetheless have a different significance. That is, injecting new life into a public space that was largely neglected, providing better lighting to a very busy intersection.

Conclusion

Clearly, the memorials of the 16 June, 1976 uprisings are not in the tradition of those that historically represent heroism and triumphalism or even fascist statements. This is in spite of the fact that the rhetoric and accompanying rituals of the commemoration of the uprisings puts more emphasis on the heroic acts of student and youth activists and describes the events as marking a turning point in the history of the South African liberation struggle. Instead, they are characterised by a number of features, which in turn give rise to multiple responses and reactions. They are a permanent representation of the memories of the uprisings, and therefore are spaces for collective mourning and remembrance. Mourning and remembrance is expressed privately and collectively in visits to tombstones, at the homes of former students, as well as through commemoration at the memorials. For instance, the laying of wreaths at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Hastings Ndlovu's place of burial, constructs collective memories away from the private spaces of the family.

However, there are also instances to the contrary, where homes and burial places take on the public function of commemoration. In this case, the story of the family becomes part of a bigger process of collective remembering. There are also a number of instances where headstones in the graveyard have become a platform for counter-commemoration by those who feel they have been excluded by "official" commemorations. Consequently, they feel there is a need to re-anchor themselves in the legacies and collective memories of the liberation struggle but remembered differently and as counter-memories of the "official"memorialisation project.

The forms and styles of the memorials of the June 16, 1976 uprisings are drawn from various traditions. These traditions range from memorial architecture to street furniture, as well as public art and murals. These in turn have given rise to various

forms of memorial debate and to silences as well. These are debates that contest certain forms of memorialisation, particularly the bronze statuary, which remains popular in the records of public consultation processes, and unpopular among commentators and scholars of heritage and public art.

It has also been demonstrated that debates and contestation sparked by processes of memorialisation are never resolved, and are forever changing. The debates are largely sparked by the socio-political questions confronting society. In the process the historical referencing that characterise memorialisation is also about the present.

CHAPTER FOUR

History, Memory, Tourism and Curatorial Mediations: The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum and the Representation of the Story of the June 16, 1976 Uprisings

Introduction

Developing a historical exhibition, like all *Form[s] of Creative Expression* is not a process free from the influence of personal values. It is rather a complex process that involves negotiating assumed, and sometimes imposed, hegemonic philosophical and ideological assumptions about a past and the (re)representation of such a past. It involves negotiating the story lines from the different interpretations with different emphases. It also involves making a selection between techniques to deploy in representing the various layers of stories to be told. Techniques here refer largely to objects, installations, voices and their relationship to space. For instance, David Dernie argues that "an exhibition design considers the simple dialogue between the object(s) to be exhibited and the space in which they are presented" (Dernie, 2006: 6). Taking this argument further, Dernie also points out that where the "objects are, and how they are arranged, will determine the nature of the message they communicate" (ibid.). In this chapter, reference to technique and exhibition development includes consideration of curating the geographical location where the exhibition space is located, chosen as part of a particular agenda of memorialisation. The process of exhibition development, as an integral part of the cultures of memorialisation in South Africa as well as internationally, is negotiated under the pressures of competing values, attitudes and aspirations. As Dernie points out, memorialisation in whatever form it takes "is highly constructed" (ibid.). What this suggests is that the materials with which "memory makers" (curators, artists, architects, archivists and historians) work, take on a new value as a result of this process of construction and the contextualisation that is an inherent feature of the process. Contextualisation in Norman Bryson's (2001: 2) point of view suggests that the materials that curators, architects, archivists and historians work with in memory making are not "simply passive". They reflect the context that made them whilst at the same time mediating that context. Therefore, one of many approaches

to constructing the pasts is equally to mediate the inherent contestation that underpins memory making processes. This entails finding ways of grappling with a myriad questions, including who sets the agenda for memorialisation and which issues receive focus, as well as whose interests are served by memory making initiatives.

This chapter investigates how these overt and subtle assumptions were manifest in the making of the exhibition on the June 16, 1976 student uprisings, and the creation of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. It looks at how both the curatorial process and the architectural intervention became critical elements in mediating the history of the June 16 uprisings. It further unpacks how, through various programmes and museum publications, museum practice is turned into a continuous process of defining and redefining the role of history and its (re)representation in a museum and the broader geographical landscape of the museum's location. In this context, it looks at the landscape in which the museum is located and how the very museum is transformed into a site of interpretation. This process will also be unfolded in this chapter as representing the "heritagisation" of the June 16 uprisings. According to Joan McGregor and Lyn Schumaker (2006: 655) "heritagisation" entails a shift from writing history as represented in texts to heritage production through curating, conservation and performance. This view of a shift from history to heritage is shared by Cosgrove (cited in McGregor and Schumaker, 2006: 650) who asserts that "heritage is artefactual more than textual; it is realized in material objects such as… works of art,…buildings, sites, special places… or else it is performed in speech or dress, in ritual, ceremony, dance or song".

What Cosgrove means is that material objects play a variety of roles in the development of exhibitions and the creation of museums, acknowledging that the re-representation of pasts may also take the form of dress, speech or performance as amply demonstrated in chapter two. Traditionally, a museum is established to preserve and display material forms. In the making of the June 16 exhibition and the creation of the museum and memorial that house it, we see the interplay of these various elements. That is, objects, installations and the particular reframing of the built environment (streets, homes, schools and police stations) associated with the uprisings serve as elements to mediate the historical exposition of the uprisings. These elements (objects, installations and the built environment associated with the

uprisings) constitute a manner of working material in the hands of curators, in order to "re-frame and activate the past anew" (Lehrer and Milton 2011:3). It will be shown later how the selected objects are deployed to tell a story on the one hand, and how that story, on the other hand, is told within the context of a broader and more diffuse collective memory. The objects and places are the critical elements that serve as triggers of memory. Sifiso Ndlovu, a former student at Phefeni Junior Secondary School and a historian in his own right, takes the stance of counter-commemoration in his writings on the uprisings as pointed out in chapter one. He was part of the curatorial team writing about the concept memory as a curatorial framework in *The historical significance of the Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum in Orlando West, Soweto as a heritage site*, a publication of the Hector Pieterson Museum:

> Memory is the meaning we give to experience. It is a social process that is inherently selective and interpretive. Collective and personal memories are not simply recollection of facts of the past, ordered in a linear sequence along a time line, but are organized into narratives, cultural vocabularies, and interpretive frameworks that select and highlight what is most important and meaningful- what must be remembered, how it must be remembered, why it must be remembered…Because memory is the meaning we give to the past from the perspective of the present and future, it rarely goes uncontested (2007: 4).

I now proceed to look at how these elements were negotiated and mediated in the very development of the memorial, the museum and exhibition. The making of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and development of the "permanent" exhibition was a "multi-disciplinary memory making process" (Nieves, 2008: 20),which involved architects, historians, curators, film-makers, city politicians, political activists and community representatives. These constituted a curatorial team "with uneven engagement"[75] (choosing to be involved in self selected parts of the process) tasked with the responsibility of developing the memorial, exhibition and mapping

[75] Some participants in the curatorial team fell by the wayside as the making of the museum was unfolding. This was because they were interested in only a particular aspect of the broader project, such as developing the narratives.

(curating) the geographical location of the uprisings in Soweto. Ciraj Rassool, in a paper presented at a heritage conference in Accra, Ghana in December 2009, describes the emergence of museums like the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum as representing "history erupt[ing] into the public sphere in visual form" (Rassool, 2009: 1). This meant the growth of history and its making, not only in the writing of texts, but through the making of museums, memorials and travelling exhibitions. The latter had as their "central mediating institutions" (ibid.: 3) local government, the national Department of Arts and Culture, various foundations as well as various "community" interest groups and the different political parties- particularly former South African liberation movements. The re-emergence of history in visual form presented several challenges when it came to the myriad of rationales behind the founding of museum projects like the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, the Kliptown Open Air Museum, the Mandela Museum in Orlando West Township- Soweto, The Alexndra Interpretation Centre and the Sharpeville Memorial and Exhibition Centre, to name but a few.

These founding rationales, in Rassool's view (2011: 3), include the notion of recovering hidden or marginalised histories. The notion of retrieving history tends to privilege history as the truth. In my work at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, I have been part of discussions with various interest groups, particularly former student activists at the time of the students uprisings, about the connected notions of "distortion" and "authenticity", formulations that sit uneasily with the understanding of "history as [a series of] contested interpretations" (Witz, 2009: 66). Most arguments from the interest groups that privilege "facts" and the "authentic" would also be prefaced with statements like, "I know what I am talking about - I was there and you or 'such and such a person' were not there." In other instances, some participants in the debates would be literally silenced, on the grounds that they were not there (either during meetings planning the march on June 16, 1976, or during the protest marches). Further, as will be discussed later in the chapter, the argument for "facts" and "authenticity" handles the story of June 16, 1976 in a "linear, ahistorical and undialectical manner" (Giyose and Khan, 2009: 48). The latter privileges a "two-way contest" between the students and the education department of the time. On the contrary, there is also a case to be made that the uprisings did not merely result from "a matter of the human will" (ibid.) on the part of the "class of '76". There may have been other economic and political forces at

work that can therefore be considered the cause of the uprisings as pointed out in the literature review in chapter one. Later in this study I will visit the question of how the curatorial process deals with these issues.

The new museums, as pointed out in chapter one, are generally understood to be part of a memory boom that characterises a society in transition, and are engaged in processes of nation-building. This is a process where history in general and public history – meaning museums, memorials and monuments – are employed to affirm the founding myths of the newly-imagined nation. A founding myth tends to impose a particular understanding and particular kind of production of history. The chosen understanding of the process of producing history may inadvertently turn it into a "myth". Accordingly, "myth" transforms history into nature: dominant historical processes are made to appear "natural" and "inevitable", even "God-given" (Tomaselli,1986:3). Further, "myths do not provide explanations, but invest their expression with a statement of fact" (ibid.). This approach to history was not considered an option in the development of the exhibition at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. The team that was assembled to develop the exhibition was constituted of people drawn from diverse background as cultural workers, as well as from different schools of thought- particularly in the making of histories. Consequently, it was acknowledged from the outset that the June 16, 1976 story was one of multiple experiences and voices and that consequently, it can never be placed beyond controversy and contestation.

There has also been the articulation of the rationale behind the founding of these museums as representing reconciliation and symbolic reparations. Ereshnee Naidu in her discussion of links between memorialisation and transitional justice, points out that "memory, as perpetuated through processes such as memorialisation seen in national monuments and commemorative celebrations can assist divided societies to re-write the narratives of the past; recognise and assist survivors of human rights violations through symbolic reparations to begin the process of healing; and assist the previously divided society in processes of reconciliation" (Naidu, 2006: 1). The rationale on the making of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum included the commitment held by the City of Johannesburg to ensuring that the youth of today do not forget the contributions and sacrifices of previous generations. Statements like these tend to be made of particular occasions like Youth Day. Their further

exploration is largely left to those who manage the daily operation of the museum and develop its education and other public programmes. There are constant tensions between its public programmes and the requirements placed in the museum by tourism.

Given South Africa's political economy on its emergence as a new democratic state, memory-making – manifest as tourist destinations – was strongly promoted in order to stimulate national and local economies. Museums like the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum were anticipated to be catalysts for this national and local economic development (City of Johannesburg, 2001). The political economy of tourism has implications for the practice of memory-making and historical knowledge production, because in its discourse, tourism reduces memorials to "visitor attractions". The visitor is seen as creating a demand for goods and services (ibid.). The operations at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum aimed to ensure that the memorial and museum shifted their orientation – from being a mere tourist destination or attraction as the discourse of the political economy of tourism would have had it – to an evolved "site for generating ideas, for keeping people's narratives of struggles and their histories alive as well as being a centre for lifelong learning" (Hlongwane, 2005: 3). This was premised on an understanding that the museum visitor and viewer of the memorial and exhibitions is a complex individual or member of a collective who brings his or her reading to the memorial and exhibition. These were views first developed in the first year of the museum's operation, when it evolved its mission statement, along with its aims and objectives (ibid.). These views were further developed in the museum statement of significance (Ndlovu, 2007). So, instead of becoming a fossilised "tourism destination" or theme park, emptied of any social justice content, the memorial and museum became instead a home for a "[*living archive*] concept … a repository for future generations, allowing for undisclosed, hidden or long-neglected community-based histories to emerge in a social justice framework" (Nieves;2009). The museum also attempted "to redress the uneven portrayal of the lives of Black township residents in the mainstream or [in] "official" historical record" (ibid.). The idea of a living archive was pursued through the ongoing research work in and around the various townships of Soweto. The research work entailed the recording of oral histories and the mapping of student routes. Integral to the mapping of student routes was the identification of homes of former student activists, their hide-outs and sites related

to the popular histories of the uprisings. A number of former student activists were invited to the museum through the agency of the June 16, 1976 Foundation, to be part of discussions and reflections on the histories of the uprisings and contemporary issues. Participants in these discussions included school children and the youth from around Soweto.[76] There were instances where dialogues included people from outside the country.

These overt, and sometimes subtle assumptions, had to be mediated through consciously evolving a nuanced outlook on processes of historical knowledge production, recovering the pasts and (re-)representing histories. Historian Sifiso Ndlovu mentioned earlier, who was the principal researcher during the making of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum and has subsequently contributed to various newsletters and publications of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, premises the approach to historical knowledge production as always underpinned by "a plurality of interpretation [which in his view is] an essential – if underestimated –prerequisite for mature democratic politics connected with the study of history" (Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, 2008: 58). Indeed, Ndlovu acknowledges that in the development of the storyline for the display in the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum there were "different interpretations that emphasised different factors" (Ndlovu, 2010) among members of the curatorial team. Discussing the complexities of the fashioning of the historical narrative at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum Ndlovu, whose book on the uprisings is based on the concept of "counter-memories"– which suggests a struggle against established narratives – also points out the deliberate use of counter-memories when he notes, "the counter-memories are influenced by our life experiences and eye-witness accounts and therefore could be retrieved through posing new questions about the events, in the process avoiding falling into the trap of perpetuating dominant grand narrative" (ibid.).

Such grand narratives can be noticed in the speeches of politicians in most cases scripted for them by speech writers or by senior government officials, articulating their understanding of concerns of their political principals or leaders and spokespersons of the former national liberation movements, which privileged a

[76] For examples of youth programmes and dialogues held at the museum, see *Hector Pieterson Museum News*, July 2007-June, 2008 and *Hector Pieterson Museum News*, July 2008-December, 2008.

particular interpretation of the history of the uprisings (as demonstrated in the literature review in chapter one). Counter-memories were also seen as a method of democratising historical knowledge production. The use of oral histories in addition to other forms of evidence was a particular way the museum democratised historical knowledge production in Ndlovu's view (ibid.). What Ndlovu calls "forms of evidence" has been understood and even contested as representing a variety of sources that provided a range of perspectives. This helped the curators to make sense of the often bewildering events now being (re-represented) as part of a memorial with an exhibition and curated sites of the uprisings in selected parts of Soweto and in particular around the Vilakazi Precinct in Orlando West township.

The various forms of evidence employed in developing and curating the "permanent" exhibition at the museum included research of historical narratives, material objects of the uprisings largely held at the National Archives in Pretoria (though very few would be used in the display), the built environment associated with the uprisings in Soweto, photographs, newspapers, documents and ephemera, audio visual documentaries, recorded installations and collected oral testimonies. As much as these were a wealth of resources, they were also a burden to the curators. Angel Nieves, who researches and writes widely on planning histories and memory-making, points out that "these forms of evidence do not give us one fixed meaning and interpretation" (2008: 21) of the June 16, 1976 uprisings. In fact, before arriving at the phase of re-representing the story as a museum exhibition, the curators had to grapple with "what those forms of evidence are and where they came from" (ibid.). This is both a curatorial methodology and a toolkit. It involves "questioning, challenging, and refuting forms of evidence" (ibid.). Ndlovu, in an article published in *The Thinker* and titled The Soweto Uprisings: The struggle continues acknowledge the challenge of working with archival material, noting the autopsy reports that are part of the controversial records of the Cillie Commission of Enquiry. Ndlovu writes, "these clinical reports, using a remote scientific language, are used by historians to unpack the terrible violence unleashed by the heavily-armed police during the uprisings. However harsh these scientific descriptions are, they give each death a human face and substance" (2009: 45).

Contrary to Ndlovu's assertion, it would appear that very few historians and curators have used these autopsy reports. The exception is Ndlovu in some of his

published articles, [77] and Helena Pohlandt-McCormick in her doctoral theses discussed in chapter one, where she looks at how a consistent attempt was made to identify the presence of liquor in the bodies of the deceased as a strategy to suggest the uprisings broke out because many of the protesters were under the influence of liquor.The nature of injuries described is very shocking. Their use in the space of the museum would probably raise a number of ethical questions on how to display brutal experiences.

The curatorial process also includes the creative use of space to enhance "discourse and curatorial voices" (Herbst, 1996: 70). Accordingly, argues Herbst, the use of space has the potential to "activate viewers and encourage an experience rather than simply an act of looking" (ibid.). In the context of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, this entailed the interplay of elements like the museum building, curatorial voices, the exhibits, and the museum visitor. The location of the museum was of importance to the historians in the team as much as it was for the architects as well as the tour guides. According to Ndlovu, "using the landscape as an archival document helps us not only to prioritise the archival document as *the only* relevant archive for telling our story" (Ndlovu, 2010). It also entailed curating the very landscape with all the implications that this entails. This will be examined here shortly.

The Curatorial Team

Notwithstanding all claims of community consultation in the making of memorials, there is always a small team that has power and exerts influence on a range of aspects of the memory project. Verne Harris, Sello Hatang (both associated with the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory), and other scholars including Carolyn Hamilton, Ciraj Rassool and Martin Hall, concur that experts and particularly "their knowledge[,] is a source of immense power, and they exert an almost unavoidable paternalist influence over when and how memory is archived. They decide on behalf of communities and other subaltern groupings" (Harris, Hamilton, Hatang, 2011:151). Certainly, the curatorial team behind the development of the exhibition at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum represented in many ways "authorial

[77] See Sofiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, The Soweto Uprisings: The Striggle Continues. *The Thinker*, Volume 4/2009

voices".[78] According to Nieves, the authorial voice or voices are those "who constitute an authority and who [are] allowed to tell these histories" (Nieves, 2008: 22). This raises questions regarding the role of "community consultation" in the making of these "post-1994" museums. The constitution of this authorial voice was complex. It was constituted of architectural professionals assembled by Mashabane Rose Associates, an architectural firm that was given the tender by the City of Johannesburg and the then Department of Tourism and Environmental Affairs to develop the museum and its exhibits. The tender process tips power and influence towards the company awarded the tender. The Mashabane Rose Associates has become well known as a leading architectural design firm in South Africa. Their work focuses predominantly on museums and cultural heritage site projects, which include among others the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, the Liliesleaf Farm, and the Apartheid Museum, as well as Freedom Park, where they collaborated with other architects and designers (Mashabane Rose Associates, 2010). The curatorial team was also constituted of employees of the City of Johannesburg, who would take over the management of the operation of the museum and its further development once opened to public use; it also included independent historians and researchers, as well as interest groups from the "community". Corinne A. Kratz and Ivan Karp, in their introduction of the same title as their book *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, point out that museums "experience conflicting demands made on them from a range of interested parties, including funders, audiences, government officials, professional communities, collectors, and peoples who are represented in the museum displays" (2006: 1). This was the case with the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. Its construction included the need to navigate the various interest groups that included its major funders: the Department of Tourism and Environmental Affairs, the City of Johannesburg, Standard Bank, and the Soweto Heritage Trust and the subsequent financial contributor – the Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture in the Gauteng province. The National Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology was part of the early stages of development, but kept indicating that they did not have a political mandate to be fully engaged with the project. With time, they withdrew from the project completely. It was a question of different ministries failing to put their territorial conflicts aside. As a result of pressure from

[78] I am indebted to Angel Nieves for this concept.

these various groups, the museum inevitably had to evolve "different and often multiple mandates and complex and contradictory goals" (ibid.: 1).

I was brought to the project by the City of Johannesburg when Themba Mabaso, who was employed at the Johannesburg Art Gallery as Senior Curator Contemporary Art, left to take up employment with the National Department of Arts and Culture. I was later employed as the first chief curator of the museum. In this capacity, I participated in various meetings and forums, where the future and direction of the museum were mapped out. I also participated in the curatorial team, and this chapter draws largely on my experiences as a participant observer. The two historians whose writings influenced the development of the museum narrative were Harry Mashabela, author of *A People on the Boil: Reflections on June 16, 1976 and Beyond*. At the time of the project he was an elected representative of the Azanian People's Organisaztion (AZAPO) in a local council of his home province of Limpopo. The latter is probably of significance in as far as it points out that there are a number of memorial projects that engage people from different political schools of thought. During the time of the uprisings, Mashabela was covering the protest march for *The Star*. The professional historian in the team was Sifiso Ndlovu, then a senior researcher with the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) and author of *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-memories of June 1976*. Ndlovu was a learner in Phefeni Junior Secondary School at the time of the uprisings. He was regarded as a principal researcher for the project and his engagement with the development of the narrative – and during reflections as various parts of the exhibition were installed – was consistent and stretched over a long period, including some years after the museum was open to the public. He has also published reflections on the museum since it was opened to the public. Further research input, particularly negotiating and securing licences, was undertaken by Gail Behrmann a Johannesburg based archive researcher for film, television and books.

Two other professional contributors were the film-makers Duma ka Ndlovu and Angus Gibson. Ndlovu recorded several oral testimonies that later became part of the exhibition. Ndlovu had historical links with the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s as a poet and a journalist for *The World* at the time of the uprisings. Some of his published articles were used by Sifiso Ndlovu in his book and were part of the evidence available to the curatorial team. Angus Gibson, who is

widely known for his role in the television series *Soweto - A History* as well as *Yizo Yizo*, was part of the curatorial team of the Apartheid Museum and would later work with Mashabane Rose Associates at Liliesleaf Farm (now a national heritage site known as Liliesleaf - A place of liberation); worked largely with existing audio visual archival material, as well as with still images. The text panels drawn from the historical narrative by Sifiso Ndlovu and Harry Mashabela, the various published texts on the uprisings, the wide body of poetry inspired by the uprisings, and on recorded oral testimonies, were written by Helene Smuts who works as a consultant on museum education. The installation of images and text panels was facilitated by Ashwell Adrian and several curatorial assistants. Adrian has worked on various projects as a curator including the Apartheid Museum and *The Cell Stories Exhibition and Archive* at the Robben Island Museum, which opened in late 1999. The latter has been described by Ciraj Rassool as innovative "in the ways in which prison cells were turned into multimedia memory spaces" (2009: 18).

Behind the scenes, Mashabane Rose Associates received input from Christopher Till, an experienced arts administrator and curator who was working with them in the making of the Apartheid Museum. Till was a behind-the-scenes consultant, as he was still involved in a labour dispute with the City of Johannesburg. He was the director of arts and culture in the City of Johannesburg when the first exhibition titled Youth Uprising: Point of no Return, was mounted on reused shipping containers and curated by Bongi Dhlomo (Outreach and Development Project Coordinator in the townships for the 1995 Johannesburg Biennale), and Tumelo (Tumi) Mosaka (Hlongwane, Nieves, 2006:), to mark the 20th anniversary of the uprisings. Till's behind the scenes role is mentioned here to reveal the way in which there are always a diverse array of players whose ideas come to bear in the making of public museums and exhibitions and the influences are also multiple. Other contributors were the "testimony donors and communities of witness" (Nieves, 2008: 23) who were interested in telling their side of the story. A significant section of these communities of witness were the photographers who documented various experiences of the uprisings. These included Sam Nzima, Peter Magubane, Alf Khumalo, Bongani Mnguni and Mike Mzileni. These photographers did not only provide their photographs for use in the development of the exhibition, but also exerted pressure on the curatorial process with regard to how they should be credited, how their photographs should be used, as well as on the narrative and

meaning of the June 16 uprisings. Their photographs were also utilized in the 20th anniversary exhibition mentioned above.

Subsequent to the museum's opening, the June 16, 1976 Foundation has played a major role in the development of the museum and the character of its operations. The foundation was established by former student activists, who identify themselves as the "class of '76". Among a number of objectives, the organisation plays an advocacy role in memorialisation projects on the June 16, 1976 uprisings. They have played a major role in identifying and mapping the routes that were used by protesting students on June 16, 1976. The latter is the subject of the next chapter. The June 16, 1976 Foundation has been collaborating with the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum in implementing public education programmes based on the story of the 1976 uprisings and have been active participants in organising committees for the annual commemoration of what is now known as Youth Day (discussed in depth in Chapter Two). In many ways they have also played a critical role in contestations on the story of the uprisings, their meaning and legacy in South African politics and society. They have done this by giving talks to schools and various museum users. They have featured in a number of local and international print and broadcast media. Various members of the June 16, 1976 Foundation have also written discussion documents on how best to memorialise the day.[79] We now proceed to look at how these meanings and legacies are represented in the museum narrative, the 1976 archive and the exhibition.

Curating the surrounding landscape

The making of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum went beyond treating the immediate landscape as an archive of the story of the uprisings. It also included imposing "a museum effect" (Svetlana Alpers in Karp and Steven, 2006:26) on the landscape. Art historian Alpers describes the latter as "the tendency to isolate something from its world, to offer it up for attentive looking" (ibid.: 27).The latter was achieved by first conceptualising the museum building by drawing on the local structural environment and the architecture of the houses in Orlando West township

[79] For further information on some of the activities of the June 16, 1976 Foundation, see Ali Khangela Hlongwane in"Keeping the memory of June 16 1976 alive: Debates, public speaking and school based memorial projects", *Hector Pieterson Museum News*, November, 2008.

in particular. These are the houses described by Lulli Callinicos as "the typical Spartan 'matchbox' with red bricks" (2000:73). Mashabane Rose Associates concur that "red brick Soweto houses – red bricks with flush joints and carefully located expansion – are used to match the texture and colour of the small red brick houses from the early fifties surrounding the square" (Rose, 2006).

Apart from drawing on its immediate environment, the museum building was also influenced by the works of Daniel Lebeskind, the architect of the Jewish Museum in Berlin and James Ingo Freed, the architect of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC (Marschall, 2006: 153). In working on how to develop the exhibition, members of the curatorial team visited the Cape Town Holocaust Centre and District Six museums in Cape Town (Mabaso, 2001). The architects who played a major role in the design of the exhibition also visited the Holocaust museums in Berlin and Washington, confirming Newbury's observation that "the forms of display developed in Holocaust museums" (Newbury, 2005:262) are a key feature of the exhibition at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. He also points out that these displays were created "out of a need to narrate a traumatic past in a highly charged contemporary context, where many people still alive today have first-hand experience of the events concerned" (ibid.). The nature of the history being narrated, and the limited artefacts utilised by the curatorial team meant that the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, like the holocaust museums, is based on "a conceptual and narrative framework rather than a significant collection of artefacts" (ibid.). The conceptual and narrative framework is discussed in depth in Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli's (1995:49) book, *The Holocaust Museum in Washington*. Weinberg and Elieli make a distinction between a historical museum and a narrative historical museum. The latter is rooted in a narrative instead of a collection of artefacts as the former would. The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum takes a middle ground but the influence of the narrative historical museum is evident. This was in spite of the fact that there were a number of objects that were available from the National Archives in Pretoria. The over-reliance on the holocaust museums and other European and American memorial practices has meant that South Africa's memory activists have overlooked the experiences of African states that are likewise confronting legacies of atrocity through memorials, as is the case in Mozambique, Liberia and Rwanda, amongst others. A case has also been made that post-apartheid South Africa has not followed the trends in other post independence

African states who have looked to North Korea and China (Marschall, 2006:66; 153). I would also include Cuba for references in order to create new monuments that contribute towards nation-building. It should nonetheless be acknowledged that the archive of photography has been a major source of influence in the making of new memorials and museums.

The Museum as an elevated lookout point

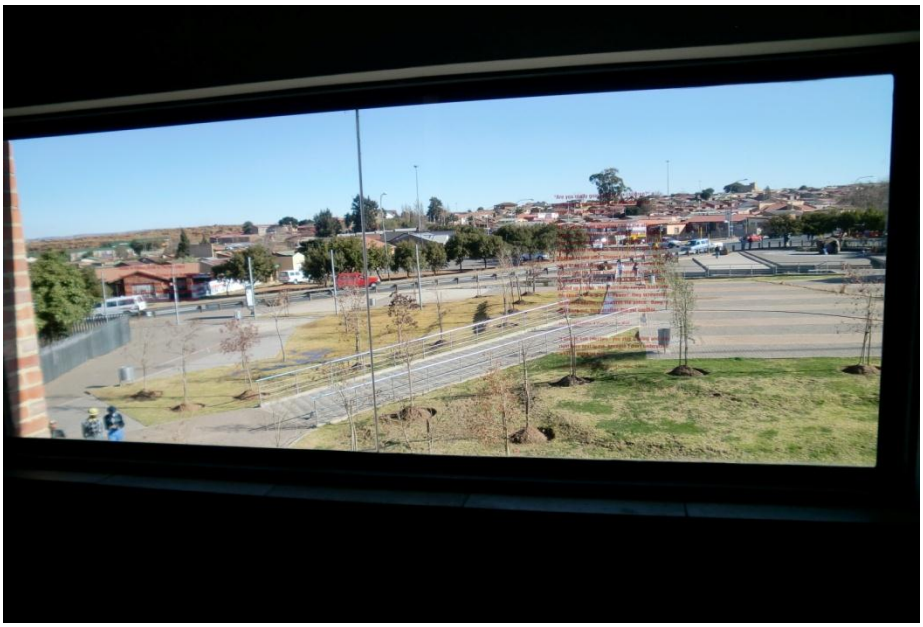


Figure 1:View of Orlando West township through one of the windows of the museum with text pointing to sites of significance. (Photo: Angel David Nieves).

The museum building has been described "as an elevated lookout point" (Marschall, 2006:153) with "large 2.5 metre square windows … placed at principal points on the upper level to establish sightlines to important sites on the surrounding area". These sites include the redbrick houses of the neighbourhood; Orlando Stadium, which in many oral testimonies is identified as the destination that the marchers did not reach (Mofokeng, 2003); the home of Zeph Mothopeng, a Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leader who, on being sentenced to 30 years of imprisonment, was accused by judge Curlewis of "organising and predicting" the 1976 Soweto uprising (Mlambo, 1987: 9). The lookout point also draws attention to the Orlando Power Station, which provided electricity to "white" Johannesburg, when most of Soweto was not electrified; Chris Hani Baragwanath Academic Hospital, where many who were

wounded were also taken; Vilakazi Street, where students gathered next to Phefeni Junior Secondary School before the police shootings leading to the killing of Hector Pieterson. Vilakazi Street is also where the homes of Nelson Mandela and Bishop Tutu are located. In order to construct a link between the museum and the memorial, the Mashabane Rose Associates erected a bench, a piece of dry stacked wall, and a short description of the events which led to Hector Pieterson's death. Recent developments sponsored by the Johannesburg Development Agency (2008:2) has seen the addition of public art and story boards marking the student march and confrontation with the police. The latter developments representing ongoing development of heritage sites in Soweto will require further in-depth study and will be briefly discussed further below.

This area has seen a number of four roomed houses being converted into restaurants and bed and breakfast facilities, as it has become a popular tourist route in Soweto. A number of residents have, as is the practice in all townships, altered and upgraded their homes. However, the alterations at Vilakazi Street have raised concern, as they are undertaken without "guidelines and pay little respect to the heritage value of the houses or the collective street experience intended" (Govender, 2009). This relates to the wider debate about preservation as envisaged in the Heritage Resources Act of 1999, which holds that houses older than 60 years should get permission before any alterations could be undertaken. There is no record of this policy affecting private homes in the African townships, but attempts to follow the guidelines have been undertaken by some developers. An example is the development of the Mandela Museum in Vilakazi Street. However, the end product is not preservation, but the reimagining of Mandela's house as a museum. This is pressure that other residents of Soweto do not face. Vilakazi Street has, like Pela Street opposite the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, also been transformed into a space for local traders targeting the tourists, who visit this site in large numbers on a daily basis.

Consequently, the site has been further "curated" following the intervention of the Johannesburg Development Agency, which issued "Notice to Tender"[80] in December 2007. The tender was later awarded to Urban Works Architecture and Urbanism in

[80]For example see Johannesburg Development Agency, "Proposed public environment upgrade of Vilakazi and Moema Streets in Orlando West, Soweto". *Heritage Impact Assessment*. October, 2008.

joint venture with Ikemeleng Architects and Calsarel Womens Project. According to Thiresh Govender of UrbanWorks Architecture and Urbanism:

> Our brief was two-fold: the first was to update an urban development framework and the second, to design and implement a public environment upgrade… taking into consideration recent changes and developments in and around the precinct… The public environment upgrade… focused on the design of the physical environment including street furniture, roadways, pavements, lighting and signage (Govender, 2009).

The idea was not only to improve the physical environment but "to develop the physical tourism infrastructure of the Vilakazi Street Precinct" (ibid.). That is, to optimise its tourism potential. Subsequent to "meetings with key stakeholders and greater understanding of the site, it became very clear the rich social and historical layers of the site were severely under-represented in the understanding of the project",recalled Govender (ibid.). This realisation shifted the latter developments from being a "design-led" development to one that was "more responsive to heritage, tourism and place albeit retro-fitted", as Govender was to further point out (ibid.).This was done by including in the project team mentioned earlier, a tourism consultant, a heritage consultant and an historian. This team did not include any participant or member of the curatorial team led by Mashabane Rose Associates. This is the usual pattern with the continuation of development of most heritage sites, where the new team of consultants tends to make a radical break with the work of their predecessors.[81] The local users of the area were gradually brought into the project through a series of consultative meetings and through the work of the historian now on board. Significant layers of history that were further excavated according to Govender "included the student uprising of June 1976 - sites of confrontation, routes, hiding places; homes of significant 'struggle'" (Govender, 2009).

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[81] When the Mashabane Rose Architects were appointed to develop the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, there was no continuity with the people responsible for the early development of the site under the sponsorship of the ANC Youth League. According to Mashabane Rose Associates however, they took the initiative to share some ideas with the UrbanWorks Architecture and Urbanism.

Critical interventions worth mentioning, in addition to the improvement of the physical environment are the different views that were already part of the reading of the site where Hector Pieterson is thought to have been shot. Mashabane and Rose Associates had marked the site opposite Phefeni Junior Secondary School with a bench, a piece of dry stacked wall, and a short description of the events which led to Hector's death (Hlongwane & Nieves, 2006: 12), as mentioned earlier. Through its education booklet, the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum in collaboration with the Roedene School in Johannesburg developed an educational booklet titled *June 16 1976- Hector Pieterson Museum A journey of discovery* (2005),which had raised questions on the formulation pointing to the spot thought to be where Hector Pieterson was shot. The formulation came across as though presenting a "fact" about the spot where Hector Pieterson was killed. The museum's booklet reads: "there are questions being asked today about the actual site of the shooting of Hector Pieterson. People have come forward with different accounts of the events of the day, opening the accepted story to question and showing how any one version of history will always be contested" (2005: 2).

The latest intervention on the site, in Govender's view, "seeks to avoid this by not making factual references to sites and events. Our interventions seek to allow for multiple readings of sites/events over time, by not being specific where evidence is insufficient or contested" (Govender 2009). The previous layers and reading of the site can still be experienced. The wall has been retained, but the text has been adjusted and has become more generic and is now not factual. The text placed side by side with the earlier text reads:

> This memorial was created in 2000 during the building of the Hector Pieterson Museum. The architects installed the wall on this corner as this was believed to be the spot where the stray bullet killed Hector Pieterson. His sister Antoinette's testimony, as well as other eyewitness accounts, now help us to understand Hector was probably hit further up Moema Street towards Hector Pieterson Museum.

> The placement of this wall signals difficulty of memorialising historical events especially if they happen in situations of violence. Witnesses to such events are often traumatised and confused. In the first days of the uprising there were many conflicting stories of what happened and several mistakes were made in newspaper reports (Ndlovu, 2010).

It must be pointed out that these sites are visited by an array of groups, who come to the area as tourists. They are part of the everyday life of the residents of the area and the learners in the schools located in this vicinity. They are also a focus point of the text in the windows of the Hector Pieterson Museum. With the use of text in the windows to explain the significance of these sites and their relation to the story of 1976 and the liberation struggle in South Africa, these sites are then transformed "into symbolic signifiers in their own right" (Marschall, 2006: 153). The memorial complex, in Marschall's view, "becomes the nexus of a much larger geographical matrix of significant places" (ibid.). Broadly, the use of the museum building as an exhibition space and as an elevated lookout point emerges as a creative architectural and exhibition design highlight of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. Marschall (2006:153) writes:

> This system of reaching out to points of significance and drawing in their symbolic meanings first allows the visitor to visualize the course of the events in time and space – the route of the marching crowd, the arriving police force, the shooting, the subsequent dispersal. More importantly, it facilitates an understanding of the township context in which the 1976 Soweto Uprisings is firmly anchored, not as an incidental geographical location, but as a highly significant site of socio-political control.

The *Digest of South African Architecture* (2003:3) concurs with Marschall's description thus:

> The integration of the narrative, museum space and the physical landscape outside is the most potent and memorable aspect of the museum. The museum becomes a device for viewing and unpacking the township, the physical landscape and the spaces in which June 16 events unfolded.



Figure 2: The interior of the museum showing the displays and narrative. (Photo: Angel David Nieves).

The Narrative, the June 1976 Archive and Exhibitions

The Hector Pieterson Museum's principal researcher points out that "in most of the literature authored by historians, political scientists and sociologists you come across about six different schools of thought which prioritise different factors" (Ndlovu, 2010). These various schools of thought, which constitute some of the contested narratives of the uprisings, include arguments that "the Soweto Uprisings were influenced by the transformative role of the Black Consciousness Movement and its associated organisations; others give prominence to revolutionary theory and stress the role of the various liberation movements; others underline the ideological role of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and [yet] others insist on conditions inside the classroom leading to "autonomous" actions of students and parents" (ibid.).

The museum narrative and exhibition is at one level that of individual experiences, the socio-political and cultural features underpinning that experience, as well as the changing individual and collective experiences. The text that introduces the narrative points out that the stories that individuals tell of the Soweto revolt are about "a political and social experience and about a place and time".[82] Using flashbacks – a technique borrowed from theatre and film – the narrative unfolds in fourteen stations. The museum's narrative may begin either outside the museum or inside the museum. These are choices left to the visitor. The predominant view however, is that the museum "is the first port of call for visitors to the precinct… the museum orientates visitors to the precinct through its movement of bodies and windows framing sites beyond" (Govender, 2009), as already demonstrated above. In this chapter, we draw from the museum education booklet mentioned above, which divides the narrative into several stations: Station one is titled, so that we never forget, and points to a large boulder and plaque put up in memory of the June 16 uprisings by the Heritage Resources Agency, which pronounces the site to be a National Heritage Site. In station one, a cenotaph erected by the ANC Youth League in 1992 is located. Station two, located within the vicinity of station one is titled: "Firing Line". This line situated in the premises of the museum connects Vilakazi Street, where the students gathered and from where it is thought shots rang out, to the museum as re-represented in the iconic photograph of Sam Nzima, showing Mbuyisa Makhubu, Hector Pieterson and Antoinette Sithole. Station three is titled, the wall of the void. The wall has on one hand the practical function of screening out the noise of traffic and creating a border between the street and the museum. It also has symbolic value, from the point of view of the designers of the site, which is left to the imagination of the visitor. Station four is the foyer of the museum. It welcomes visitors with two images. A photograph by Sam Nzima, taken on the day of the protest march, and one taken during a funeral march later in the year by Alf Khumalo. Station five is titled: "Separate Lives", and features several audio visual installations that demonstrate how "races" were separated. That is, how apartheid brought about its divisions between "European", or whites and "Non-European", or non-whites. Station six, titled: "The Politics of Education" features text panels that describe the historical background of Black Education, from the initiatives of the

[82]For a complete record of the exhibition text see Helene Smuts, Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum: Narrative text displayed on panels. Based on the research of 1976 student participant and present day historian, Sifiso Ndlovu, and journalist Harry Mashabela. (Unpublished, 2002).

missionaries to the advent of "Bantu" Education and the subsequent opposition to the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in certain learning areas and schools. Station seven is titled: "Blurring the Boundaries". This makes reference to the technique discussed in detail above, where the museum design deploys large windows to remove the boundaries between inside and outside, thus blending the space of the storyline into the surrounding landscape and the community. Station eight is titled: "Eyewitness Accounts". There are several text panels with quotes of different participants in the student march including a student's voice, a parent's voice and a police voice. Station nine, which is entitled: "Your Fact, My Fact", attempts to grapple with the contradictions implicit in violent conflict. It presents two articles that describe two violent incidents that took place during the uprisings, with one from the point of view of a father whose son, Hastings Ndlovu, was shot whilst leading a group of students up the now disused bridge in Khumalo Street (this bridge was developed into a memorial in 2010 and was discussed in chapter three), while the other describes the killing of Hector Pieterson. These narratives are punctuated by images of a portrait of Mbuyisa Makhubu provided to the curatorial team by his mother, an audio-visual narrative of the shooting of Hector Pieterson by student leader Tsietsi Mashinini, and a display of weapons supposedly used by police during the mid 1970s. There are two other text panels that follow. One details the story of Lily Mithi, an eight year old girl shot in the back by the police, and the other is about a white social worker, Dr Melville Edelstein, of the then-West Rand Administration Board, who was stoned by protesting students, who had earlier passed through his office, but had then returned to find him once the police had opened fire on them. Station ten is titled: "A Funeral for Victims of Violence". At this station, which is a small room that allows only a limited number of visitors at a time, various forms of family grieving and rememberance are shown. It deploys a number of photographs by Peter Magubane, showing how grieving took different and mixed forms – from the choice of "afro-shirts" and "dashikis", to laying wreaths, and the use of a donkey-cart wagon to carry the coffin of Hector Pieterson. These were part of symbolism rooted in the themes of "back to the roots" as a result of the influence of the Black Consciousness philosophy. Station eleven is titled: "The Student Voice". There is a display of portraits of Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seathlolo, who became well known as student leaders, and an artefact – a memorandum drawn by the Soweto Students Representative Council. Station twelve is entitled: "Manipulating the Media". This is a display of two television sets on the ramp,

reporting the news of June 16, 1976. The first television relates the news on South African TV. The second television relates the news on International TV stations such as those in Australia and Germany. On the right there is a text panel describing the dangerous effects of media bias-propaganda. Station thirteen is titled, the "Never, Never Again" courtyard. We will return to the courtyard below.

It will suffice to point out that the narrative housed in the museum cannot be considered a comprehensive account of the stories of June 16, 1976. One of the questions that arose was, indeed, where to begin and where to end the narrative. This question has confronted museums similar to the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, like the National Civil Rights Museum in the USA. In an article entitled "Between Room 307 – Spaces of Memory at the National Civil Rights Museum", architect and historian Mabel Wilson (2001: 17) writes, "by trying to tell the whole story… the museum unwittingly denies its public the possibility of articulating their own meanings and associations of a given complex history". In her view, failure to handle this challenge during the curatorial process will encourage, "albeit unintentionally, a static interpretation" (ibid.).

Another challenge was the ambiguity towards the artefacts. During the planning and brainstorming sessions, a list of artefacts was drawn up by Themba Mabaso, one of the early participants, who at the time was employed as senior curator of contemporary art at the Johannesburg Art Gallery. Various people were approached, including the family members of Hector Pieterson (Davie, 2005) and Hastings Ndlovu, with the hope that they might have items that could be included. With the exception of photographs, little became of this process. It was, however, the archive of material culture of the 1976 uprisings, assembled, constructed and consigned by the police, the courts and the Cillie Commission of Enquiry into the riots in Soweto and elsewhere, from 16 June, 1976 to 28 February, 1977 (whose place of consignation is the National Archives in Pretoria) that was discovered to constitute a rich but controversial resource on the uprisings. This archive, as a construction that reflects and expresses relations of power, is intrinsically linked to the political agenda of the Commission of Enquiry into the riots in Soweto and elsewhere, from 16 June, 1976 to 28February, 1977 (the Commission). The latter heard evidence for eight months during 126 sittings, at which 563 witnesses testified. The transcribed record of these proceedings runs to some 9 000 pages, with the Commission

considering almost 500 documentary exhibits, including memoranda and statements by witnesses, photographs taken by police and reporters, students' banners and placards with slogans, letters, pamphlets, books and other writings (Pohlandt-McCormick, 1999: 137).

The archive also contains photographs of destroyed property, minutes of student meetings, and student writings of the time in the form of poetry, songs and plays. There are also copies of post-mortems on many who died as a result of the uprisings. Such photographs and banners, and the artefacts in the Cillie Commission of Enquiry into the riots in Soweto and elsewhere, from 16 June, 1976 to 28 February, 1977 collection provided the exhibition's curatorial team with a valuable resource for the historical representation of the uprisings. At the same time, it represented the official discourse of the apartheid state, which functioned to prove its legitimacy, to "uphold [the state's] dominant ideology of apartheid" (Pohlandt-McCormick, 1999: 137), and to demonise its opponents. Its deconstruction and use became, in many ways, part of the contested and ever changing constructs of memory, master narrative and counter narrative at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. Further, its use demonstrated that "No archive is simply an expression of prevailing relations of power…For archive always carries within it the seeds of subversion" (Harris, Hamilton, Hatang; 2011: 152).

Yet another highly valuable archive of the 1976 uprisings is constituted by the photographs of Sam Nzima, Peter Magubane, Alf Khumalo, Mike Mzileni, Bongani Mnguni among many others, who captured its events with their still cameras, and whose documentary photography provided a significant record of these dramatic events. These black and white photographs are used throughout the exhibition. According to Newberry, "photography was an important presence in the struggle against apartheid and is crucial in contemporary efforts to represent the history of this struggle" (Newbury, 2005: 263).

This entails the "decontextualisation and recontextualisation" (Newbury, 2005: 282) of photographic images drawn from a variety of sources, with the image in the photograph taking centre stage; and leads to a stylised exhibit, where the majority of the photographs are printed to large sizes and mounted directly onto the wall; there is no framing. This style of display makes the most of photographic reproducibility,

and maximises their impact as images, while at the same time it minimises any sense of the photograph as an artefact with a particular history. The photographs conspicuously evade treatment as artefacts (ibid.).

The use of enlarged photographs reflects partly the point raised earlier that the curatorial team was ambiguous towards artefacts. This use of photographs also reflected the curatorial team's attitude to notions of preservation and conservation which tend to be the core function of museums. Consequently, the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, as with similar memory spaces, did not initially seek to conserve and preserve any artefacts, but explores ways of using the latter for activating memories. Over the years the museum has assembled a significant collection on the memorialisation of the uprisings. Shying away from preserving and conserving artefacts also reflects an attitude in deploying objects side by side with oral testimonies and the built environment in order to enhance the storyline. It is an approach that completely shies away from any focus on the history of the artefacts in their own right. This also entailed initially not crediting the photographers in the body of the exhibition, but creating a separate panel for all credits. The rationale here may have been to focus attention on the story and not the photographers as authors and artists. Over the years, the photographers have contested this approach successfully, and their names now appear underneath all their photographs on display, as is the tradition in an art exhibition.

Oral Testimonies

It has been observed that "the experience of suffering creates in most people a need to tell their stories, and these stories become powerful tools for shaping reality, both for the tellers and the audience" (Pitchford, 2006: 3). The oral testimonies or stories are used as exhibits in their own right: as voices representing different experiences. In the museum, the visitor interacts with voices of the participants, of parents, and of those who were witnesses. The voices enhance the museum narrative by providing "direct dialogues with living historical actors" (Day, 1999:91), as well as highlighting the complexities and multiple influences that formed the students' political consciousness and that led to the uprisings. Further, while the narrative provides evidence about aspects of the unfolding story, oral testimonies provide an understanding of "perception as much as any more factual information" (Bennett,

1999: 46). Unlike the narrative, oral testimonies as exhibits also provide "an account of first-hand experiences recalled retrospectively, communicated to [the museum visitor] for historical purposes" (Lummis cited in Day, 1996: 13).

In addition to the use of oral testimonies recorded years after the outbreak of the uprisings in a period of free political activity, there are also testimonies of people who were part of the political establishment at the time. Due to power relations then, their testimonies justified police repression. The museum has tried over the years to interview people who were part of the political administration, as well as the police service of the time, and it has not been successful. This means there are critical voices that are not heard in the museum. In this context, it is the critical voice of the perpetrator that is missing, thus making the museum experience partly poorer as well as partly rich as the change of power relations has provided a space for majority voices to be heard.

Nonetheless, Elana Castle (2003: 50) writing in *Art South Africa* argues that the exhibition at Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum takes the form of "a textured landscape of information that unfolds in the space, manipulated through the use of ramps and stepped platforms (movement) and benches and platforms (strong pause points for contemplation)" and describes that the visitor's journey "spirals up the gently ramped exhibition halls. The linear narrative unfolds as you move through the museum consisting of 22 short films, 30 text panels and some 100 black and white photographs on monitors spread evenly throughout the ramped space".

The last part of the journey for the museum visitor passes through a courtyard.

The Courtyard



Figure 3: Courtyard where the names of those killed as a result of the uprisings are written on blocks and displayed. (Photo: Angel David Nieves).

Melinda Silverman (2009: 130) describes the courtyard "[as] a space filled with gravel and granite blocks". One of the windows to the courtyard displays text that reads: "Engraved on each granite block is the name of a person who died in South Africa as a consequence of the 1976 uprisings".[83] On another section of the window is a moving tribute by the late South African poet Mazisi Kunene written whilst he was in exile. The names inside the courtyard, in blocks scattered on the ground, are those of people whose deaths were officially acknowledged, through the findings of the *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Riots at Soweto and elsewhere from the 16th of June to the 28th of February 1977* undertaken by the political administration of the time. The records of the Commission provide the name, age, cause of death, place and date of injury or death, circumstances, legal proceedings – and makes findings about the uprisings in general and the killings as a result of the uprisings. The curatorial hand transformed this death register into "a material record of what is witnessed, recorded, [and] remembered" (Thaler, 2008: 198). Predictably, in relation to the 575 lives lost, the causes of death as identified by the Commission included:

[83] Helene Smuts, Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum: Narrative text displayed on panels.

> No finding – responsibility cannot be determined
> No-one blamed – the responsible person cannot be determined
> No-one to blame – no person is responsible

No individual was found responsible for the deaths. The police who opened fire on unarmed students were found "to collectively bear responsibility for the outbreak of violence in Soweto on June 16, 1976" (Rand Daily Mail, 1980). The finding of the commission was that the direct cause of the uprisings was the "organisation of an illegal mass protest march, the inability of police to anticipate the threatened rebellion… and to take counter measures" (ibid.).

Most victims of the uprisings became recorded by mere statistics. The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum has become a public space for the as-yet unheard voices of these victims. It is a space where the material record of what is forgotten is also reclaimed as Thaler, (2008:198) would argue. Elizabeth Lebelo, whose brother died as a result of the uprisings, left this message at the museum:

> My brother Abie Lebelo was killed on August the 4th 1976 at the time he was a prefect at Madibane High School. Amongst the blocks bearing the names of people who died, I never see my brother's name. Elizabeth Lebelo, 02-07-2006 [sic].[84]

Subsequent to leaving the above note, Elizabeth's surviving brother, Steve Lebelo, a historian in his own right who has worked for History on Line and is currently attached to the University of South Africa has also deposited in the museum his reflections on the role of students from Diepkloof schools during the uprisings and on how his brother's death impacted upon his own life. These developments are but some of the ways in which the archive of June 16, 1976 is continually reconfigured and expanded.

[84]The note by Elizabeth Lebelo on the absence of her brother among names in the museum courtyard, 2 July, 2006 is deposited in the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum Archives.

Visitors

Responses to the museum and the story it tells are largely through comments that are left behind by visitors in the museum's visitors' book. They are also experienced through interaction with the tour guides and personnel responsible for public programmes of the museum, as well as published and unpublished writings by scholars and other public commentators. Since its opening to the public, the museum has also attracted learners and students from lower primary, upper primary and high schools, and from tertiary educational institutions, many visiting because their teachers have identified the museum as a tool of learning, given that it is part of their curriculum. Tertiary students are often students of heritage and tourism who approach the museum with requests to do hands-on work for a certain amount of hours as required by their training.

Local residents of Soweto visit the memorial and museum for a variety of reasons. Some were students at the time of the uprisings, some – as will be shown below – visit to deal with the unresolved challenges of their experiences of the time, or when they are hosting visitors. The number of local visitors at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum probably debunk the myth that the site attracts primarily foreign tourists. However, the museum does not record visitor numbers in a way that reflect where they come from. Local participation is however well reflected in the museum's administrative records or archive of education programmes and community activities at the museum or in collaboration with the museum. The records in the form of photographs and attendance registers reflect a substantial number of youth groups who use the museum as a space for their cultural activities, such as poetry reading and dialogue on contemporary social challenges. International tourists are equally interested in the museum and come in buses every day. Undoubtedly their numbers are very high and visible to any passerby around Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum and the Mandela Museum. There are also regular visits by heads of state, whose itinerary in Johannesburg usually includes visiting the museum. They have included President Fidel Castro of Cuba, President John Kufuor of Ghana, Bill Clinton, former president of the USA, and current president of the USA, Barack Obama, who visited whilst he was still a senator.

Statistics show that visitor numbers increased steadily from 30, 265 in 2002 to 165, 037 in 2006.[85] Why are numbers of significance for the memorial and museum? As Susan Pitchford has written, "a story is only powerful if people hear it" (Pitchford, 2006: 3). The memorial and museum have provided those who have a story to tell with a medium through which to do so and the opportunity to reach out to diverse audiences, from those directly affected, to those outsiders not involved in the events that took place that day. Visitor numbers are also related to the question raised in Chapter One, regarding heritage projects being conceived as tools for job creation in their localities. Further research is required to determine to what extent is this goal being realised given the fact that generally the numbers of museum visitors are shot up by school visits and education programmes.

Visitor Dialogue with the Museum and Memorial

Visitor dialogue with the memorial and museum reflects, on the one hand, a complex process of engagement, and on the other, alienation. However, very few "resist" the message altogether. Comments in the visitors' books provide a picture of people's reactions and their engagement with the memorial and museum, some of which are cited below:

> "To hell with Afrikaans."
>
> "Today is the burial of Boeretaal. That will be the day!"
>
> "Touching."
>
> "Beautifully done."
>
> "We will never forget."
>
> "The struggle continues."
>
> "What about Tsietsi Mashinini?"

[85] Visitor statistics for the years 2002 to 2006, Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum Archives.

> "For me from Tanzania, who was in one way or another a supporter of the liberation struggle, it was just heartening to see how gallant young students sacrificed their lives for the sake of democracy which we are enjoying now."
>
> "Reminds one of the Civil Rights Movement."
>
> "It's funny how the adults still remember their past, but the youth of SA today don't respect or cherish where they come from! If only they did."
>
> "Depressing.'
>
> "Extremely sad! I am not coming back again."
>
> "People should learn from their mistakes. For lives were lost in 1976 and some of us are still traumatised."
>
> "The events of June 16, 1976, where hundreds of peaceful protesters against apartheid were massacred, caused deep shock to the conscience of the world. This memorial is a telling reminder to the world that such gory events should never be allowed to happen again and the evils of injustice, discrimination and prejudice, in whatever form, must be totally wiped out from the face of the earth. I pay homage to the great fighters for freedom, equality and justice for their strong convictions and exemplary courage' [sic]."[86]

Responses form part of the dialogue with the museum's exhibit. Some continue to echo the slogans that students created to express their indignation at the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Some are touched by the experience, or express appreciation of (or sometimes query) the aesthetics of the museum design

[86] Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum Visitor Book andvisitor statistics for the years 2004 to 2006, Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum Archives. Names are not attributed to comments,as in most cases only signatures were provided.

and exhibit like the remark quoted above saying, "beautifully done". Others see similarities between the student struggles in South Africa and in their own countries, or record their depression about the experience, and vow not to come back again. Many remember their own role in the events and recall sad as well as cheerful moments.

Some visitor experiences relate to the recurring questions of this study: does the past belong to the museum or is it still with us? How does this past manifest in the present: trauma, unemployment, homelessness, and landlessness? What implications do these have to the master narrative of reconciliation, social cohesion, the "new" South Africa, and the rainbow nation. One of many incidents which I am able to relate as from my experience as the chief curator of the museum speaks to the last of these questions. One afternoon a member of the public, who seemed very disturbed given her facial expression and the tenor of her voice, walked into a museum carrying a photograph from a newspaper clipping, which as it happens was also part of the museum display. It is a photograph taken by Peter Magubane on the morning of June 16, 1976 of a group of students from Naledi High School making their way to Orlando West in Soweto. The women who walked into the office is a partner of one of the students featured prominently in the photograph, by the name of Edwin Siwedi. Subsequent to his participation in the student protest march, he joined the many who left the country for Tanzania. His wife, who relates this story, also left the country, and that is where the two were later married. Thirty years later, he is in his early 50s. He is in financial difficulty and his application to the Special Pension Fund[87] has been declined. He has also lost his job, due to post-traumatic stress related to his exile experiences and continued deprivation at home. Her partner wanted to know how the museum personnel might be able to assist them. After a lengthy discussion of possible help available to people who were in exile, including the Special Pension Fund, she stood up, literally clutching her photograph, and before leaving remarked that many of the people who are benefiting from this memorial today were not in the struggle. She looked at me and addressed me, saying that I was "lucky they have given you a job" and, leaving her contact details with the museum, proceeded to leave (Foss, 2010).

[87] The Special Pension Act of 1996 provides for pensions to be paid to persons who made sacrifices or served the public interest in the cause of establishing a democratic constitutional order in South Africa.

Another but different experience that could be read as contesting the June 16 archive and the narrative it shapes is the experience I also witnessed whilst an employee of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. Raoul Makhubu,the brother of Mbuyisa Makhubu (Mbuyisa was mentioned earlier appearing in Sam Nzima' photograph carrying the lifeless body of Hector Pieterson) walked into the museum in May 2005 followed by a number of journalists. He posed infront of Sam Nzima's photograph and blocked off the face of his brother. He then made a call and demanded that his brother's face should be erased in the photograph displayed in the memorial as well as inside the museum. This was his way of inserting a counter narrative that focused attention to his family's unresolved quest to know what happened to his brother.[88]This incident seems to have influenced the production of the commemorative poster of the year 2005 by the Gauteng Provincial government. Indeed, the story of many who went missing as a result of the June 16, 1976 uprisings is underplayed in the memorialisation and commemoration activities.These are some of many experiences that have shaped my views about the past being intrinsically part of the present in different ways. The past is in the present as unresolved traumatic experiences as a result of conflicts of the past and it also manifests as a truism that the struggle for a better society always remains an unfinished agenda.

A question may arise: Do the experiences of the unresolvability of the wicked social issues or the fact that solutions introduce other rounds of contradictions make the museum part of those many spaces contributing to the development of a memory culture that promotes emancipatory democracy in South Africa as well as one that acknowledges multiple voices and meanings?

Conclusion

In this chapter we attempted to unpack the processes of fashioning the past of the June 16, 1976, uprisings through the making of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. The chapter points out that whilst the memorial museum was created at the time when the idea of reconciliation and nation-building was the dominant narrative of the state there has always been a number of competing agendas

[88] This incident was reported by the national broadcaster the SABC as well as various daily newspapers. See Sheree Russouw, Take my brother's face off the photo. *Saturday Star*, May 28, 2005

confronting the memory making processes. These emerge in this chapter as challenges of local economic development looking to memorialisation and heritagization as a possible catalyst. There are also agendas at play around working with history or histories. This chapter demonstrated the various competing ways and formulations of working with the past manifest in the development of a memorial, the making of the exhibition and imposing a museum effect on the immediate locale of the memorial and museum. It pointed out that the overarching theme is one of constant contestation and counter- commemoration. These themes continue to emerge as a driving force in the making of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum and the commemoration of the uprisings in the variety of ways to be further explored in the following chapters. These are themes that link with earlier chapters pointing to the fact that the story of the 1976 uprisings is not above controversy.

CHAPTER FIVE

Oral Testimonies and Public Memory: Contesting representations of the June 16, 1976 Soweto students' protest marches and uprisings

It has been observed that "oral history about places and spaces has been under-utilised in South Africa" (Field, 2007: 24). This is in spite of the fact that the uses of oral histories by historians took centre stage as recently as the 1980s. This chapter utilises oral history to identify selected memories and areas of debate in recollections of the many routes used by different groups of students on the morning of June 16, 1976, protesting the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in selected subjects. The chapter drawing from oral testimonies seeks to recognise that the memories of the marchers from the "Class of 76" have given rise to a variety of narratives of the march; and the streetscapes of the march. These many and sometimes conflicting narratives of the march are seen in this chapter as representing the view that "people often remember and narrate the past in nostalgic ways because it gives meaning to their current senses of self and identity" (Field and Swansong, 2007: 10). This chapter will also explore through oral testimonies how former students, teachers, parents and police chose to remember the build-up to the students' marches and protest. The inclusion of parents' voices in this chapter further affirms the consistent theme – namely that there are a multitude of memories of what happened on the morning of June 16, 1976. By giving space to the voices of parents, this chapter recognises and hopefully negates the established narratives that have obscured the parents' role, in the interest of a narrative that emphasises the sacrifices made by the youth. Further, it will also consider the debates and contestations on the causes of the uprisings; particularly of who did and who did not participate. It will further explore the political or ideological body of ideas that influenced students of the time. This chapter does not seek to establish "facts" behind the students march and the subsequent uprisings, but addresses how new meanings are created and re-created as part of the process of remembering.

Further, the intentions of this chapter include identifying the tensions and intersections of memory and sites of that memory. Field points out that: "While the spaces that people live, play and work in might be taken for granted, through

particular or regular use specific spaces become focal points for memories to cluster around. It is these points which evoke meanings and which are narrated as place-based 'sites of memory'" (2007: 24).

However, intention behind the concept of a June 16, 1976 Students Trail (which is one feature of recreated spaces and sites of memory of the students' protest march), which manifests as the marking of a single coherent narrative represented in a form of one route – when there were many routes and a contested destination fly in the face of the character of a complex social movement that was the student protest of June 16, 1976, which all evidence suggest it was. Fieldwork and observations of the various marches that seek to re-enact, and in a sense organised to "complete" the protest march, by former activists of the time and the contemporary generation of youth that commemorates the events of June 16, 1976 reveals special attachments to mundane elements of the streets on which students marched. However, these mundane features of the streets – be they boulders, a fence, a pole, or a tree – bring back memories and new meanings of the student march, just as these memories are contested amongst different students of the day, who put emphasis on different areas as their sites of memory. The reason behind this contestation may lie in the fact that the events of June 16 were not as solidly organised as current re-representations attempt to suggest. They may also lie in the fact that there were different groups of students and later unemployed youth traversing different routes taken by students themselves, with some even reported to have stayed inside their schools writing exams. How then are these issues articulated in oral testimonies? This chapter will explore this question by teasing out: what are the contesting perspectives on the students march and rebellion?; who were the leaders of June 16 generation?; was there a destination for the march?; why and how did high schools take a prominent role?; and, is there a case to be made for parents and teachers?

The intention is not to resolve these questions. They serve as a means to explore the complex histories of the uprisings, and we begin with the student marches.

Contesting Perspectives on the Students' March and Rebellion

Contestation on the routes, the recollections of the student march, the demonstrations and subsequent uprisings also rages in the oral histories of June 16,

1976. The contestation is between those who tended to see the events of 1976 as spontaneous, and those who believed it was planned. A number of participants argued that there was a protracted process of meetings and planning by student activists that culminated in the meeting of June 13 at the DOCC (Donaldson Orlando Community Centre) in Orlando East. At this meeting, Tsietsi Mashinini was elected Chairman of the Student Action Committee, and June 16 was chosen as the day for protest action (Montsitsi, 2006). The routes that were to be used were also planned at this meeting. Murphy Morobe, who was part of the meetings, recalls:

> On June 14, 1976 some members came to the Action Committee meeting; others did not come. Those who met were members of the Action Committee. The discussion was about the oncoming demonstration and the routes to be followed from various schools. It was agreed that schools should be divided into three streams, Morris Isaacson should lead the first stream, Naledi the second stream, Sekano Ntoane should lead the third stream. Morris Isaacson was to come along with schools in its vicinity, that is to say, schools in White City Jabavu, Mofolo (Morobe, 1977).

Indeed, the view that there were processes of deliberate planning is widely supported in the recollections of several students. For instance, Antoinette Sithole, a student at Thesele Junior Secondary School, gives credibility to this point of view in her recollections. She recalls that when High School students came to their school, they had clear instruction on how they were to participate in the march.

> They said to us, we are going to march against Afrikaans and on our way we will be picking up other schools on route. They explained that Naledi will go that way, with Sekano Ntoane and Pimville; Musi High will follow with these other schools; 'just like that', you know. You could see that it was well arranged (Sithole, 2001).

Brigadier General Mofokeng, a former student at Naledi High School and former member of the High Command of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) concurs:

> During that morning…well it was planned accordingly by student leaders. I think from Naledi it was Motapanyane, Seathlolo and many others off course…Popo Molefe, Isaac…they are so many…I can't remember. I remember those who are now of high profile (Mofokeng, 2003).

There are also voices of dissent, prominent among them being that of Sifiso Ndlovu, a former student at Phefeni Junior, who privileges the idea that there was independent action by students as a result of frustrations experienced in the classroom. Ndlovu writes: "I do not remember any liberation movement, such as the Black Consciousness Movement or the South African Student Movement (SASM) contributing to our daily meetings and discussions. In short, as students we faced our destiny and problems" (Ndlovu 1998: 7). Ndlovu is correct in as far as this relates to earlier protests, particularly by higher primary pupils and junior secondary schools. The dominant voice, however, whose views are not in dispute, represents the point of view of the core group of student activists; arguing that the trail that commemorates the march of June 16 should reflect the routes that they had planned for that day. The minority view however holds that it makes sense to map the routes travelled. This also acknowledges that the march had elements of spontaneity in it, imposed by the reality of the situation on the ground on that day.

Were all the high schools of Soweto planning to march on June 16? This question has given rise to various responses. One argument is that there were different days on which students were planning to march.

> We planned the protest march in three phases, starting on June 16. Had the government not reacted, the schools in the deeper eastern side of Soweto would have marched to Orlano/Phefeni School the following day. The biggest march was going to be Friday, June 18, involving students

> from both deeper Soweto East and West (Mazibuko 2006: 32).

This view may represent a revision of the events of June 16, in order to justify the non-participation of students from other parts of Soweto; or a failure to acknowledge the limitations of organisation in a situation of weakened political organisation as a result of the banning in 1960 of the PAC and the ANC, and subsequent repression. The view is contested by other participants, who argue that only June 16 was chosen for the March. Some argue that students in other parts of Soweto, like Meadowlands, Orlando East and Diepkloof, may have known about the build-up of student action; but did not get the message that all were to gather in Orlando West school on June 16. A former school principal in Meadowlands recalls that students went to class on June 16 as on all other days, and even participated in various sporting activities, given that Wednesday was sports day for all schools (Masekwameng, 2006).

Who Were the Leaders of the June 16 Generation?

Within this dynamic is the question of leadership. Clearly, at various points a number of individual students played leadership roles. They emerged as leaders within the debating societies of the various schools, the student Christian movement, and cultural organisations. One name that looms large in the context of the uprisings is that of Tsietsi Mashinini. Though today his leadership is contested, his name was at some point part of a wider popular consciousness. This despite the fact that leadership in the Soweto uprisings, as in most social movements, tended to be fluid. It is also reflective of a crisis situation, where different individuals emerge and also disappear from leadership within a short space of time.[89] And, it is this characteristic of the kind of social movement leadership that causes disputes. Indeed, I have come across cynical remarks that Tsietsi was a leader for only six months, maintaining that he was appropriated by AZAPO; thus providing a point of contention by claiming that the uprisings were inspired by the Black Consciousness ideology.

[89] The students who became leaders of the Soweto Student Representative Councils were: Tsietsi Mashinini, Khotso Seathlolo, Dan Montsitsi and Trofomo Sono.

However, among the leaders of the class of '76, Tsietsi is the only one who enjoyed popular songs composed and sung in his name. His image was the stuff of legend, albeit, for a very short time. Lyrics from the songs of that era read:

Tsietsi le Vorster-	Tsietsi and Vorster-
Ba ngola teste;	They write a test;
Voster ke setlaela,	Voster is stupid,
Tsietsi o phasile.	Tsietsi has passed.

(Mashabela 1987: 67).

This does not at the same time suggest that Tsietsi was messiah-like. There were a number of other students, contemporaries of Tsietsi Mashinini, who played a leadership role in the student struggles as well. They are recently acknowledged by Majakathatha Mokoena, in his autobiographical reflection on the uprisings, entitled *Triumphant - A Battlefield Diary of the "Class of 1976"*. He writes admiringly of the significant leadership role played by Seth Mazibuko as a 15 year old student at Phefeni Junior Secondary, and an active member of a religious group known as *Youth Alive*; Micky Tsagae from Orlando High School; Zweli Sizane, who was a leading member of SASM and NAYO; Tebello Motapanyane, who was an active member of SASM and NAYO, as well as chairman of the Action Committee and a student at Naledi High School, David Kutumela, and also from Naledi High School, Murphison Morobe.

The Destination of the March

Another area of contestation is the destination of the student march. Some participants are of the view that the march was to end in Orlando West Township, opposite Orlando West Junior Secondary School. Others say the march was to end at Orlando Stadium; while a third group says the march was to proceed to Booysens, where the regional offices of the Department of Bantu Education were located. There is also a widely held perception that all students in Soweto were part of the march. Others maintain that it was strictly the high schools and junior secondary schools that were to march, and higher primary schools were excluded. Furthermore, it has been maintained that there were schools that did not even want to participate in the march, because the students attending those schools wanted to proceed with their examinations. Another view is that different sections of Soweto

schools were to march on various days, starting on June 16. Even more critical to the debate on whether or not these schools were included is the fact that Afrikaans was imposed at higher primary and junior secondary level, where the people who had to grapple with the frustrations of Afrikaans-only teaching were to be found.

The debates and discussions concerning the trail have raised more questions than they have raised answers. In their discussions, members of the community – including former students and participants in the march; parents who were witnesses to their children who marched; youths who were children then; and even those not yet born by 16 June, 1976 – tend to look at isolated incidents in a given school and then maintain that what turned out to be an uprising, began at their school. For instance, former students of Naledi High[90] argue that it is their school that gave birth to the uprisings; while former students of Morris Isaacson High school, on the other hand argue to the contrary – maintaining that the student leaders, particularly the iconic Tsietsi Mashinini, were drawn from their school. Former Morris Isaacson students have gone to the extent of identifying a classroom that they used for meetings, which they argue should be prominently marked as a highlight of the trail for its historic associations with the planning of the march; and student activism in general. On June 16, 2013 former students of Naledi High School converted a classroom to a school's museum on the June 16, 1976 uprising.

Yet another view is that teachers and parents were fearful of addressing issues that affected students at that time. Therefore, the struggles were left solely in the hands of school children. The role of the Black Consciousness Movement and the role of banned liberation movements (the ANC and PAC) come up for contestation (to be discussed elsewhere); save to mention that university students like Ongopotse Tiro, Lybon Mabasa, Frank Chikane (who had been expelled from university), took up teaching posts at schools like Morris Isaacson, Meadowlands Junior Secondary School and Naledi High School. Furthermore, around 1975, a number of activists from the ranks of the ANC and PAC were released from Robben Island to find brewing student and worker discontent in their communities; and the country in

[90] This line of argument has become a consistent form of counter commemoration. In June 2013 Naledi High School commemorated its 50th anniversary as well as the June 16, 1976 uprising as Enos Ngitshane Day. Enos was a student who was arrested by the police on the 8th of June 1976.

general. Worker militancy saw a number of strikes in Durban at that time (Institute for Industrial Education 1974; Sithole and Ndlovu 2006; Dawson 2001).

It should be noted that during this mapping process, there was an absence of debate or discussion of those issues to which most writers of the uprisings have tended to dedicate their focus. These are described by Sifiso Ndlovu (2008) as "educational issues … structural changes in the economy and society … political changes of grand apartheid; [and the] emergence of youth sub-cultures in Soweto secondary schools in the mid-1970s". Ndlovu goes on further to note that writers on the subject of the uprisings further identify the causal factors as "the transformative role of Black Consciousness ideology and its associated organisations like the South African Student Movement (SASM) … the autonomous actions of junior grades at several schools in Soweto" (ibid.).

Even more critical is the tendency to turn a blind eye on the fact that Afrikaans was imposed at Higher Primary and Junior Secondary level, and thus, the people who began to grapple with the frustrations of Afrikaans-only teaching were often found there. A few voices among former high school students confirm this view. Mofokeng, who was a student at Naledi High School recalls:

> The people who started the movement towards 76 were the junior secondary schools. This is in the sense that…that is where … according to our understanding that is where the system of the time wanted to impose Afrikaans. And somehow, when we were debating, interacting amongst ourselves … because in the debating society you form a kind of community or elite within the school itself. Now when we were interacting, exchanging views and said, gentlemen, we are not [a] target for Afrikaans. We are senior students … we were not using Afrikaans. Naledi High was not targeted by the Department of Education to use Afrikaans. That is why even Jimmy Kruger of the time said, "Naledi High and other high schools are interfering in matters that were not actually affecting them. Because this Afrikaans was not imposed on them." Actually, that was the mobilisation

> on our side. We said: "exactly that's why we are intervening, because that is going to destroy the academic careers of the people", or studies etc. [sic] (Mofokeng, 2004).

Mofokeng notes further:

> Now there was a school known as Thomas Mofolo. It was … it's adjacent or not far from Naledi next to the station there. There was interaction between some very active people like Motapanyane and others who were student leaders of the time. With such schools…and ultimately, we felt that, Thomas Mofolo and other junior secondaries cannot be victimised whilst we are there. And, actually we bought into, into their struggle [sic] (ibid.).

Ramapepe, a former student at Morris Isaacson High School, concurs:

> The issue of Afrikaans like I said … You see at Morris Isaacson it wasn't there. It was English. It was never brought us. Like I said that in some of the schools it was used and there were problems in those schools. Like, for instance, in Orlando [sic] (Ramapepe, 2005).

Indeed, tracing the disturbances caused by the imposition of Afrikaans points to the militant role of junior students. Phefeni Junior Form 1 and Form 2 began to boycott classes as early as May 18, 1976. Their actions were followed by Belle Higher Primary School, which also went on strike, and was subsequently joined by Emthonjeni and Thulasizwe Higher Primary Schools in Orlando East. On May 24, yet more students joined the strike, including those from Pimville Higher Primary School and Khulangolwazi Higher Primary in Diepkloof. On June 1, Senaone Junior Secondary School joined in (Institute of Race Relations, 1977; Mashabela, 1987; and Ndlovu, 1998).

Why High Schools Took a Prominent Role

It is important to look at developments in a number of High Schools, particularly Naledi High School, and Morris Isaacson High School, to understand why these schools ended up playing an overall leadership role in the student struggle leading to the June 16 uprisings. This is well reflected in recollections by various students of their political development within the school environment. Sithembele Khala was a student at Orlando High and became part of the PAC Bethal Secret Trial of 1978, which led to him serving a 10-year sentence on Robben Island. He traces the process of the development of his political consciousness as a high school student thus:

> One would say, the first contact with any sign of political conscientisation actually started in around 73-74 at Orlando High. This was soon after the formation of SASM – the South African Student Movement. Some of the students were obviously more advanced politically, had a better understanding of at least local politics. There were a lot of activities at the time. There was the popular revolt in Mozambique, where the FRELIMO forces were fighting to overthrow the dictatorship of Portuguese colonialism. And there was this general feeling of goodness amongst the South African youth in particular. Black students who identified fully and totally with the struggle of Mozambique. We modelled ourselves around the leaders and heroes of that struggle. The likes of Samora Marchel, Mondlane and the lot.
>
> Quite honestly, the structures of SASM were not as organised as you would have … subscribing members … fully paid members. They took the general approach that they were a student representative structure and therefore were representative of the views and interests of the student body–the mass student body. In that sense, quite a number of people would have identified with the views and the objectives of SASM.

> There were also … that was also the time of the popular movement in America. The Black Panther … shortly after the struggles for emancipation of the Black Americans or the coming into the fore of icons like Malcolm X, Martin Luther King. There was just this general interest in the literature that was coming forward then. Reading about Martin Luther King in particular; because he had a particular influence also … especially in terms of … not so much politics, but forming ideas – as well as identifying with a leader that could articulate the aspirations of his people so eloquently. It was just … yes, the "in thing" to get to read those books. Black Power, and at that time also a number of local leaders and politics, were taking shape in the form of the SASOs of the time – South African Student Organisation.
>
> The broader Black Consciousness Movement organisation under the leadership of Steven Biko and many other leaders –Ongopotse Tiro, Terror Lekota, and many others. There were, I think, in [and] around that time, the popular BPC Trial that involved Steven Biko; around '74 where he was a witness in that case – and of course the interest was just growing amongst the youth and the students [sic] (Khala, 2004).

A former student of Naledi High, Enos Ngutshane mentioned earlier, supports Khala's reflections of the political environment around high schools in Soweto of the time. He reflects on his own experiences at Naledi High School:

> That was brought about by the Student Christian…SCM, the Student Christian Movement. You'll remember that it was established at that time in a number of schools. We had those branches, right. And there were also debating societies within the schools. Those were also important in…, preparing us really for understanding the environment where we lived in to say, "yes, we have a government in this

> country that does not provide, you know, equal services, for example, to all the South Africans."
>
> If you could see the areas where we grew up, those areas were totally underprivileged, right. Eh, all of us were totally exploited. Our parents never had enough to bring us up; they never had enough really to make it a point that all of us had uniform, we had clothes, we had transport to go to school. And those were the issues we used to talk about.
>
> Eh, we also used to talk about African politics, for example. I still remember in Naledi High we had a topic one day in the debating society and the topic was "Is Idi Amin a true leader of Africa?" And we were debating those issues… there was a lot of debate around political issues. Ja, we had discussions, we had debates; we had to understand the environment itself where we came from all of us. And therefore it is that environment that prepared us politically – that politicized us. It was a common trend in a number of schools.
>
> In a number of schools you had SCM, you had the student …What we called the South African Student Movement-SASM. It was a political outfit. In the universities you had SASO (South African Students Organisation) and in the secondary and high schools you had SASM. Most of the schools during that time had all those outfits (Ngutshane, 2005).

Yet another student, Welile Wilson Chief Twala, who at the time of writing was a senior official in the Department of Health, reflects:

> It was in high school I came … Well, there was a cousin of mine who kept on giving me SASO (South African Students Organization) literature, BPC (Black Peoples' Convention) literature. I was an avid reader by that time. I was reading almost everything other than "James Hardly Jones" [Laughs]. My main interest initially was reading James

Hardly Jones… Because it was readable. It was fun and gave me some excitement. And then my cousin, funny enough, he came from eNquthu, and he was giving me these SASO Bulletin things. Actually they were called the SASO Bulletin, and after reading that I came across people like [Steven] Biko. Steve Biko was saying, "black man you are on your own". This meant you have to stand on your own. So I said …[inaudible] especially after I had undergone this whole situation.

And then I started reading … I am telling you I was reading those Bulletins in class like the teacher would be there and I would be passing them [to other students]. They were not even pamphlets. They were about 12 page thing. Ja, it would be a pamphlet written on both sides and was just put together and we called it a newsletter of some sort. I was passing them on to other students.

And then I got involved in the debating team at school. I remember one time when we went to Senoane Junior Secondary and we debated "blah, blah" – it was a school debate. Anyway we won it. And these guys came to us and said, "you guys have a lot to say. And one guy said to me there's this thing called SASM". I asked him what is that? And he said it the South African Students Movement. And went on and on. In the end we were talking about …[inaudible] He said we were talking out of space, out of anger. So I said, "ok, so what?" And he said, "you could form your own [group]".

Then I talked to the other guys in the debating team. You know in the debating team we were all anti-authority. Actually … because it had to start from anti-authority. Anti-authority had to be the teachers, the principals and so on, because they were the ones who were carrying the apartheid mantra on their heads. Once you started to talk about something then they would say, "now you are talking political". And then we would be interested in what is this

> "talking political". Then we went and formed our group – this is the SASM group (Twala, 2005).

Though high school students were more politicised than those in the lower grades, their level of ideological development could be said to have been in its formative years. Their access to political literature was limited to a small body of works – largely about cultural awakening. In addition to their emergent political consciousness the practice of organization was also taking root among high school students in the form of the Student Christian Movement (SCM) and the South African Student Movement (SASM). This pattern was characteristic of most high schools in Soweto. This fact emerges in most testimonies of high school students including schools like Madibane Secondary School and Senaoane Secondary School, as will be shown below. But more important was the fact pointed out by the Institute of Race relations in the publication of their submission to the Cillie Commission that, "it should be borne in mind that although not directly affected by the ruling at present (the imposition of Afrikaans); senior secondary and high schools would eventually be affected as the children at present at higher primary schools progress. In addition, many high school pupils have brothers and sisters in the lower classes, which were affected by the ruling, and sympathised with and wished to support them over this" (Institute of Race Relations 1977: 9). This then, was the ideological background to the march, its immediate consequences, its eventual impact and the later struggles to adequately re-represent it.

Parents: June 16 was their day too

The role of parents is also underplayed in recollections of the build-up to June 16. Harry Mashabela traces the opposition to Afrikaans on the part of parents as early as 20 January, 1976. This did not occur in the schools that are usually referred to as supporting the student mobilisation leading to June 16, but is found in schools that have become obscured in the memory of the uprisings, namely schools that were under the jurisdiction of the Meadowlands Tswana School Board. The Meadowlands School Board was informed by the Circuit Inspector that the medium of instruction shall be changed to a 50-50 basis between English and Afrikaans. This was because the white (predominantly English and Afrikaans speaking) population paid for the taxes that funded black education in urban areas. The decision to impose the 50-50-basis policy was to satisfy these groups. The board rejected the instruction and took

a decision that they reserved the right to choose the language that will be used in their school for each subject. They also choose to have English as a medium of instruction for all schools under the jurisdiction of the Meadowlands Tswana School Board. Subsequently, two members of the Board, Mr Abner Letlape and Mr Joseph Peele were dismissed (Mashabela; 2001,Institute of Race Relations 1977).

The actions of the Meadowlands Tswana School Board were to be followed by other schools. Mashabela further points out that on "24 February, Form 3 students at Thomas Mofolo Secondary School verbally clashed with their principal over the medium of instruction and police were called in; [and on March 14] parents at Donaldson Higher Primary School unanimously rejected the use of Afrikaans as medium of instruction" (ibid.:).

Clearly, the march of June 16 was formulated to protest the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. As was indicated earlier, although the students who were primarily affected by the imposition of Afrikaans (in the late 1970s) primarily attended higher primary schools and junior secondary schools, the highly politicised participants in the protest march were from high schools.

Teachers: the least enviable position

The odds against teachers have been mapped out by one writer who has pointed out that:

> Black teachers are probably in one of the least enviable positions in the black community. Underpaid when compared with white teachers and for the most part inadequately trained, on their shoulders rests the responsibility for making something of the Bantu Education system. In addition to practical problems, such as classroom shortages and the difficulties of maintaining discipline in classes with high pupil-teacher ratios, they are in the invidious position of being agents of a policy which is

> universally detested among their pupils, and no doubt by most teachers as well (Kane-Berman 1978: 124).

The imposition of Afrikaans also affected teachers who would teach in a language in which they were not proficient, as well as parents – particularly those who served in School Board –they were, nonetheless, deliberately left out of the organisation of the march by its student leaders. According to a Departmental Circular issued as far back as 1959, and published in Cillie Commission's Report, it is indicated that the frustrations faced by teachers with regards to the establishment's language policy:

> Because of the backlog of Afrikaans, and especially because of the inability of certain Bantu teachers to use this language as medium, most of the secondary schools have applied for exemption from the requirement during the last three years. This exemption has been granted in most cases.
>
> From 1960, exemption from the use of Afrikaans as medium will not be granted so readily; it will be expected that everything possible will be done to bring Afrikaans to its rightful position as a medium of instruction (Republic of South Africa; 1980:43).

On the 26 of May, 1976, Mr T.W. Kambule a principal of Orlando High School was on record stating that, "there was no doubt that principals and teachers at the striking schools were being intimidated by the circuit inspector, Mr de Beer. Apparently teachers, having been asked whether they could SPEAK Afrikaans, to which they answered, "yes" for fear of losing their jobs, were then told they could therefore "TEACH through the medium of this language" (Institute of Race Relations 1977: 4). Further, Mr Kambule was asked to mediate between striking schools and the Department. It is also on record that, "He attended a meeting between Mr Ackerman and the principals of the schools, and although he (Mr Kambule) knew that the schools did not have staff qualified to use Afrikaans as medium of instruction, when Mr Ackerman put the question to the principals, they all said that they did have the staff, undoubtedly because they were afraid of victimisation" (Ibid.: 4).

This paralysis and fear of authority among many principals and teachers explains the conflict between teachers and students. Earlier on, we mentioned a clash between students and their principal at Thomas Mofolo Junior Secondary School. Another recorded incident was on June 7, when a "Mrs K. Tshabalala, a teacher of Afrikaans at Pimville Higher Primary School, was stabbed with a screw-driver by a student." Subsequently "Students stoned police who came to make an arrest in connection with the stabbing" (Republic of South Africa;1980 :5).

The fear of authority on the part of a large section of teachers explains why plans for the student march and protest was kept a secret to them, given their own frustrations with the language, as well as those of the general adult population. Many ascribe this fear to the paralysis that was induced by the banning of the PAC and the ANC in 1960, following the PAC led Positive Action Campaign Against the pass laws that led to the Sharpeville shootings; and the mass exodus to exile of anti-apartheid activists.

On June 16, students thus took to the streets on their own. As indicated earlier, because of a higher level of political consciousness on the part of high school students, they took on the leadership of the struggle against the imposition of Afrikaans, and over time, began to influence the general political order in South Africa of the time. The oral recollections by diverse high school students map the routes largely from high schools, with junior secondary schools and higher primary schools being picked up along the way. The testimonies given along the route also pass through a built environment including landmarks of the march, and commemorate incidents on the route in the following way:

Oral Testimonies of the March

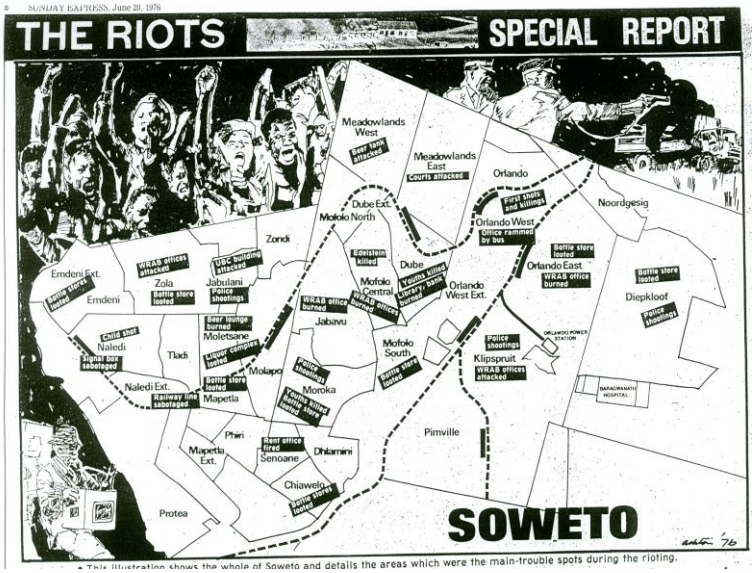


Figure 1. The various routes used by students from different parts of Soweto. The Sunday Express(20 June 1976).

The Naledi route

Most discussion of the student march begins with the experience of the students from Naledi High School. Harry Mashabela, writes: "The bell for morning assembly rang. More students streamed out of the classrooms. They joined groups outside. They produced posters or placards from their clothes. They unfurled them amid intermittent cries: 'Power! Away with Afrikaans! and 'Free Azania! Power!'" (Mashabela 2006: 12). This group of students then marched towards the main gate into Nyakale Street towards Naledi Hall. This route also took them to Thomas Mofolo Junior Secondary School. General Dan Mofokeng, remembers:

> We marched that morning, very energetic and blocking the traffic and everything. Fortunately, that time the fleet of cars … the volume was not high as it is now. We marched from Naledi High to Thomas Mofolo, collecting others. There was also Batswana Junior Secondary around there and others. We were collecting other Junior Secondary Schools, Tladi, Moletsane, right through around Phefeni Station there. We were collecting almost everybody. It was a very huge march … it was very peaceful because nobody got injured, nothing was broken, nothing … actually our

> aim and the aim of the organisers or the student leaders then was to go to Orlando Stadium to discuss about the issue of … of how we can organise ourselves etc. [sic] (Mofokeng, 2004).

Initially, it was thought that the Naledi group would connect with students from Morris Isaacson High School in Jabavu. But that was not to be the case. Ramapepe recalls:

> We met at Morris Isaacson. And we marched from there and connected with others on the road. And the direction was going to Orlando West… Ja, we wearing uniform and we had these posters. We were wearing uniform but, as you know, it was the 16th of June, it was cold, so some were wearing overcoats. Something, apart from the uniform, to protect us against the weather. But we were wearing uniform.
>
> And we marched to … [inaudible] and demanded that the children should go out. Like I say, some teachers didn't know, principals didn't know. And in this particular school I'm talking about the principal – it was a secondary school, as opposed to ours, which is a high school. So wewent there and demanded that he release the children. The march was going to Orlando West – from all angles Naledi and everybody was just moving … [sic] (Ramapepe, 2005).

Testimonies from Morris Isaacson High School pupils suggest that one group went to pick up students from Thesele, Thomas Mofolo and moved on to Moletsane Junior Secondary. Other views, as represented by Ramapepe, recall students going back in the direction of Morris Isaacson and marching through the main road – Phuthi Street. Morobe, who linked up with the group that went through Thesele Junior Secondary School, recounts:

> On the 16th of June I left my home (in Orlando East) for school at 7am and got to school (Morris Isaacson) at about

> 8.15am. On arrival I found out students had already left and I managed to trace them in the direction of Thesele Secondary School. I joined the procession and moved towards White City, and met pupils from neighbouring schools and moved towards Mofolo, the route to Dube. We moved past Dube towards Orlando West and there were no incidents or police interference till we came to Orlando West … students were singing Nkosi Sikelela Africa … we moved along Orlando West High to Phefeni Junior Secondary … and we were joined by others … [sic]
> (Morobe, 1977).

Antoinette Sithole, sister to Hector Pieterson, recalls in an interview reported by Sarah Sandrap:

> At school, the pupils gathered for assembly as they usually did. Suddenly there was a very loud sound. Antoinette thought it might have been an aeroplane passing close by, but as she looked around she could not see any aeroplanes. The noise continued and it all felt very disturbing. Then she spotted a group of pupils from The Morris Isaacson High School making a noise at the gate. Antoinette recognized their school uniforms. The group entered the school, and it was clear to everyone that the assembly could not continue. All the pupils started singing and chanting. Antoinette recalls they among other things were singing: "Senzeni na?" which in Zulu means,"What have we done?" It was now time to demonstrate! One of the pupils from The Morris Isaacson High School told the pupils at Antoinette's school that they were going to march from Jabavu to other high schools and secondary schools to pick up other pupils on their way to Orlando Stadium. The teachers remained behind, overwhelmed with what was going on. There was nothing they could do now to stop the pupils from walking out (Sithole, 2003).

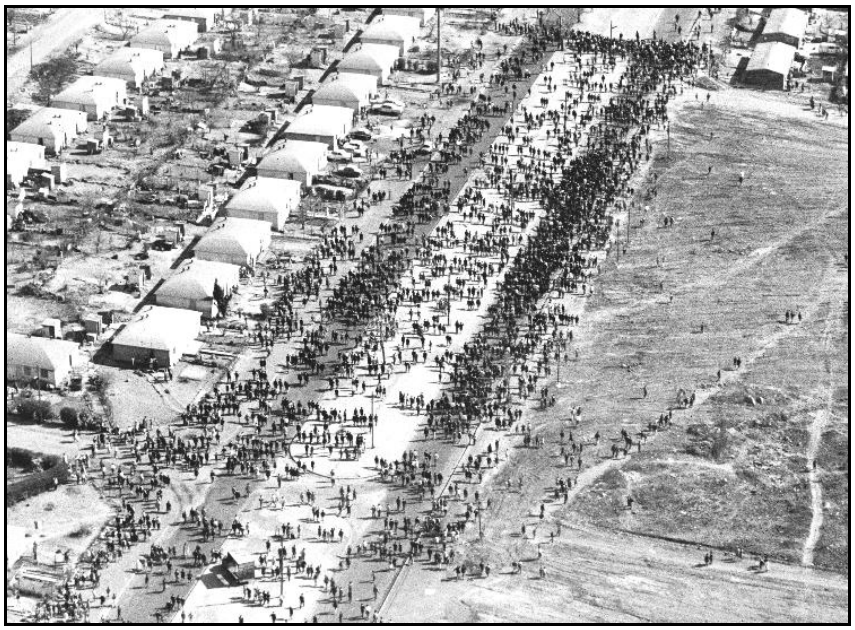
When they left the school, Antoinette recalls:

> … we joined at … Thesele is right down …, do you know the clinic at White City Jabavu, there are schools there in a row, we were there. So we just went there but some of the students were already … that very tar road, at Morris, so we joined down there because that road you can join it down there, after the swinging at the Crossroad. Then we go through Mofolo, at the Salvation Army there, we pass there and we stopped when we reached Motlana's home. We were in Mofolo Park …[sic] (Sithole, 2001).

The group that Antoinette marched with split into two groups, heading in different directions to pick up other students.

> … yes because there were schools that side now. We were collecting, the same group but split into two because the others would collect that way and use the direct route, and the others would use the other route, inside Mofolo Park and Dr Motlana's house. Then we met the other group. We met them when we were about to reach Phefeni school [sic] (ibid.).

The Senaoane/Chiawelo/Dlamini/Rockville route



Chiawelo, Dlamini and Senaoane students marching along Roodeport Road (White City Jabavu and Mofolo South) towards Crossroads on their way to Orlando West.

In Senaone Secondary School the day began in similar ways as in Naledi High School. Dan Montsitsi, a former student leader at Senaoane High School, and now an ANC Member of Parliament and a member of the June 16, 1976 Foundation recalls the following:

> On the 16th we met in my school immediately after the assembly. The teachers were not informed. Only a few teachers knew about this and immediately after the assembly the official prayer meeting in the morning, we took up the rostrum. So I had, together with my colleagues explained the route that we were going to take and once more emphasized the issue of time, because we had to meet at Morris Isaacson and move down together with the Morris Isaacson students and all those (who) were in Naledi and so on (Montsisi, 1996).

The final direction of this group, in Montsisi's recollections, was Orlando West Junior, where they were to pledge solidarity with that school. They also had to pick up students from nearby schools along the way:

> We moved out of our own school, Skanontwana High School…We went to Junior Secondary School. The throng of students remained outside. As the leadership of the students, we went inside the yard, we spoke to the principal and teachers, and explained to them what was happening. They heard that for the first time, but they allowed us to move together with the students. We moved from there to Ngungunyane Secondary School in Chiawelo. Again the same procedure was followed. The students waited outside and then we spoke to the principal, teachers, then we left. And then there was another school as well, Mapita Secondary, we did the same thing…[sic] (ibid.).

Meanwhile, Zweli Sizane, a former student active in SASM, drove by a car with journalists working for the Rand Daily Mail, parked nearby in order to monitor the various groups of students. He followed the various students from schools in Dlamini, Chiawelo and Senaone, whose leaders included Dan Montsisi. In his police statement of August 12, 1976, barely two months after June 16, Sizani, detained under Section 6 (1) of Act 83/1967, recorded:

> We drove to Sekano Ntoane High School, where we … found the students had already left the school, but [we] saw them further down the road in the vicinity of Senaone Junior Secondary School**.** We followed this group up until Potchefstroom Road, where they were joined by students from Ibhongo Junior Secondary School of Dlamini township in Soweto. They then marched towards Chiawelo Junior Secondary School (ibid.).

Dan Montsisi further recalls that:

> …the contingent was gaining its momentum and it was becoming stronger. So already while we were heading towards Morris Isaacson, there were something like four to six thousand students and people in general who were on the march, because those parents were not at work, you know the unemployed and the young people who were out there in the township, actually joined the march [sic] (ibid.).

Montsisi's testimony begins to reveal the complexity of both the march and the day of the 16th of June, 1976. He is probably one of the few who point out that though it was a student march, in the process it drew in unemployed people who probably had no idea of what the demands of students were. They probably joined out of curiosity, attracted by the singing and the placards held high by students. This group, from Montsisi's testimony, was already being followed by the police. However, notes Montsisi, "the march was peaceful. No single stone was thrown up at that moment" (ibid.).

Gandhi Malungani (2006), a former student at Nghungunyane Secondary School, took me on a field trip of the streets he walked through as a student on that day. Their group left their school through Dube Street and passed the Chiawelo Dutch Reformed Church, turning right at Makhanda Street in Dlamini 1. This route led them to Ibhongo Secondary School, where they turned left at Mbolekwa Street and turned right again joining "Old Potch" Road. They walked down "Old Potch" Road and turned left into Koma Road. Opposite the Moroka Police Station in Koma road is situated Nonto Primary School. After collecting the group from Nonto Primary, the route proceeded right at Makhalima Street behind Moroka Police Station to collect students at Ndondo Primary, where the principal refused to release the students.

From Ndondo they proceeded along Vundla Street, passing through the bridge at Thokoza Park and Moroka Dam, and turning left at Radebe Street, to collect students of Hoenley Secondary in Rock Ville. From here they proceeded to Regina

Mundi Roman Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic School, where they found the gates locked. However, in this instance, after negotiating with the principal, the students were let free and, this group now took the Old Roodepoort road, which passes Mphuthi Seet, Mahalefele Road to Orlando West.

Yet another group made its way through Makhado Street and took a left turn at Tshukule Street across Mandiwana Street and turned right at Sibasa Street. This group passed through the Tshiawelo Post Office and turned left at Tshabuse Street and then turned right at Rihlampfu Street. One small section of students went across the mountain and turned left at Mbahe Street where two primary schools, Tshilidzi and Hitekeni are situated. From there the group proceeded and turned right at Mhlaba Drive where Gazankulu primary can be found at the corner of Mhlaba Drive and Mbahe Streets. Unlike other marchers, this group went on to take classes out of more primary schools. They went on into Wisani Street, passing the home of Cyril Ramaphosa, and turned right at Phandamashango Street whereVelandzandivo Primary School is located, and turned right at Tshiendeula Street towards Vuwani Secondary School. At this school, the principal refused to cooperate. This time, the marchers cut open the school fence and let the students out. From here, this group went on to join the group that was now at "Old Potch" Road. At "Old Potch" Road, the groups already assembled there had to split into two, and went on to collect more children from primary schools along the "Old Potch" Road.

Clearly the Senaoane/Chiawelo/Dlamini and Rockville route was circuitous. There was no way they could keep to the envisaged timeline. Students in schools like Morris Isaacson had anxieties as well as excitement and could not have waited for the other throngs of students who were already part of the march.

> When we arrived at Morris Isaacson in White City, it was quite clear that the students had left, that is, all the students had actually moved to Phuti [Street]. So, this other contingent of students was running a little bit late (Montsisi, 1996).

When this group reached Morris Isaacson High School and found it empty, they did not simply proceed with the march in order to catch up with groups ahead; because

they had received news that police had begun shooting at students in Orlando West. How were they to deal with this situation? This question shall be dealt with further on.

The Morris Isaacson route continues

The journey of the Morris Isaacson group that had used the main road has been recounted by Oupa Moloto, now 52 years of age and an active member of the June 16, 1976 Foundation. He recalls:

> I was in the group that went out through the main road. At that time one could not even say what was the name of the street. It's only today when one looks he knows that it is Mphuthi Street ... which ... is the route we used. We went down singing and other kids joined [in]. I remember when we were passing next to the offices of Dr Edelstein … actually he was waving at the students. We went down to Roodepoort Road. Then we marched, we passed Sizwe Stores … we came to … the next street before Eyethu Cinema … we turned and moved down towards Mofolo. When we were going towards the bridge of Mofolo, Tsietsi appeared. They were driving in a journalist's car. He climbed on top of the bridge. He addressed the students, [telling them] that they should not move fast because … they were leaving other students behind. The students who were coming from Sekano Ntoane, the students coming from Naledi High were lagging behind … Actually, we stood for some time there singing, trying to while away [the] time. The students were becoming restless and Tsietsi realised that. So he allowed the march to continue [sic] (Moloto, 2006).

Vuyo Mntuyedwa, then a 9-year-old student at Mzamo, and now a journalist has also written about his recollections of the march. His narrative notes the signposts that the students passed on their way. He writes:

> Mahalefele Road, probably the longest piece of tar that cuts across many of the townships that make up what is now called Soweto (South Western Townships), was teeming with schoolchildren. They were singing a song – Senzeni na, Senzeni na, amabhunu ayizinja (what have we done, the Boers are dogs) … dressed in blue tunics and carrying placards, girls from the Morris Isaacson High School in Jabavu were joined by pupils from various other schools around the townships. Some of the placards said: "Down With Apartheid," "Black Power" and "Away with Afrikaans"… The march stretched from the Mahon Mission Church in Dube all the way to what was once the Mofolo golf course, which was turned into Mshenguville squatter camp in the early 1980s … Until recently I had not taken notice of the fact that the street in which Mzamo is situated is called Sisulu Street, after the late ANC veteran whose home is also in this street. The Holy Cross Church, where Nobel Laureate, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, used to preach against the evils of apartheid, is also nearby … I was sitting at the back of the class and next to a window and I could see Phefeni Station clearly from that vantage point … (Mntuyedwa, 2004).

The assertion that the march was destined for Phefeni Junior emerges in a number of oral testimonies, where it took a more symbolic representation of simmering student grievances. Ramapape recalls that:

> In Orlando West I know very well that they used Afrikaans because when we were marching, we were marching towards Orlando West where there was this student at the time, Seth Mazibuko. Ja, they used to enforce it in that school. So our aim was to go there and chant [sic] (Ramapepe, 2005).

Majakathata Mokoena, a former student of Orlando High School, shares

Ramapepe's view:

> Clad in full uniform to allay fears that people other than students were involved in the planning of the march, all demonstrating students were to congregate at Orlando West Junior High School – Mazibuko's school – for a show of solidarity. A rally would then take place where a resolution – more an ultimatum – would be released for the authorities to ponder, while we all went on a stay away strike leading into the weekend (Mokoena, 2006).

Mofokeng is among those who say the march was to end at Orlando Stadium. He recalls:

> Our aim and the aim of the organisers or the student leaders then was to go to Orlando Stadium to discuss the issue of … how to organise ourselves ... (Mofokeng, 2004).

Mntuyedwa, in a newspaper article quoted above, writes:

> … pupils from all over Soweto were planning to march to the Department of Education offices in New Canada to lodge their disapproval of the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools (Mntuyedwa, 2004).

Dogs, teargas and bullets

From the point of view of students and many commentators, the student march was peaceful, until the police intervened with dogs, teargas and bullets. A contrary view emerges from other writers. This intervention by police probably on the group assembled in Orlando West led to the killing of students and the subsequent retaliation that, in turn, became a series of uprisings. Joe Thloloe writing for Drum, July 1976 observed that:

> Marching kids, in a mood common to school kids the world over – happy that they were not in class – good naturedly protesting against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction (Thloloe, 1976).

Vuyo Mtuyedwa, writing from the point of view of a young witness, recalls:

> There was something electrical about that crowd, chanting and stomping. A feature of the march was the number of girls in the frontline, wearing tunics and singing their hearts out, with placards held high (Mntuyedwa, 2004).

Thloloe's earlier observation is supported by various participants who marched that day, amongst them Ramapepe, who says:

> If they could have just left us alone we would have chanted and chanted and got tired, and gone back home at the end of the day (Ramapepe, 2005).

Mofokeng also concurs: "It was a very huge march…it was very peaceful because nobody got injured, nothing was broken, nothing …" (Mofokeng, 2004).

Majakathatha Mokoena recalls the state of affairs in other parts of Orlando. Before recounting Mokoena's testimony, it is important to point out that there is a dominant view that students from this school did not march, as they were preoccupied with examinations. Zweli Sizani (1976), while driving with the two journalists from the Rand Daily Mail notes that "…we went to Orlando High where we found that students were in class writing their half-yearly examinations". Mokoena does not acknowledge in his testimony that there were exams at his school, but writes that he was able to sneak out of the school with a small group:

> That morning of June 16 came surely as it was anticipated. In my school bag I had two small placards. One was written "No SBs (Special Branch). Enter at Own Risk", the other "Away with Afrikaans". My intention was to unobtrusively

> affix them to the main gate of the school, and have the incoming students see them as they filed into the school…From the vantage point of my school, I could see the Orlando North Junior High School procession, and I was getting desperate to move on. We met up with the Orlando North Junior students at a bridge leading towards Uncle Tom's Hall (Mokoena, 2006).

The build-up of the march towards Orlando West, where it is estimated that about 10, 000 students had assembled, has elicited divergent views as to what was the exact time at which the conflict broke out between students and police. Divergent views of the timeline will be touched on later in the discussion concerning the first victim of the events of June 16, and how this issue is dealt with in the trail exhibit. Mntuyedwa recalls that things went awry at about 8 am, but his memory may have failed him here. Most students had left the school assembly at around 8 am. A journalist writing for *The Star* (15 June, 1996) maintains, "By 6am thousands of pupils had gathered on Vilakazi Street outside Phefeni Junior School" (The Star, 1996). Another witness (a photographer) recalls that, "I arrived at Orlando West about 11am" (Khumalo, 1976).

The mood of the students had not changed from what had been noted earlier. It was consistently characterised by a festive mood. People who live around Vilakazi Street (where a big group gathered as others were still on the way) confirm this state of affairs. City Press (11 June, 2006) reports that:

> On that historic peaceful march that later turned violent, the school children sang with passion, every word touching the soul. The songs gave them hope – singing was the only way they could express themselves (Mapiloko, 2006).

The article also records the views of some witnesses of this festive mood on the part of the students:

> Catherine Vilakazi (65), who lived on the corner of Vilakazi and Moema streets [...] says the first thing that comes to mind when she recalls June 16 is the music. "I remember

> telling my neighbour that if I was not feeling sick that day, I would have joined them in song. I have never heard such beautiful music in my life" (ibid.).

However, the day then ended tragically, with students shot and many killed. What led to the shooting? Journalist Nat Serache wrote in the *Rand Daily Mail* (17 June 1976) that:

> A contingent of police, most of them Black, stood a little away facing the demonstrators. A White police officer picked up what seemed a stone and threw it into the crowd. Some students started picking up stones. As the shot rang out the demonstrators scattered in all directions. Some ran on to a hill behind the school while others fled into side streets. Yet others remained standing … A Black police sergeant was still explaining to a group of parents: "There will be no shooting. These children are not fighting anybody, they don't want Afrikaans", when a police officer opened fire. I saw two boys who were shot in the legs. They were helped into taxis. As the police retreated over the Orlando bridge, the children regrouped, but they turned their anger on White and Black policemen (Serache, 1976).

Mokoena, quoted earlier, gives a different view on how conflict between the students and police broke out and led to police opening fire on unarmed students. He writes:

> …a student came rushing to us saying that there was trouble with the police. By the time we got to the corner of Vilakazi and Moema streets, the police had been throwing small teargas canisters at students, who retaliated by throwing stones; the police released a dog into the crowd. The dog was stoned and stabbed to death by the angry students, and dragged in full view of the police and set alight. It was at that moment that live shots rang out (Mokoena, 2006).

Another youth met his death either before Hector Pieterson or shortly afterwards, although Pieterson is widely believed to have been the first young victim of June 16. Whilst Hector's death was captured in a photograph that would memorialize him as a symbol of youth resistance, the other victim's last moments would later be recalled by a physician who treated him at Baragwanath Hospital. This was 17-year-old Hastings Ndlovu, a student who actually led a group that was marching towards Orlando East. Hastings' father, Elliot Ndlovu, a school principal in one of the affected schools in Orlando East, maintained that his son, a secondary school student in Orlando North, did not attend school that day. Leaving his home, Hastings joined fellow students at the nearby Vilakazi Street and marched down the road with a group of students towards Khumalo Street, to their intended destination. With Ndlovu leading the group, the students went past both the Orlando West High and Orlando West Junior Secondary schools; past Nelson Mandela's and Bishop Desmond Tutu's houses down Vilakazi street to the corner of Vilakazi and Khumalo Streets; and continued marching towards the bridge in Khumalo Street, where they met police from the Orlando Police Station led by Colonel Kleingeld. There, at point blank range, Ndlovu was shot. Elliot Ndlovu recalled:

> During June 16, 1976 I woke up as usual. I did not know anything, these kids were too secretive. We were using some of the facilities at Emthonjeni School across the road, because my school did not have a photocopy machine and I was also the Maths teacher. I know for a fact that children at Emthonjeni were going to write their half yearly mathematics exams in English, but my students were going to write in Afrikaans. When we were at Emthonjeni I could see there was trouble in Orlando West, some children are coming this side, some movements. I said to one chap, Shabangu, who was a principal at Zifuneleni, "Man do you see this trouble?" We were going to write our last subject, mathematics, I said "This is rubbish"; we left, we said there is trouble in Orlando West.
>
> We closed and went to Diepkloof – we went for a drink there until late, drinking and discussing … my former school. Belle had joined the class boycotts (before June 16).

> I was there (in Diepkloof) until late. I came back home here as usual I thought of where my son is. But already I said to myself – this chap leaves first for work, that is my other son, Leslie, then he (Hastings) goes to school, then I am the last to leave. But that day (June 16) this chap (Hastings) is still around, has not left for school in Mzimhlophe. I ask him why he has not left for school already. He said, 'No, Papa, I will be moving out just now', then I left him (Ndlovu, 2001).

It is legendary now that at Orlando West, the 13-year-old Hector Pieterson had marched in the same procession as his sister. Many questions have been asked as to how, exactly, it happened that he was there. Many students at higher primary schools took part in the march either out of curiosity, or as a consequence of their joining the demonstrators, who had roused them from their classrooms (it was by chance that their schools happened to be on the protest route); as well as the fact that a number of higher primary schools were also affected by the imposition of Afrikaans. So, how did Hector meet his death? His sister recalls:

> Hector was in the primary. I think it was just curiosity, because I had to ask after, how did the children get involved; because we were targeting high schools and secondary schools… So, Hector joined me because he saw the uniforms of the schools. My uncle is there, my sister is there why can I not join, something like that…So…as we travelled along the road, there were so many small children, it was amazing…When we reached Phefeni High School, we were hanging around because we were told we are waiting for other groups to come.
>
> As we were hanging around, the school was already full. So we hung around the nearby houses, you can see the street was like a T, I just hung around on the left hand side, a corner house there and we were chatting and waiting…
>
> As we reached Phefeni there were a lot of police, police cars and with dogs also… I think everybody tried his/her best to keep calm. As we were waiting, I heard a shot, but then

you couldn't identify a gun shot and a tear gas shot…we ran amok and dispersed and hid ourselves in nearby houses…and as I was at the pavement, wondering what's going on. As I was wondering, looking East, West…then I saw my brother on the opposite pavement and it looked as if he was from hiding…I was shocked but I said to myself "what can one do?" …I waved, I got no response; then I said "Hector."

He heard me and he came to me and I said to him "what do you want here?" He was a very shy person, he just smiled and I said to him "you stop smiling and stay right here next to me because I don't understand what's going on now."

So as we were standing there…there was another shot… This was for the second time, we went into hiding and all those speeding cars, police cars, dogs were barking – we could hear that, but as soon as there's no sound we would come out from hiding…then I looked around…thinking maybe he's still hiding…he's still frightened…

While I was there, I could see a group of boys, about 3 or 4, at a distance…They were struggling and other students who were hanging around on the pavement were going to that scene. I was next to the school but there's a street going down there to the circle, so those boys were coming from that direction. I could see that the students were struggling.

I want to go there but I don't know how, because I'm thinking of Hector that he might look for me and not find me. I decided to go and ask what was going on, I didn't realise that they were coming towards me…

As they came closer, the gentleman who held Hector, whom I knew later that is Mbuyisa; maybe because of confusion, I thought he came from nowhere, I could see him, putting his hands into the student's hands and as he lifted I could see it's a body, and as he lifted higher the first thing that I saw was the front part of Hector shoe. Then I said "those shoes

> belong to Hector", I just said that and I just went to the scene, Mbuyisa was already running" [sic](Sithole, 2001).

Earlier, a quote included from Elliot Ndlovu reflected on the strange behaviour of his son, Hastings. Little did Elliot Ndlovu know that as he left home for the school where he worked as principal, his son would meet his tragic death. The physician who attended to him at Baragwanath Hospital, (now Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital), has written:

> I was a medical officer in the Casualty Department of Baragwanath Hospital; a 2731 bed hospital with 620 doctors serving a population of almost two million patients in the sprawling black townships known as Soweto. At approximately 10 am, as was the custom, I retired to our break room for a welcome respite from attending to the morning rush of patients. My colleagues had excused themselves earlier to attend to personal business in other parts of the hospital. Alone in the break room, I poured myself a steaming cup of tea, and sat down. A few moments later, my reverie was disturbed by a nursing sister from the casualty department, who charged into the room, a look of utter distress on her face.
>
> "Doctor, come quick," she blurted, "there has been a disaster!"
>
> "What happened?" I asked, as thoughts of possible disaster scenarios flashed through my mind. Had there been a bus accident? The morning rush hour was over, so how may victims could there be?
>
> Too distressed to reply, the nursing sister rushed out of the room. I followed her, and was met by a grisly scene: a rush of orderlies wheeling stretchers bearing the bodies of bloodied schoolchildren into the resuscitation room. All had the red "Urgent Direct" stickers stuck to their foreheads that allowed them to bypass queues and admission procedures.

> "Schoolchildren?" I thought incredulously. "How could they have been injured? A school bus accident? But they would be in school at this time." I struggled to make sense of the situation as I rushed in after the victims.
>
> I stared in horror at the stretcher bearing the body of a young boy in a neat school uniform, a bullet wound to one side of his head, blood and brains spilling out of a large exit wound on the other side, the gurgle of death in his throat. Only later would I learn his name: Hastings Ndlovu.
>
> "Children with bullet wounds?" I thought. "But how? And by whom? A robbery? By school kids? In the middle of the day? Where would the guns come from? Blacks in South Africa are prohibited from owning guns."
>
> "They were shot by the police," someone declared.
>
> (Klein: 2006)

Hasting had been marching towards the eastern parts of the township of Orlando, but was stopped by the police on the bridge at Vilakazi Street. Shot by Colonel Kleingeld, who later claimed that Hastings was "inciting the crowd" (Cillie Commission Volume 2), the killing of Hector Pieterson and Hastings turned a peaceful demonstration, into something violent. Many marchers, including those from Senaone/Chiawelo/Dlamini and Rockville, were still negotiating their way to Orlando West. News of the shootings, particularly the killing of Hector Pieterson, reached them as they arrived in Mofolo Township not far from the Mofolo Park. According to one woman victim, "Poppy" Buthelezi, who was later shot by the police (damaging her spine and leaving her permanently disabled):

> When we arrived at Morris Isaacs (sic) School, we found that they had already left the school and they left us behind. The others were at Orlando. When we were about to arrive at Mofolo Park, they stopped us and they gave us the news that there is a child who has been injured and his name was Hector Pieterson (Buthelezi, 1996).

The Orlando North route

Students from Orlando North Secondary marched on the north-eastern part of Soweto. They marched down to Orlando West and were joined by students from Selelekela. According to Mosegami, as these students were marching towards the west, there was "no trace of preparation for demonstrations" (Mosala 2007: 185) at Orlando High School. This contradicts former Orlando High School student Majakathatha Mokoena. His views quoted earlier are that he led a small group from this school after spotting the Orlando North Group. Mosegomi also argues that it was this group that was spotted by the police, who were surveilling the march following a tip off, late in the evening of the 15 of June (ibid.: 185). Mosegomi's views on police movements is in contradiction with that of the police, as reported in the Cillie Commission.

The Orlando Police route

How did the police reach the point where students had gathered? According to the Cillie Commission, the police received information about the March as early as 7.50am. This information was passed on to the divisional commissioner Brigadier S.W. Le Roux. He then ordered six station commanders to send out patrols. At about 8.10am., Colonel J.J. Gerber, a divisional inspector for Soweto, left for Naledi to investigate conditions in the area. He came across a number of students marching in the streets and immediately reported what he had seen to Brigadier le Roux. The latter rushed to Jabulani Police Station, only to find that there were too few policemen to disperse to the scene of the march.

In the meantime, students from Naledi High School, Thomas Mofolo Secondary School, Morris Isaacson High School and Thesele Junior Secondary School, were now joined by those from Tladi, Moletsane and Molapo Secondary School, gathering first at Sizwe Stores and then marching through Dube. Colonel Kleingeld, who was at Orlando Police Station at the time, requested reinforcements, and issued revolvers and pistols to the officers. He was able to amass a force of 48 policemen, who left with him from Orlando Police Station, travelling past the Orlando Stadium in Orlando East to Uncle Tom's Hall in Khumalo Street, Orlando West. Colonel

Kleingeld and his men had their first conflict with students around Uncle Tom's Hall. They used teargas to disperse the students. A dog unit also joined the police.

It is not clear when the police moved from Khumalo Street to Vilakazi Street, where a greater number of students had congregated. However, it would seem to have been after Hastings Ndlovu had been shot. Among the schools that were now assembled in Vilakazi Street were Orlando North Junior Secondary School, Empangeni (sic) Higher Primary School and Themba Sizwe Higher Primary School.[91]

The Commission records the following:

> Colonel Kleingeld pointed out where he had come into Vilakazi Street, where he had stopped his vehicle, and where he had eventually passed down Vilakazi Street through the crowd and into Khumalo Street at the bottom of Vilakazi, where the police eventually congregated. It is at this particular point where Mrs Carruthers and her friends, as well as two injured men in a lorry, reached police protection. This is also a point where a witness, Mr Rees, travelled on the morning in question, and he also pointed out some of the places, which deal with his evidence in this regard (Rand Daily Mail, 1980).

The killing of Hector Pieterson does not emerge clearly in the records of the police or the Commission. However, it was confirmed that he was killed within the vicinity of the space where students had gathered. It is not clear what time his killing occurred, and the Commission did not find records of his admission to the Phomolong Clinic, where he was certified dead. The Commission points out the following:

91The police route has been constructed from the records of the commission of inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and Elsewhere from the 16th of June to the 28th of February, 1977. (Government of the Republic of South Africa) Available at UNISA Library and the Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum Archive.

> At the Phomolong Clinic, investigations were made as to the availability of any evidence, preferably an entry in the records, either of the admission or the arrival of Pieterson. The fact of the taking of his body to the clinic has been testified to, but there is not sufficient evidence about the possible time of the day when this happened (ibid.).

Hector's killing undoubtedly sparked anger and rage among the students. This anger led to the attack and killing of the West Rand Administration Board employee, J.N.B Esterhuizen at Sisulu Street, a stone's throw from Phomolong Clinic. Hamilton Mntambo, a former municipal policeman who had been with Esterhuizen until a few minutes before he was killed, and at the time of writing working as a driver for the Johannesburg Art Gallery recounts:

> Mina ngingu Hamilton wakwa Mntambo … Ngo June ngangisebenza e 80 Albert Street. Kwakunalento abathi I influx control. For izinto zama pasi. Ukuthi abantu bavunyelwe egoli … abavunyelwanga egoli. Uregistile awuregistanga. Izinto ezinjalo. Ngang'sebenza njengephoyisa laka masipala ngaleso sikhathi. Ngabe sengithathwa sekuthiwa ngihambe ngiyosebenza nabanye abelungu okuthiwa ama inspector. Umsebenzi wethu ke lapho kwaku ukuphuma njalo ekuseni ngabo 8 siyaphuma siye ema femini la khona la emajaridini abelungu sibheke abantu abanga registanga. Ngoba ngalesosikhathi kwakufanele ukuthi mawusebenza urejitwe. Owesibili umsebenzi ebesiwenza kwaku ukubheka indawo la abantu, kakhulu laba abenza imbamba … ezinkomponi … Zazingafuneki lezondawo la emadolobheni ngalezozikhathi. Kwakufanele siqoqe bonke labobantu.
>
> Sibathathe sibase e Soweto. E Soweto kwakune kliniki lapha e Moroka ezansi kwe police station esasibasa khona. Esibona ukuthi sebenezilonda sasibasa kuleyo kliniki. Kunodokotela obeza once a week azobachecha. Labo

okungathi bayaphila babethathwa basiwe emapolice station boboshwa lapho ukuthi abanamapasi. Bayochajwa. Abanye ngalesosikhathi, kwakuye kwenzeke ukuthi kuthiwe, hayi asibathatheni soyobalahla kude. Ukuze bangakhoni ukubuya edrobeni. Sibheke le kulomgwaqo obheke e Vereneging, emaplazini. Le kude. Sifike sibadilize lapho sibashiye. Kuthiwe kwezelwa ukuthi bangakhoni ukubuya beze la edolobheni.

Ngalelilanga le June 16, sasiye eLenz. Ngawo umsebenzi ofana na lo. Sahamba sayofika e Lenz. Masifika e Lenz … ayi sajikajika nje … asizange sithathe muntu … kuthe ngezikhathi zabo … kwaku something to 2 … twenty to two … wathi u Mr Esterhuizen esasisebenza naye ngalelolanga … wathi no asbuyele emuva, sishayiseni. Alright sabe sesi … wabuza ukuthi sihlalaphi? Sabe sesimtshela ukuthi sihlala la e Soweto. Wabesethi kuphi ne Soweto? Samtshela. Wasethi o.k. ngoba yena akayazi indlela yase Soweto sizomlayela la sihlala khona.

Sabe sesingena naye kanjalo ke e Soweto. Seza njalo naye sozokhuphuka la e Dube ngase Vocational. Sakhuphuka sajika ngakwaDubaduba ezitolo lapho. Masifika lapha ngasegaraji…kunegaraji elapha i BP Garage la ngaka Maponya emarobothini…mawuqeda ukucrossa amarobothi nje lapho. Sasithi no akasehlise. Ngoba naku la esasihlala khona. Sasihlala e Dube thina. Sasihlala e Dube Hostel. Akasehlise ngoba nayi I hostel. Wabe eseyasehlisa lapho. Mayeqeda ukusehlisa lapho wabesethatha imoto esehamba. Sezwa thina umsindo sesingaphandle emotweni. Kunomsindo kodwa singaboni ngaphansi la esteshini e Phefeni ukuthi kwenzekani. Asibonanga ukuthi kwenzekani lapho. Wabe eseshona khona yena ngoba indlela yayiya khona. Wehlela khona ngase Dube e Phefeni estation. Umehla sithi hayi umsindo. Umsindo umningi

lapho…wewu…wewu … wewu. Singazi thina ukuthi yini eyayiqhubeka khona lapho. Sithe sibona … sabona sekushunqa inthuthu emnyama. Samangala ukuthi kwenzekani manje. Sabuyela emuva. Before singene e hostela siyolunguza ukuthi no man kukhona okwenzekayo. Masithi, saqhamuka imoto le esiphuma kuyo seyisha. Lo Mlungu lo sebemdonsele ngaphandle … Bamshaya ngamatshe ke lapho. Imoto yayisize ya yagunquka yalala eceleni komgwaqo. Ngalesosikhathi sasingeke sisasondela ke nathi …

I am Hamilton, son of Mntambo. I was working at 80 Albert Street at the time when influx control was still in place. I was working as a municipal police. I used to work under the supervision of inspectors. Every morning at about 8am we would go to various industrial complexes and the backyards of white people's homes looking for unregistered workers. We would also raid hostels where illegal homemade beer was being brewed.

We used to round up all these people, take them to Moroka Clinic in Soweto for medical check up. The doctor used to be available once a week. The doctor would inspect them and those who were in good health would be arrested for failing to produce passes. Others we would go and dump them in far away places so that they cannot be able to return to the city.

On June 16, we had gone to Lenasia, we did not pick up anyone. It was around twenty to two and Mr Esterhuizen, who was working with us on that day, suggested that we knock off. He then asked us where we stayed. And we said, in Soweto. He drove us to Soweto.

We entered through Dube passing vocational. We went up and turned at Dabaduba. When we reached the BP garage not far from Maponya, we alighted. We were staying at Dube hostel. Shortly after he left we heard noise, but we

> could not see down there next to Phefeni Station. He drove towards that direction. And the noise became louder. Not very long afterwards we saw smoke coming from there. We said to ourselves, "there is something happening there."
> As we were coming closer we realized that the car that dropped us a few minutes ago, was on fire. The White man who was driving had been pulled out… pelted with stones and the car had also been overturned [sic] (Mntambo, 2006).

Mofolo

Back in Mofolo, the group of angry students from Senaone, Chiawelo, and Rockville had got to hear of the shooting of Hector Pieterson in Orlando West Township from students returning from the scene.

> Now we have two contingents of students, those who were angry who were not yet shot at, who wanted to meet the police head-on, and those who were injured, some of whom were limping, some of whom were bleeding, who were now merged together going back to Morris Isaacson (Montsisi, 1996).

From Montsisi' narrative we learn that this group met a green municipal car driven by a White man. This group turned violent at that point, and attacked him; pelted him with stones and even stabbed him several times. There is no information to suggest that the fate of this municipal employee was the same as that of Esterhuizen's. It is not known what happened to him. The angry group proceeded on their way back to Morris Isaacson, destroying anything that was a symbol of government. It is probably this group that killed Dr Edelstein.

> Now we moved and as we passed the Municipal office the students remembered that there was a White man when they passed at the door of the office. Now unfortunately,

> this was Dr Edelstein and the students went for him [sic] (ibid.).

Orlando East

This leads us to ask what was the state of affairs in Orlando East stretching to Diepkloof? Did the students in those areas march? Were they part of plans to march on June 16? Again, the views are not homogenous, but diverse. A former Form 1 student at Lofentse Junior Secondary School at the time of the uprisings, Pascal Moloi, who later became City Manager for the City of Johannesburg, recalls:

> … 76 came for me personally as a surprise. It was a complete surprise, unexpected. I did not know what was happening. I guess our older brothers across the veld in Orlando High knew something. The secondary schools, at least east of Soweto … I think that morning was a quiet morning … including Orlando High, Thesele, Madibane and all that. The east of Soweto as far as I recall was very quiet that morning. So much so, that things were so normal that we wrote those tests, half yearly tests, completed them and even went out for lunch [sic] (Moloi, 2006).

Further, recalled Moloi:

> I had a group of friends that a … you know it was difficult to go out for lunch. All the schools around Orlando go out for lunch at the same time. So the queues ko Sazanani, ko (inaudible)…the lot. We had to go much further up towards now Kopane…the semi circle to get service quickly, within the one hour lunch period. If you understand Orlando that was almost like going up the hill. We bought. And its only when I turned around after buying probably magwinya le white liver, that I turned around and saw that the rest of Soweto was on fire … helicopters … I think teargas

> canisters were being thrown from helicopters and we didn't understand those to be teargas canisters…hey..we thought ke di bombs [sic] (ibid.).

Diepkloof

Another voice, this time from the east of Soweto, recalls developments in the east slightly differently. According to Steve Lebelo, a former student at Madibane High School, whose brother was killed on June 17, schools in Diepkloof were active from the days of the founding of the South African Student Movement. Lebelo's argument is supported by the fact that, as in Phefeni Junior in Orlando West, Khulangolwazi Higher Primary School in Diepkloof had joined in class boycotts sparked by the introduction of Afrikaans. Steve Lebelo, writing on the experiences of Madibane High School notes:

> SASM at Madibane High School held weekly meetings where students were informed about the movement's programme … As early as 1974, Madibane High School had a very strong representation in SASM. Two of Madibane High School's prominent representatives in SASM up to the end of 1974 were Basil Lenkoe and Max Lebelo … At Madibane High School students were notified of the march as early 14th June, 1976. From the morning assembly on 16 June, 1976, Madibane High School students did not march into their classrooms. Instead, they headed to the center of the township, having been joined by students from nearby Namedi Junior Secondary School. Both groups of students marched along Immink Drive towards the Diepkloof Sports Grounds. Here they were scheduled to meet with students from Bopa Senatla [then known as] Junior Secondary School, and together march down Masopha Street towards Orlando Stadium …By the time the marching students reached the Sports Ground Area, they had been joined by hundreds in the township. News of developments in

> Orlando West reached Diepkloof, even before students could start the march down Masopha Street to Orlando Stadium. Because Diepkloof had Council Police Headquarters located next to the Sports Ground where students converged, they responded quickly to the threat, dismissing students with teargas (Lebello, 2008).

As a 10- year- old pupil at Vulamazibuko Higher Primary School in Diepkloof, I recall the march by students from Junior Secondary School, now called Bopasenatla High School, who took us out of classes and marched along Immink Drive to meet groups from Madibane High School opposite the sports grounds in Diepkloof. Elsewhere I have written:

> On that Wednesday of June 16, we went to school like on any other normal day. As a 10-year old, I was not affected by the introduction of Afrikaans. I would not have even known that it was an issue, if it was not for my sister Lindiwe, who was at Junior Secondary School … We were in class on that Wednesday and saw through the windows throngs of students from Junior Secondary School running towards our school. In the midst of that confusion we left our classes and took to the streets. Things had already gone wrong in other parts of Soweto. As we walked up the street … there were shouts of "Black Power", "Away with Afrikaans". Cars passing by would hoot, and drivers would show through the windows their clenched fists and shout "Black Power" (Hlongwane: 2006).

A teacher at the Junior Secondary School (Bopasenatla High School), Patience Mchunu, who was then new to the teaching profession, recalls a different day from that described by Lebelo and myself. In her memory:

> ... We came to school as normal that day. We knew nothing until after school. We realised after school when I came

> back in[to] Orlando West … why are there so many police around here? It was round about three o'clock or so. But here in Diepkloof it started later, when the issue had already taken place in other areas [sic] (Mchunu, 2006).

The teacher's memory may be failing her here. Police records of the uprisings and testimonies of former students vindicate Lebelo's argument that Diepkloof schools were represented in the meeting of June 13, that they gathered next to the sports grounds and by noon on June 16 most government buildings in Zone 1, 2, and 3 were up in flames (South Africa, 1980). Namedi Junior Secondary, whose students were at the time temporarily accommodated in a nearby school whilst their own was being built, joined the Madibane group, when they left the school in the morning and headed for the centre of Diepkloof (ibid.).

Meadowlands

A former teacher from Kelekitso Secondary School in Meadowlands remembers that in his school, students went to class that day as they would on any other and even took part in the day's sporting activities. On the other hand, Papi, a former student from Meadowlands and now a teacher, disputes these views and recalls that Meadowlands High School, which had also sent a representative to the DOCC meeting of June 13, took a decision to burn Afrikaans books on June 14. And on June 16 they participated in the march.[92]

According to the Cillie Commission, at about 5.30pm on June 16 the Orlando West-Meadowlands intersection was in upheaval from a crowd of some 5000 to 6000. However, the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) offices situated behind the Meadowlands Police Station were only set on fire the next day, on June 17 (Commission of Iquiry, 1980).

Conclusion

[92] Notes taken during a panel discussion with Sifiso Ndlovu, Ali Hlongwane, Antoinette Sithole, Steve Lebelo and Mike Figo Madlala. *Wits University History Workshop*, July 2006.

In order to try to retrace the routes that were followed by the marching students on June 16, 1976, in this chapter I have drawn on existing maps of student and police routes, oral testimonies of students and teachers, as well as police records and newspaper articles. The chapter shows how, as a result of the police shooting dead several of the children, many students did not reach their intended destination. The chapter looks at how the process of re-imagining the student routes brings to the fore multiple interpretations of the causes of what later became broader, national uprisings; it considered the level of political consciousness and involvement among students, and the role of teachers and parents, as well as the influence of the then-banned liberation movements.

The main areas of dispute and contestation focus on which aspects of the march were planned, and which were spontaneous, as students spilled out into the streets. Given the mass character of the march, it becomes clear that leadership was fluid and that each crisis catapulted an individual into a leadership position. While acknowledging the historic role of individuals during the unfolding protest march, it makes sense to memorialise the march as the expression of the student body, rather than emphasising leadership, however heroic.

Another area of contestation is whether the march was peaceful until the police intervened by killing unarmed students. Students recollections emphasise the peaceful nature of the march, whilst the police justify their actions by alleging that the march was threatening, and violence inevitable.

Contestation in this context points to the need to understand oral history as inherently contradictory – that is, as both characterised by the potential to have "inclusive ramifications",[93] and as a vehicle to create space for engagement. Clearly, such manner of intangible heritage enables the participants of a particular experience to engage in dialogue and contestation of their experiences and history. Further, it can harness "collective ownership"[94] and thereby avoid the tendency to privilege a univocal reading. Luvuyo Mthimkhulu Dondolo (2000) notes that, "In a country

[93] I am indebted to Cynthia Kros for this concept. See Report by Facilitator on National Heritage Workshop (Department of Education) held at Constitution Hill, 24 May, 2006.

[94] ibid.

where there were many liberation movements, the production of the post-apartheid memorial landscape becomes problematic when it is not inclusive and promotes one political organisation at the expense of others."

Indeed, because oral history is socially constructed, it can be used to shape recollections of the past from a narrow outlook. In this context, collective memory can be appropriated and manipulated in relation to partisan associational links.

However, from within this context of contestation and ongoing debate, there emerges a rich legacy of memories and stories about a generation who, to this day, prefer to refer to themselves as the "class of 76". A pamphlet issued by the Socialist Party of Azania (Sopa) (2004) on the occasion of the death of former student leader Khotso Seathlolo, described them as "the fearless class that imploded the myth of white invincibility and superiority". Clearly the memories and stories of the "class of 76" embody the nostalgia of a generation who stood up, marched against all odds, and changed the cause of history. These complex reminiscences also harbour painful memories of police killings, arrests, imprisonment, torture, exile and disappearances.

CHAPTER SIX

Convergence, Shifts and Contestation: Three decades of the June 16, 1976 Soweto Uprisings and the complexities of its pasts and presents

Introduction

It is a widely held view in scholarly literature that memory is a social process that is always subject to contestation, change and revision. This is largely because one aspect of the many processes of memory *management* is its use to shape and constantly reshape public consciousness. Since memorials tend to be invested with interpretive characteristics of the past in relation to the present the praxis of memory management and activation as public history is essentially selective, and is inherently a process that seeks to arrange and rearrange the meaning(s) of historical recollections or experiences. This view is well established in the debate and "friction"[95] around the meaning(s) that have been framed (and continue to be reframed) in the thirty or more years since June 16, 1976. The diverse processes of the memorialization of this event have been undertaken through both "tangible" and "intangible" narratives. Here it is argued that the range and intensity of the contestation of the memory of the uprisings and the processes of (re)membering them, form a complex and compelling puzzle. On the surface the process of memorializing the uprisings could be a straightforward story. That is, there could be a simple narrative devised to account for what happened on the Wednesday morning of June 16, 1976. However, there were indeed thousands of participants and witnesses – as demonstrated in available archives of the uprisings – in the form of first hand accounts; newspaper reports; pamphlets; oral testimonies and documentary photography.

Conversely, contestation over the reconstruction of the events, their timelines and meaning, as well as the intentions of the marchers and the routes they took, has been intense. This study has argued that the competition to inscribe a particular reading

[95] The term "museum frictions" is borrowed from Karp et al. in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations.*(Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2006).

and meaning(s) to this historical event began even as those who had lost their lives as a result of the uprisings were being laid to rest. It was underway as others were continuing to lose their lives on subsequent days and months – as the eruption of unrest was engulfing major parts of the country and making headlines. The contestation of the day's meaning(s), significance and place in the South African memory landscape is also made evident by the way in which the name for this day has changed in the years that followed it: it became known diversely as Soweto Day or Student Day.[96] Following the introduction of the Public Holidays Act, No 36 of 1994,[97]– which came into operation on 1 January, 1995, – June 16 became a public holiday and became officially known and observed as *Youth Day*. This marked a long journey from the days when it was declared a "public holiday" or "stay away" day (Turkey, 1981) as a form of protest and act of defiance by a people in struggle. A long journey can be seen from the days of counter-measures by the apartheid government, where school holidays were initially instated ahead of June 16 so as to prevent unrest by keeping school children away from their organisational and mobilisation base.

Earlier, allusion was made to the many firsthand accounts of June 16, 1976. The vast literature then also records much debate on the events of the day itself, as well as events thereafter. Areas of debate centre on attempts to situate the uprisings in a historical context. In other words, the sources of dispute between many scholars, political activists, political commentators as well as participants in the 1976 historical events, surround what could be understood as the *causes* behind the eruption of the uprisings. Were they as a result of the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in certain subjects on a "50-50"[98] basis with English? Were they alternatively due to broader social, economic and political contradictions arising from the political order of the day, or as a result of the increase in the number of high school students and the resultant growth in unemployment? Did they arise from the influence of the Black Consciousness Movement and the philosophy of

[96] One of the early pamphlets distributed in June, 1977 referred to June 16 as "Soweto Day" or "Student Day" or "Youth Day". AD 2652.

[97]See Office of the President, No 2088, 7 December, 1994. No. 36 of 1994: Public Holidays Act, 1994. From: http://www.info.gov.za/acts/1994/a36-94.pdf. [Accessed: 25/5/2012.]

[98] See Regional Circular No. 2 of 1974. Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum Archives.

Black Consciousness that was dominant at the time and does such dominance suggest its influence had appealed to all or at least the major sections of South African society? There is then the question of whether the uprisings may have been a result of gains made by liberation struggles in the region; considering in particular FRELIMO in Mozambique and the MPLA in Angola. Were they the work of the underground operatives from the PAC and ANC? What of the view that the latter movements were in inertia at the time?

Certainly, one could ask if all of these factors took their influence. Surely however, one of the most interesting questions to ask with the advent of democracy in 1994, is how the competing political players in the South African body politics have capitalized on the events of that historic uprising by writing themselves into history as the beneficiaries of that past and its legacy (Seepe, 2007:22).

This study's findings demonstrate how, at certain points in the thirty years of the memorialisation and framing of the uprisings, their narratives take on complex and ever-changing forms of public history. Its findings highlight how these controversies have changed as a result of political developments over three decades of memorialisation. The conclusions made draws from, amongst others, the view of Young (1993) that "the memorial debate becomes a form of memorial activity, never resolved, forever in flux" (Young, 1993: 40). This may be partly because, as Ndebele (2000) has put it, the passage of time gives the "recall of memory the power of reflection" (Ndelebe, 2000: 24). Consequently, Ndebele writes, the "narratives of memory, in which real events are recalled, stand to guarantee occasions for some serious reflection" (ibid.). These reflections take a number of forms. They could be "truth telling" or storytelling. Storytelling and "truth telling" forms a dominant methodology in apartheid museums such as the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. Through storytelling the narratives in memorial museums attempt to recall what actually happened, whilst at the same time grappling with the search for meaning(s) of multiple pasts, as well as the quest for relevance to new generations and "outsiders". As Ndebele (2000: 24) points out, when truth telling and storytelling take the form of narratives they "have less and less to do with facts themselves and with their recall than with the revelation of meaning through the imaginative combination of those facts". In memorialisation processes the "imaginative combination" that Ndebele writes about takes the form of the making

or curating of museums and memorials amongst a number of others forms of re-representing history. My use of the word "curating" carries its widely used and understood meaning –to take care of as well as to rearrange and to present. That is, making "something of [the past] to place and order it in a meaningful way in the present rather than to abandon it" (ibid.: 4). Performance here is understood to mean: animating particular memorial sites through carnivals, parades, speech, song, poetry recital and dress. Clearly, history as is the case with heritage selects aspects of the past, often those that seem to "have something to say" to the present, and is concerned with how the events are related, arranged and presented.

It is the viewof this thesis that the narratives of the memory of June 16, 1976 take shape according to the complex and ever-contested master narrative and counter-narrative regimes of resistance, liberation struggle, nationalism, identity and history. The latter narrative regimes are themselves fraught and the subject of much contestation. They reside in the private spaces and moments that individuals devise to remember outside of the processes of collective remembering. They reside in the forgetting that, as has been pointed out, benefits the perpetrators most (Garton Ash cited by Villa-Vincencio, 2009). It is also located in the various tangible landscapes of the built environment that was – and still is – the living and ever-changing landscapes and streetscapes of the generations that inhabit Soweto and similar townships. This memory is further re-represented by the physical memorials that have emerged as part of the memory boom that has characterised the post-1994 South Africa, underpinned by concerns for reconciliation, social cohesion, nation-building,as well as political appropriation.

The June 16, 1976 uprisings in "memorial debate"

Broadly speaking, several memory-making arenas with distinguishable features have been observed, and traced back to the period subsequent to the outbreak of the uprisings on June 16, 1976. These features manifest as, on the one hand, the fashioning of certain identities, as well as emphasis on particular public social calls – and grappling with contemporary political issues on the other. Before outlining these features and detailing the particular way in which they manifest, it suffices to point out that this study's findings are that initially they were shaped largely by state repression. State repression was aimed at crushing ongoing liberation

struggles, at hiding its own activities and at imposing upon those who suffered or witnessed injustices. In the view of Ndebele (2000: 24), this was a situation in which the state "compelled those who were able to see what was happening not to admit the testimony of their own eyes". Further, state repression entailed a demonization of the meaning, significance and legacy of the uprisings. This was done in a number of ways – repression, using lies and disinformation – including the arguments and supposed findings of the *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and Elsewhere from the 16th of June 1976 to the 28th of February1977*(Republic of South Africa, 1980). The commission was appointed by the government of the time and held its first public hearings on 13 September, 1976 in Johannesburg. It took evidence on the extent of damage as well as the casualties caused during the uprisings.

In these early days the commemoration entailed grieving for those killed as a result of the uprisings. The sense of mourning was expressed through prayer meetings and public calls for moments of silence. The prayer meetings would feature the making of speeches, singing of freedom songs and other forms of performance, particularly poetry and drama. Mourning was also expressed through dress – in the days immediately following a loss of life, mourners would wear black. This was upheld as one of the fundamental forms of public mourning – and a "dress code" was maintained in the rituals of burial, irrespective of the circumstances under which the dead lost their lives. However, it took on an added significance as a form of expressing mourning for those who died as a result of the uprisings – with school children dressed in black occupying public spaces. This assertiveness of youth can be understood through Fanon's view that, "each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it"(Fanon, 1965: 206).

Established practices were changed. Children and young people began to attend funerals. People who now addressed funerals became younger and younger. This suggested some form of usurping of the role of elders on the part of the youth. The character of the funerals also changed. It was now characterised by singing of freedom songs, the chanting of slogans, and in some instances, the coffins of the dead would be carried shoulder high to the cemeteries in the midst of armed police, and sometimes soldiers. These new practices also informed the notion that the youth were the foot soldiers of the revolution (Seepe: 2007).

A reading of the speeches, poetry, freedom songs, as well as the chants and pamphlets of the time, suggest that these themes of grief and sorrow were part of attempts to come to terms with the killing of particularly young school children – as it occurred, in large numbers and within a short space of time. They were attempts to understand how "innocent" children who happily took to the streets filled with youthful vigour were met with police brutality. To some, this was a spectre or repeat of what transpired in Sharpeville on 21 March, 1960 – sixteen years earlier. This could be seen expressed through pronouncements such as: "we shall share sufferance" (Students Representative Council, 1977); "The year 1976 is the year of sorrow and blood…"(ibid.); "senseless deaths in the streets and in prison had brought a sense of remorse…"(Motlana cited in Kane-Berman, 1978: 140); or "we are entering the period of darkness" (ibid.).

Alongside the latter pronouncements and the feelings they invoked were calls also made through speeches, freedom songs, poetry and dramatic performances that Winter (1995: 2) has aptly described as the "conventional shibboleths of patriotism". The latter can be understood as the rationalizing of the struggle, and of conflict and loss by invoking the rhetoric of "glory" and "sacrifice" for the cause. The most commonly invoked of these was: "the tree of liberty grows stronger and stronger when watered with the blood of martyrs" (Seepe, 2007: 22). These pronouncements were also made at funerals and in political rallies in general. They became part of messages in the literature of the liberation movements; on t-shirts and posters. These became, with time, tools of memorialisation.

Patriotism and commitment to the struggle was also expressed through dress. In chapter two of this study it was mentioned that black adornment was a sign of mourning. In this context, that is – the expression of patriotism and commitment to the struggle– the unofficial dress code, particularly for individuals in leadership positions and performers, was the "Afro-dress" and the "dashiki". This trend began with the advent of the Black Consciousness Movement in the late 1960s and lasted until the late 1970s. Commenting on one representative performing arts group of the 1970s, the theatre director and scholar Robert Kavanagh popularly known as "Mshengu" noted that: "Mihloti performers wore *dashikis* and other 'Afro' clothing, and traditional drums and instruments were favoured…" (Kavanagh, 1985: 168). The choice of Afro-dress and the dashiki with uncombed hair were symbolic of the

ideological outlook of the adherents of the Black Consciousness philosophy. In its early evolution in the South African context, the philosophy of Black Consciousness, though described as varied and eclectic by Kavanagh (1985: 158), had as one of its characteristics the emphasis on notions of pride, self assertion and a positive outlook towards African culture(s). Afro-dress was the expression of that new-found sense of consciousness. This consciousness is understood by theatre practitioner, film maker and scholar, Bheki Peterson (2006: 166)as "the implication and complication that stem from the need to engage in cultural reaffirmation, a 'return to the source' or the 'roots' of African culture". In its attempts to move beyond issues of cultural affirmation and identity, the sense of new consciousness manifest in the view of Paulo Freire as "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of [that] reality" (Kavanagh 1985: 157).

The spirit of defiance was also an integral part of commemorating the uprisings. Sipho Seepe (2007: 22) asserts that the advent of the uprisings: "saw a reversal of roles. The youth were now in the frontline. Some also believed that their elders had failed them and even betrayed them for not taking a militant stance against apartheid."

This perception of reversal of roles has become part of the major discourse or what can even be called a kind of triumphalism in the remembering of the uprisings. Young people or the youth are presented as brave warriors, who defied the most vicious forms of repression. This perception lies behind the view that there was some kind of political vacuum in the politics of resistance after the banning of the PAC and the ANC. Though some scholars take it that this void was filled by the emergent Black Consciousness Movement, there is currently a tendency to forget the period of the BC Movement, and to present what has come to be known as a "Class of 76" as the youth who rescued the liberation struggle. The framing of youth activism as the saviour of the liberation struggle is one of the focused subjects of debate and contestation in the wide and diverse body of literature on the uprisings. One school of thought argues that the best approach to understanding the outbreak of protest lies in the hidden and emergent struggles of the 1970s,such as the worker strikes in Durban around 1973, and the breakthrough by means of armed struggle by Marxist liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique. Another school of thought argues

that this view marginalizes the historical agency of school-going children, who had to engage first in classroom battles before taking to the streets (Ndlovu, 2006). Some former student activists even go to the extent of arguing that the banned liberation movements–the PAC and ANC – were experiencing a malaise that the "youth of '76" were able to move beyond (Mokoena, 2006).

Militancy and defiance is also reflected in pamphlets that were distributed at the time, calling for June 16 to be observed as a day of mourning. These included calls for: "All shops and their business centres shall be closed" (Soweto Students Representative Counci, 1977); "All shebeens should be closed" (ibid.); "Discos and Cinemas shall not operate" (ibid.); "We will show this by cooperating in this fight by not having wonderful things for Christmas" (ibid.).Whilst there were freedom songs that expressed sorrow and even suggested that oppression was as a result of blackness, there were equally freedom songs of defiance:

> Nomabesidubula siyaya!
> Besibopha siyaya,
> Siyaya nomakunzima.
> (Even if they shoot us, we are marching on!
> They arrest us we are marching on,
> Though hard we are marching on.)

The calls for political action on the other hand, reflects how the commemoration of the uprisings became a tool to urge the masses to remain committed to the cause as part of honouring those who were continuously losing their lives, as well as a call for the struggle to continue – as represented by the popular Portuguese battle cry of the time: "Aluta! Continua!"

Defiance and resistance was to take another form, particularly with the advent of the 1980s. This decade was characterised by new militant forms of mass political mobilization and popular struggles that invited even more brutal repression on the part of the state. The 1980s also saw the rise of armed propaganda, that is, selected guerilla action, amongst which its intentions were to boost the morale of supporters of the banned liberation movements (Alexander, 1993). This change in the state of political mobilisation was manifest in the assertion of leadership of both internal and

external resistance by the then-banned South African liberation movements. This change became manifest in the emergence of ideological identities and political party loyalties in rituals of commemoration, which moved away from the unity calls and joint commemorations that characterised remembrance rallies in the early years following the uprisings. They are also reflected in the divisions that followed, which saw commemorations held along party political lines.

Clearly the commemoration of the uprisings now gave rise to party political loyalties, identities and political programmes. Attending a commemoration service became part of the process of affirming political allegiance and affiliation. Ideological and political party loyalties began to shape the meaning and significance attached to the memory of the uprisings. The meanings and significance attached to the uprisings were not only about the sacrifices and pain experienced by those who lost loved ones; by those who were forced to exile; by those who were detained and banned, they were also importantly about asserting claims of ownership of the histories and leadership of the unfolding liberation struggle by political formations. The latter was also done through publications of the banned liberation movements, where they included interviews by those who had recently joined them – thus asserting the view that students were foot soldiers of the banned formations.[99] These new features of commemorating were also reflected in the pamphlets, speeches, freedom songs, slogans and in poetry. Though the themes of loss were still there and the "shibboleths of patriotism" were also still there, there was equally a sharp focus on the unfolding political struggles and the leadership role of the then-banned liberation movements.

Dress, as indicated earlier, played an important role. In this context the "dashiki" began to give way to the struggle t-shirt and posters. It may be important to point out that Afro-dress and the Afro-shirt did not die out completely, but to some it began to be associated with the Africanist and Black Consciousness tradition of struggle; which is one of the ways in which it is possible to read the growing fragmentation along party political lines. A case can also be made that the dashiki and Afro-shirt were abandoned because there was a deliberate agenda to frame

[99] The PAC published interviews and photographs with personalities like Tsietsi Mashinini in its publication *Azania News*, whilst the ANC carried out interviews with personalities like ZweliSizani and Motapanyane, who were recognisible figures in the narrative of the1976 uprisings.

adherents of Africanism and the Black Consciousness philosophy as narrow nationalists, and therefore the opposite of "progressives". The progressives in this context referred to the adherents of the Freedom Charter.

The t-shirts made during this era related to the broader struggle and commemorated new casualties of political conflict. However, the June 16, 1976 uprisings were largely commemorated through t-shirts depicting photographer Sam Nzima's "iconic" photographic image of Hector Pieterson being carried by Mbuyisa Makhubu with Antoinette Sithole running by his side. T-shirts, like posters, were another medium of commemoration and played many roles. According to Deirdre Prins-Solani, a former manager of the Education department at Robben Island Museum, posters, like t-shirts, have a number of significant characteristics. Some of these are that they "provide a clue to observers of the depth and breadth of the defiance, resistance and educational campaigns against Apartheid" (Prins-Solani, n.d.:2). Further, "they illustrate the nature of the mass movement which actively engaged the Apartheid state in colourful, powerful and creative ways" (ibid.). Indeed t-shirts commemorating the 1976 uprisings also integrated messages of struggle and messages of remembrance. Messages of struggle would read: "Remember June 16- Victory is certain", "June 16- No peace under Apartheid", "June 16 SA Youth Day- Stay Away."[100] Messages of remembrance on the other hand would be simply: "Remember June 16, 1976."[101] Susan Sontag, writing on the poster tradition in Cuba, makes a point that is relevant to the posters that were carried by protesting students on June 16, 1976 as well as to a large extent of the t-shirts of both struggle and remembrance, particularly in the 1980s. She writes that "posters are not simply public notices. A public notice aims to inform or command. A poster aims to seduce, to exhort, to sell, to educate, to convince, to appeal. Whereas a public notice distributes information to interest or alert citizens, a poster reaches out to grab those who might otherwise pass it by" (The Poster Book, n.d.: 2).

[100]See The Poster Book Collective & South African History Archive, *Images of defiance: South African Resistance Posters of the 1980s.* (STE Publishers,Johannesburg, 2004).

[101]Ibid.For a recent in-depth study of t-shirts, see Frances Andrew, "Hamba Kahle: South African struggle t-shirts from the decade of community mobilisation".Unpublished master's dissertation (Fashion), University of the Creative Arts, United Kingdom, 2012.

Similarly, the wearing of t-shirts at funerals, political rallies and during commemoration services, served a number of purposes. PAC activist and publisher Mpuka Radinku puts forward the following reasons:

> [they were used] to pay tribute to the dead, as a matter of fact in order to move on; to use t-shirts as a common binding tool to mobilize the people (the living) around those who passed away in order to become part of the struggle against the colonial settler regime – hopefully participating through the organisation they belonged to; to defy the system, publicly wearing the T-shirts and declaring our sense of commitment and loyalty to the cause to which the deceased died for. Another reason for wearing t-shirts would have been to build solidarity among the dispossessed, oppressed and exploited at the time when death was supposed to be used to deter them to continue fighting against the detestable regime. Solidarity in mourning and in taking the cudgels to move forward (Randiku, 2010).

In addition to paying tribute, to binding people with a common cause together, and expressing defiance and resistance, Radinku believes that "[they] symbolize the immortality of those who were murdered by forces of the illegitimate regime (see, they are still with us, here on the front of our t-shirts, and they are many now,) but especially the cause to which they dedicated themselves" (ibid.).

State repression and its function – as pointed out earlier – were to silence the participants and the witnesses of the atrocities it was committing. Forms of memorialisation like poetry, theatre and political rallies gave people a sense of publicly displaying resistance by "advertising" people whose death was supposed to silence them. Commemorations and its rituals, like perfomative expressions, symbolized the public display of solidarity of people who participated in the commemorations. Radinku further notes, "It is not easy to have to deal with the fact that your comrade has been killed – especially when you could be next – so, [t-shirts helped] to cope with the loss of a close comrade and the immediate challenge that the loss throws up, [to express] togetherness and [present] a public display of it was significant [in order to find] the strength to move on" (ibid.).

Physical forms of memorialisation: the "indigenous geological outcroppings of the uprisings"

The advent of democratisation following the negotiated political settlement that led to the first democratic elections in 1994, saw a radical change of the forms and content of the memorialisation processes. It also saw a rising crescendo of counter-commemoration referred to earlier as memorial debate. As stated earlier, the post1994 era is characterised by themes and master narratives concerned with the making of a new society often invoked as a form of "nation-building", creating a "rainbow nation" or "one nation with many cultures" all of which incorporate notions of reconciliation (Alexander (2002). The post-1994 democratising period also gave rise to a boom in the memorialisation of the uprisings in physical form, thus affirming Young's(1993: 2) observation that memorials have a way of suggesting "themselves as indigenous…geological outcroppings in a national landscape". Over time these geological outcroppings can become "as natural to the eye as the landscape in which it stands" (Young, 1993: 2). These geological outcroppings – the rise of physical memorials that have become "natural" to the landscape where they are located – further affirm the view that the memorialisation of the uprisings was not about "preservation" but the creation and re-representation of new and ever-changing meanings of the uprisings as a historical experience. These physical outcroppings can be traced back to the making of the head Stone for Hector Pieterson at Avalon Cemetery in the 1980s by the Azanian National Youth Unity, a youth formation that was aligned to the then-banned PAC. The making of this Head Stone was within the period of radical political action sometimes referred to as insurrection in the townships. The post-1994 period, which was driven by a range of concerns including oft-cited tourism, nation-building and reconciliation, saw the erection of the Cenotaph in Orlando West in 1994 by the ANCYL and the development of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum by the City of Johannesburg, the Department of Tourism and Environmental Affairs and other partners.

Recent developments, beginning in 2008, have seen the further developments with the Vilakazi Street Precinct where the homes of Nelson Mandela and Bishop Tutu are located becoming sites of tourism. Tourism publications as pointed out in the previous chapters brand Vilakazi Street as the only street in the world with two

residents who became winners of the Nobel Piece Prize. Other physical forms of the "heritagization" of the memory of the June 16, 1976 uprisings is the mapping and attempts to develop a June 16, 1976 Students March Trail of selected routes used by protesting students on June 16, 1976. The mapping of the "June 16, 1976 Students Trail", it must be pointed out, is not limited to physical space. Geographer and artist Ismail Farouk who was commissioned by the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum to map the Trail, understood his mandate in these terms: "I create maps based on data collected primarily through interviews. These maps go beyond the physical. So I map people, places, activities or perceptions in relation to other spatial data" (Krouse, 2006).

Farouk, saw his work as going beyond the "physical" features of the landscape. This meant mapping the routes used by marchers on June 16 provided the opportunity to capture and understand a holistic picture of street life, its ever-changing physical and human geographies in the past and in the present.

Extant physical memorials include the erection of the statue of Hector Pieterson, Mbuyisa Makhubo and Antoinette Sithole, now installed at Maponya Mall; and a statue of student activist Tsietsi Mashinini currently installed at Morris Isaackson High School also in Soweto.

The memorials of the June 16 uprisings and the Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum draw heavily from international models and practices of commemoration. These spaces routinely adopt a "never again" ideological message (Ndlovu, 2007). The architecture as well as the curatorial practice of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum display what have come to be understood as core features of the memorial museum, defined as the "museums that use specific sites of repression and or torture and or massacre to evoke memories of suffering in the past" (Williams, 2007). The museum's curatorial approach centred around developing an intellectual project, rather than simply the use and management of objects and material culture that has historically been the tradition in most history museums. These are sites of the June 16, 1976 uprisings in Soweto, which are often times forgotten and on certain days in this context annually on June 16 remembered and activated through the rituals and theatres of (re) membering which take the form of "repeated pilgrimages to memorials"(Young, 1993; 6).

The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum is visited on a daily basis as one of Soweto's major tourist attractions and heritage sites. It is animated as a site of learning, with hundreds of learners regularly visiting the memorial. The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum in collaboration with a private girl's high school in Johannesburg, Roedean School, responded to the needs of schoolgoing children by developing a booklet for high school learners titled *June 16, 1976: A Journey of Discovery.*

This booklet took a creative approach within the guidelines of the social sciences curriculum at the school – and provided space for asking critical questions about the representation of history and heritage. It was centered on four themes: architecture and symbolism; bias; memory; history and chronology. These were used to tease out a number of questions and to provoke discussions and debate about the museum-constructed narrative and its exhibition practices. The booklet was seen as representing a range of possibilities for helping children to deal with the evidence of really terrible events that they experience as traumatic. Furthermore, animating the story of the uprisings through education programmes shows how a generation that did not go through a particular experience can embrace it and experience a form of historical awakening – as a result of either learning about it or indeed even by feeling alienated by the experience. This begs further in-depth investigation. In Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum's own literature, it describes itself as "one of the few museums in the world dedicated to the youth"(Ndlovu, 2006:1). The memorial museum is thus seen as having the potential to "explore the politics of generational identity and relationships, and the ways in which generational identities connect or fail to connect with memory projects" (ibid.).

This idea of connecting the new generation to the memory of June 16, 1976 is also expressed in the official speeches of the political leaders of the City of Johannesburg. For instance, former member of the mayoral committee, Nandi Mayathula-Khoza, has stated that, "the City of Joburg is committed to ensuring that the young people of this City are conscientised, and they do not forget the sacrifices made by the Youth of 1976. [...] we are committed to ensuring that the legacy of June 16, 1976 lives on, by reconnecting the youth of today with what happened on this day" (Mayathula-Khoza, 2007). In addition to funding the Hector Pieterson Memorial and

Museum as a memory project, the City has youth programmes that are seen as part of the youth development agenda.

At the memory project, the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, the experiences of young museum visitors, particularly school learners who explore the museum and memorial through the education materials mentioned above, demonstrate that the memorial museum sometimes elicit rejection and denial. For example, one school teacher, on being inspired by the visit to the memorial museum, went back to her school to continue the process of education and remembering. She wrote:

> I was in Soweto recently with a group of students and we came to your museum. They were very touched and did a wall of remembrance back at school this week (week of the 30th anniversary of the uprisings), with posters bearing photos and eye-witness accounts of June 16th. There was also a cross with stones bearing the names of the dead, and two banners with "To Hell With Afrikaans" and "Tomorrow is Ours". Sadly the Afrikaans teachers reacted so negatively as if they could not accept this historical event and just want the past buried in case it unleashes ill feelings again. It seems many of the new generation of Afrikaners have to still liberate themselves from guilt/fear etc. (ibid.).

The quotation above may suggest that there is a section of society that is alienated by the way the past is reconstructed. It is as though this sense of guilt is passed through history and commemorations from one generation to the next. If an accurate interpretation of the response of these teachers, the presence of guilt also suggests that ethnic identification still governs perceptions of the past in South Africa.

How memory-making processes speak to new and even future generations is clearly complex in many ways. It also arises from the way some of the youth of today commemorate Youth Day. For example, one of the widely documented public debates is provoked by the use of kwaito and pop music as part of the programme of

activities during commemorations. The public discussion on this includes the view that some from the "new" generation[102] attach little significance to the past, and this is demonstrated by the nature of activities that some indulge in – like "turning" the commemoration into a "senseless" music festival and engaging in drinking sprees, which are interpreted as showing a lack of respect for the gravity of the event for those involved. This debate is captured by the editorial in the *The Star* newspaper dated 15, June 2001:

> Today's young people – reared on a diet of bubblegum, kwaito and techno-rave – appear to have turned their backs on bread-and-butter issues that have a bearing on their future. Whereas their counterparts a generation ago were concerned about issues such as racial discrimination in all facets of South African life, the new crop is mostly concerned about the enjoyment of life...Everything else is incidental (The Star, 2001).

A similar sentiment is expressed in the Sunday World of 12 June, 2005, which opines: "The youth and the young at heart will party all day throughout the country, gyrating to sounds of kwaito, jazz and hip-hop while consuming copious quantities of alcohol"(Sunday World Comment, 2005).

On closer investigation however, the minutes of various committees organizing Youth Day indicate that the choice of musicians and the type of music they play is informed by the challenge to attract crowds and fill the stadium on the part of government officials. This raises the question: would a large section of young people attend Youth Day activities if the event is not a celebration? Are events organized by small groups either to dialogue on the challenges of contemporary youth or that takes the form of poetry reading or public debates[103]for example, of less significance

[102]This criticism is specifically directed at young people born after 1994, sometimes referred to as "born frees". A simplistic argument is usually presented in the manner of the tabloids, suggesting that they have no interest in the past, and further arguing that all they are interested in is fun. The flaw of this argument is that it treats young people as a homogenous social group.

[103] For a discussion on commemoration projects at high school level including debates and poetry reading See, Ali Khangela Hlongwane, "Keeping the memory of June 16, 1976 alive: Debates, public speaking and school based memorial projects",*Hector Pieterson Museum News*, November, 2008.

than the spectacle or festival that may be arranged at a stadium? These are the dilemmas that organizers of "official" Youth Day events have not as yet publicly debated.

Physical forms of memorialisation can also become "objects of forgetting", in spite of their size and maybe location. The idea of memorials or monuments as objects of forgetting is drawn from James E. Young, who writes: "…by themselves memorials remain inert and amnesiac, mere stones in the landscape without life or meaning"(1993: 37). This means the memories that are invoked by a given memorial are largely dependent on the various publics and their interaction with the given memorial. This then invests the memorial with a "dialogical character".(ibid.). One memorial of the 1976 uprisings that can be seen as an object of forgetting in spite of its location, is the *Never, Never Again* Memorial erected by City Funerals and opened by pop star Michael Jackson at the entrance of Avalon Cemetery. The many who frequent the cemetery are pre-occupied with burying their loved ones, whether it is during the week or during the peak visiting period at weekends. This monument has attracted almost no comment in the growing literature on memorialisation and or memorial debates of the uprisings. Such memorials have over a period of time lost the capacity to be signifiers of meaning and have in turn become artefacts emptied of any content in the landscape.

At the same location as the Avalon Cemetery, the graves of former students Hastings Ndlovu, Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seathlolo have over the years become sites of *counter*-commemoration. The Socialist Party of Azania that broke away from the Azanian People's Organisation which is occasionally joined by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, commemorates Youth Day on this site. The latter memorial activity can be seen in part as a contest of the annual state-organised commemorative events that are held at the Orlando Stadium. The Black Consciousness formations and the PAC tend to claim "ownership" of the uprisings. Specifically, the Black Consciousness formations put emphasis on the role of the South African Student Movement (SASM) as the organizer of the march that led to the uprisings. The story of SASM, like the Black Consciousness Movements themselves, are part of contested histories. Many activists who were part of these

movements point to their connections with either the PAC or ANC.[104] The PAC on the other hand cites the Bethal Secret Trial, where a number of its operatives and veteran leader and "accused number one" Zeph Mothopeng, were charged by the judge of the Supreme Court of South Africa, who claimed that "… Mothopeng, acted to sow seeds of anarchy and revolution. The riots [he]engineered and predicted eventually took place in Soweto on June 16 […] and at Kagiso the next day" (Pheko, 2011: 34).

Among the number of memories in stone on the uprisings that we have mentioned is the statue of Hector Pieterson, Mbuyisa Makhubu and Antoinette running at his side, that is now installed at Maponya Mall. How is this statue animated or forgotten? First, it was "animated" through questions that were raised on the best site for its public visibility. Representatives of the June 16, 1976 Foundation, one of many interest groups that memorialise the uprisings, believed that it should be placed within the June 16, 1976 Student Trail that was being developed in Soweto. They were of the view that this would make the statue a relevant "point of reference", linked to the diverse narrative of the student marches of that day. A representative of Dan Olofsson,[105] a wealthy entrepreneur based in Europe, who wanted to show appreciation of former President Nelson Mandela (Newberry, 2008), by commissioning and donating the sculptureis of the view that the Maponya Mall was "lovely" and the sculpture was "'magnificent" and that, "the people of Soweto will come here once [pointing to the Hector Pieterson Memorial] and will once a week go to the mall" (ibid.), further argued Dan Olofsson. The statue is located in "a prime place" within the mall and "the donor is happy". Its placement resonates with the premise of its fabrication: "it is a statement for the people of Soweto" (ibid.),as observed the representative of the sponsor.

It is worth further consideration as to how the preferred location in a mall contributes to the activation of the sculpture? It has been observed that some visitors pass by uninterested in the statue whilst shopping. Others – particularly the

[104]For examples of claims and counter-claims of former liberation movements see, Zweli Sizani, "The significance of the uprising, June 16 1976", Special 30th Anniversary Suplement, *Gauteng News*, June, 2006; and Motsoko Pheko, "Soweto uprising was engineered by PAC activists",*Cape Times*, 15 June, 2006.

[105] Mr Dan Olofsson commissioned the larger-than-life sculpture of Nelson Mandela installed at Sandton City, north of the Johannesburg CBD.

youth – interact with the statue by posing for photographs. This activity is saturated with questions. What happens when people pose for a picture? Are they expressing solidarity with the story behind the sculpture? Or is the photograph a marker of place and a reminder that the person was once at the given place?

What is clear is that commercialization is in its own right a process of contesting history. This sculpture represents business's assertion of its right to link their achievements to the struggle for liberation. It can be seen as a way of showing that they are paying back to the people or community. It could also be a statement saying we are still part of you even though we have become rich.

The memorial to Hastings Ndlovu raises different questions. The marking and development of the site in Orlando West bridge where Hastings Ndlovu is thought to have been shot by the police, emerged after a long period of discussion around the need to honour him; this aside from being conceived in response to the opportunity for visitors provided by the FIFA World Cup of 2010, as pointed out earlier. Hastings Ndlovu's name and the framing of his story, has been building in memorial debates over the years. It has been taken up to raise a difficult (and probably irresolvable) question on who was the first person to be killed on June 16.

It is widely held by people and in various writings on the uprisings that Hector Peterson was the first to be killed. This was further asserted as a result of a decision made in 1976 that his funeral should be a symbolic funeral given the state's refusal that a mass funeral (The World, 1976) of all who were killed should be held on the same day as it was done after the killings at Sharpeville in 1960. The latter narrative does not end at that, with Thandi Ndlovu stating: "Although we were told that Hasi (Hastings Ndlovu) was the first person who died that day, our family never wanted to argue about who died first because all the youth who died that day, were killed senselessly" (2008: 352). Hastings' sister expresses here the sentiments of her family, who do not centralize the issue of "firstness": "As far as we are concerned, our brother was one of the people who were killed by the police on that day and his blood watered the tree of freedom. It does not matter to us whether he was the first to be killed on not" (Mphaki, 2011).

Created by Johannesburg City Parks, the monument marks the site where Hastings was shot. It also has a panel indicating that the site marked is the place where Hastings Ndlovu was among the first to be killed by the police. It also has other panels pointing to various heritage sites in Soweto, such as the Regina Mundi Church and Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication, among others. This approach has unintentionally marginalised and redirected the focus away from Hastings Ndlovu and his story. It has become an underdeveloped visitor centre to give direction to visitors about where other heritage sites are located. The question may well be posed: Does this marginalise Hastings yet again?

The location of the site is not accessible to drivers, though a new parking area has been created a few meters away as part of the refurbishment of the Vilakazi Street Precinct. Further developments of the Vilakazi Street Precinct as mentioned earlier were initiated by the Johannesburg Development Agency in 2008. These developments were also part of the build up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which was subsequently hosted in South Africa. The developments linked to the refurbishment of the Vilakazi Street Precinct as a tourist site led to a new addition on the Orlando West bridge. This was an erection of a statue of a schoolboy wearing a blazer of Orlando West Junior School, where Hastings attended school during the time of the uprisings. The statue is of a boy of schoolgoing age standing on a plinth with his hand raised high. Looking at the statue it is clear that the hand is raised in the way in which students might during class, in order to either ask or answer a question of the teacher. However, the gesture is multivalent – as some people have read the raised hand as representing the open palm salute of the PAC. Whilst the latter reading of the statue seems to be somewhat farfetched, it does demonstrate the discomfort that is caused by party political loyalties in the making of South African pasts, as much as it indicates the complex semiotics of a country with an apartheid past. Hastings' family is unhappy with the way the site and memorial has been conceptualised. It was pointed out in chapter three that the aesthetic form that memorial take have also been subjected to debate and contestation. The Ndlovu family family visits the site on June 16 and other occasions to lay wreaths, as is now a tradition at Hector Pieterson Memorial.

Counter-commemoration and government speak

The post-1994 period has also given rise to memorial debate concerned primarily with the "unfinished business" (The Citizen, 1996) of the liberation struggle. In other words, the memory of the 1976 uprisings, like all other memorialisation initiatives, is intrinsically linked to the continuing attempts to address the contradictory South African reality popularly referred to as "the legacy of the past". That is, the socio-economic, political and ideological South African reality rooted in the country's settler colonial context (Mamdani, 1999: 126). The latter arise as part of memory debate by begging the perennial question: Can the pasts be laid to rest without addressing their "material consequences" (Ministry of Education, 2004: 138); or as Dominick LaCapra puts it, their "deadly leaving traditions" (1998: 26).

The "deadly leaving traditions" are raised in a variety of ways. Many public commentators, politicians and writers invoke the memory and sacrifices of the past and then weave into the narrative a reminder about contemporary challenges. For instance the Editorial of the Star dated 15 June, 2001 pointed out that, "several challenges still confront them (youth). One is education; it is still grossly imbalanced in terms of resources. Another is the silent scourge of HIV/AIDS" (The Star, 2001).

Other examples are debates along the same lines in the National Assembly. Former Minister in the President's office, Essop Pahad is on record putting across the view that, "it was worth remembering that the country's democratic parliament had resulted from the sacrifices of the youth" (The Star, 2000).An earlier commemoration, in 1999, during the period of the Presidency of Nelson Mandela the following was written into that year's commemoration activities: "the sadness of that day will be replaced by a joyous celebration afterwards with a bumper bash at the Union Buildings in Pretoria" (The Star, 1999).

Former liberation movements who are now opposition parties, like the PAC and AZAPO, tend to put more pejorative emphasis on the way the day is celebrated. For instance, Mosibudi Mangena former President of AZAPO bemoaned the amount of money to be spent on a one day commemoration event in 2000:"it seemed inappropriate to spend R20 million on one celebration [...] at this time when the

majority of our people still lived in shacks and many patients are forced to sleep on hospital floors spending such amounts on a celebration is inappropriate" (ibid.).

The government counters such challenges through what can be called "government speak". In the official commemoration events, deliberately referred to by Mangena as celebrations, the programme is divided into two parts. Part one is called the political programme. This is where the governing party writes itself into the history and legacy of the uprisings. In this context, it does so by using the platform of commemorations to speak about its achievements. Earlier, we mentioned how the City of Johannesburg interpreted its establishment of the Youth Unit as part of the way in which they are addressing issues confronting today's youth, as well as an attempt to connect them with the past. Another strategy that attempts to address contemporary challenges with the past is the promotion of tourism.

Memorialisation, tourism and local economic development

Tourism has equally been a key driver in the re-imagining of the June 16, 1976 uprisings (Ball, 2004). The latter has, among other factors, been a major rationale behind the making of the memorial museum commemorating the uprisings. At the time of the construction of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, there was a tendency to emphasise the site as a tourist attraction by many of the interest groups involved. For instance a study commissioned by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (2005), expresses the following views: Historic sites such as Hector Pieterson Memorial and old homes of anti-apartheid fighters such as Walter Sisulu, Zeph Mothopeng and Bishop Desmond Tutu will be preserved for future generations and as tourist attractions.[106] As a tourist destination, such a site would therefore "not only … encourage tourists to spend money in Soweto and help build its economy, it will create jobs and provide the opportunity to support local businesses so they can use their skills and get involved in the tourist industry"(ibid.).

Tourism throws up a number of challenges and questions when it comes to the debates around national memorialisation – specifically with relation to the

[106]See Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism,*Vilakazi Precinct Project.* (Prepared by Interfaith Community Development Association, Holicki and Associates, JV,March 2005).

commodification of heritage. The memorialisation of the uprisings, as it has become an integral part of the development of tourism and a museum practice, has firstly resulted in a market for curios on the one hand and "traditional performance" on the other. This is necessarily linked to local economic development, where the demand for commodities (either in the form of objects or in the form of an experience) by visitors is met. Likewise, the curators have to grapple with the problems or contradictions presented by an emphasis on tourism by answering the question: Who are the tourists that are targeted? How do they continue to find ways of bringing the local residents to the memorial and museum? Further, when considering symbolic capital, how do the curators and the traders they deal with specifically address the potential problem of stereotyping Africa through the items that they sell or the performances they may undertake. In the context of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum and other similar heritage sites, this manifests as pressure to contribute to the development of tourism and approaches to a museum practice that seeks to present memorial museums as sites of conscience. Tourism also brings to the fore some of the unintentional outcomes rooted in established practices of "essentialisation" (Witz, 2011: 371-388). The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum is regularly approached by groups who want to perform traditional songs and dances for tourists. The dance programmes proposed are often times along the lines critiqued by scholars and commentators, among them Ngugi waThiongo, where in the "traditional" as it is used in these dance programmes can be seen as operating under reference to constructs of colonialism. Thiongo (1996: 43) has written thus:"… colonialism recognised as truly African only art and artistic activities which were completely emptied of all meaningful content. Thus lifeless carved figures of giraffes and elephants were paraded as authentically African just as empty acrobatic dancing and bodily contortions were similarly paraded as…[African dance]."

Although the practice of selling curios in the form of masks and sculptures risks perpetuating existing stereotypes in as much as creating new clichés, given the fact of unemployment, many traders simply take advantage of an opportunity to make a living. According to one of them who sells his wares in the vicinity of the Hector Pieterson Memorial: "Foreign tourists come here every day and they buy from us every day. We only get a positive response from South Africans during the festive season, when they have traditional ceremonies […]. December is the best month for

our businesses, because it's normally the time of most weddings" (Kerkham-Simbao, 2007: 52-69). Clearly, this demonstrates that the practice of selling curios also addresses the needs of traders and to some extent is part of the local economy side by side with memorials, including those of atrocity such asthe Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum.

Sam Nzima's photograph that has been mentioned in various chapters, features frequently as curio, appearing on buttons or as postcards at the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. Pohlandt-McCormick (2008) has asked, has it in addition to being "appropriated in countless ways…[and sometimes] misused", particularly for commercial reasons, is it being misused yet again as a curio for tourists? In other words there are reasons to ask: has it also been turned into a "source of visual appropriation and attempted replication by business in search of instant heritage-themed environments"(ibid.) and souvenirs? Ruth Kerkham-Simbao describes souvenirs as "cheap, kitsch mementos that superficially represent a relatively fleeting experience" (Kerkham-Simbao: 2007, 66). Mbuyisa Makhubu's mother, who used to have a stall at the Hector Pieterson Memorial, sold postcards of the photograph. Tour guides would introduce her to tourists, who would buy the cards on hearing her talk about her missing son. The shop at the museum also sells curios reflecting the iconic photograph. Thulani Nzima, the eldest son of photographer Sam Nzima, has spoken about his family being approached by a company that wanted to use the "iconic" photograph for bottled water. They refused, as they felt that this was unethical. In other words, they felt using an image of atrocity in cups of tea could be in bad taste. A number of traders have nonetheless developed various items as they are of the view that the Nzima image in particular provides something that visitors can take away with them, something that serves as a reminder.

In 2005, according to Lucille Davie (2005),a relative of Hector ventured into a fashion partnership using the name of Hector Pieterson as a brand. Console Tleane, a Black Consciousness activist, has criticised this trend, in this case the use – or misuse – of the image and legacy of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko. Tleane's argument is that the re-imagining of struggle figures like Hector in fashion t-shirts, as opposed to the struggle t-shirts, does not bring about an understanding and appreciation of the cause that the re-imagined symbols represents. Commenting on the popular image of Che Guevara, Tleane (2004) writes, "there is no evidence that

the Che t-shirt and posters have brought an increased appreciation of his ideas. There is no doubt in my mind that a quick snap survey of those wearing a Chet-shirt will reveal that they would not even know the person on the t-shirt, except in cases where the name is written".

Interestingly, fashion designer Zuza Mbatha, who collaborated with Hector's sister, Sins Molefi, seems to have shared Tleane's approach. According to Lucille Davie, Mbatha was keen to launch a new label that would be meaningful to South African youth. "I noticed Che Guevara T-shirts, and wondered whether people wearing them knew anything about him" (Davie, 2005). Mbatha felt he could answer this question by starting a Hector Pieterson label that was "to consist of t-shirts, jeans, takkies, caps and spotties, belts, jewellery and socks, all with a distinctive logo bearing the letters HP above Hector's name" (ibid.). As quoted by Davie, this initiative represented in Mbatha's view a label "that would be meaningful to South African youth …a brand that related to history" (ibid.).

Vandalism and name changes as counter-commemoration

Another feature of memorialisation which has also been identified by Lehrer and Milton (2011:3), as a form of contestation is the counter-commemorative practice of vandalism and graffiti. In the graffiti at the Hector Pieterson Memorial, and on the site marking the place where police began to shoot at protesting students, the counter-narrative that would seem to contest the state narrative of reconciliation; which asserts that somebody still has to "pay" for those who lost their lives or haddisappeared (Mapheto, 2006).Other areas of counter-commemoration of the uprisings now include controversies linked to the politics of renaming streets after individuals seen as leaders of the students in 1976.

Former Black Consciousness activist and theologian Barney Pityana reminds us that "throughout the liberation struggle naming was an essential part of inculcating political consciousness and rejection of the status quo"(Pityana, 2001:2). In this context it can be said that naming is one way people emerging from a history of oppression assert their new found right to shape their identities, in the same way that renaming in the past was important because of its potent force then to subvert the power of the apartheid political order to "name things" so as to assert control.

Though there is a view that the country has been engaged in processes of renaming, Pityana is of the view that "SA's democratic government since 1994 has been conservative and resistant to name changes" (2001:3). In 2008 the Black Consciousness Movement formations: the Azanian People's Organization, The Black People's Convention, and the Socialist Party of Azania, drew up a petition calling on the City of Johannesburg to rename the then Old Potchefstroom Road after former student activist Tsietsi Mashinini, and Roodepoort Road to Khotso Seathlolo – another former student activist (Mabasa, 2008). Some form of public consultation was conducted subsequent to that, and the street was renamed after ANC and SACP leader Chris Hani. A "smaller" street – formerly known as Pitso Street – not far from Tsietsi Mashinini's home was renamed Tsietsi Mashinini Street. One other street bordering Morris Isaacson High School, formerly known as Mthembu Street, has been renamed after the school's former principal Lekgau Mathabathe (The Citizen, 2006). Opposite Morris Isaacson High School, a park previously known as Central Jabavu Park has been renamed the June 16 Memorial Acre (Seleka, 2006). At the time of writing, the memorial was still being created. Belle Primary School opposite the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum was renamed Mbuyisa Makhubu Primary School on 19 August, 2007 amidst protestation that Belle was the principal who founded the school and Mbuyisa had no connection with the school (Simbao, 2007).

Concluding remarks

Writer and scholar Mbulelo Mzamane has opined that, "cultural production in South Africa is traditionally tied to history, which it often mirrors" (Mzamane, 2007). The latter partly assist us to point to areas that need further investigation. One such area is the memorialisation of the uprisings through the medium of theatre and film. The work of Aubrey Mokadi titled *Narrative as Creative History - The 1976 Soweto Uprising as Depicted in Black South African Novels* and published in 2003, is acknowledged. Mokadi's book is a study of four novels set in Soweto at the time of the uprising: Miriam Tlali's *Amandla (1980)*; Sipho Sepamla's *A Ride on the Whirlwind (1981)*; Mongane Serote's *To Every Birth its Blood (1981)* andMbulelo Mzamane's *The Children of Soweto (1982)*.

In this thesis it was mentioned that dramatic performances became part of commemoration ceremonies in the last thirty years. Dramatic performances include a number of plays written and produced by South African playwrights using professional actors and performed in venues like the Market Theatre, Wits Theatre and the Windybrow Theatre to paying audiences. Amongst these plays are Dukuza ka Macu's *Night of the Long Wake* written in 1982 and directed by Benjy Francis. According to Ronald Draper *Night of the Long Wake* spans the fate of two families between the Sharpeville crisis of 1960 and the Soweto riots of 1976 (Draper, 1983). It was first performed at the now defunct Dhlomo Theatre in Newtown. The same play was also produced later with a different cast and performed at the Wits Theatre. Jerry Raletebele's *The Eve* produced by the Soyikwa Institute of African Theatre in 1984 was performed at the Market Theatre. Mbongeni Ngema's *Sarafina*, which has been described as a Broadway musical, and loosely based on the events of June 16, 1976, was first performed in 1986 at the Market Theatre in Johannesburg.[107] After the Johannesburg run, it was further performed at Lincoln Centre Theatre in New York, to acclaimed reviews. Within five months it opened on Broadway, where it became a commercial success. In 1992, the play was adapted into a film and was directed by Darrell Roodt. It also featured Woopi Goldberg, probably to appeal to the Broadway funders and for its commercial success and marketing. Maropodi Mapalakanye and Philippe Monvaillier 's *Enquiry* was produced by the Windybrow Centre for the Arts to mark the 25th anniversary of the uprisings. It was performed at the Windybrow Theatre and the Uncle Tom's Hall opposite the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum and a stone's throw from the home of Mbuyisa Makhubu's parents (The Star, 2001). These plays are potential subjects for further studies of the story of June 16, 1967 uprisings.

Another aspect to the memorialization of the uprisings are the many documentaries that have been produced over the years drawing from the experiences of the uprisings. These include: *Soweto- A History* (1992). The latter is a documentary film series that has its roots in the work of History Workshop at the University of the Witwatersrand (Bonner and Segal, 1998).Though the series tells the story of the township of Soweto it does focus on recollection of the uprisings. *What happened to Mbuyisa?* directed by Faizel Mamdoo in 1998 looks at the events of June 16 and how

[107]Mbongeni Ngema's*Sarafina*, performed at the Committed Artists & Market Theatre, 5 June, 1987.

they impacted on the life of Mbuyisa Makhubu leading to his disappearance. Then there is also Khalo Matabane's 1986 documentary for the SABC, entitled *When we were Black- Love in the time of revolt.* The latter is a four part television series set against the political background of Soweto in 1976 (The Star, 2006).On the 30th anniversary of the uprisings in 2006, more documentaries were produced. They included Khalo Matabane's *When we were Black- Love in the time of revolt, A blues for Tiro* by Kwena Mokwena, *Tsietsi my hero* directed by Portia Rankoane, *The spirit of no surrender* by Nokuthula Mazibiko, *Finger on the trigger* by Kevin Harris, *Tsietsi Mashinini* by Duma ka Ndlovu, *The house of Credo Mutwa* by Khulile Nxumalo and *The James Mange Story: Silent weeping night* by Rainbow Films among a number of locally produced films and documentaries. What characterised all of them was the complexity of the narrative of the June 16, 1976 uprisings.

The films and documentaries of the June 16, 1976 uprisings provide news angles in unpacking the history and memory of the uprisings. They do this by inserting new voices in the narrative of the uprisings as well as by expanding the secondary archive of the uprising. As this study is concluded new trends and developments are beginning to emerge which provide opportunities for further research and conversations. Indeed, as South Africa plans to mark twenty years since the advent of democracy more memorials are being planned. The June 16 uprising will now have a June 16 Intepretation Centre in Soweto to be opened to the public in September 2013. These developments may require us to ask the vexed question: are these new memorials (to mark the twentieth anniversary of democracy) part of nation-building and reconcilliation or an attempt by the governing party to redeem its image and standing as disillusionment sets in amongst some insociety,as a result of endemic corruptionas well as incompetence,bedeviling the public service in general. These problems in South African public life are sometimes used to discredit any argument that points to the legacy of the past as the source of many problems of inequality in society. At the same time there are concerted efforts by various sections of the opposition to the governing party to appropriate history as a strategy to position themselves as part of those who also"fought for freedom". Clearly, history, memory and heritage will continue to play a major role as the anchor for political relevance in South Africa's political life.

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Appendix 1

Interview with Lucas Zwelinzima Sizani
13 August, 2006
Interviewed by: Ali Khangela Hlongwane

ZWELI: I am Zwelinzima Lucas Sizane. My official name is Lucas, the Zwelinzima come in when I was baptised in an African Independent Church then, it was then called Bantu Methodist Church.

ALI: At what age were you baptised?

ZWELI: I was baptised at 5.

ALI: Okay! Were your family members of that particular church?

ZWELI: Ya, my grandpa was a church choir conductor throughout Orlando Bantu Methodist Church. From the age of 4, 5, my mom then who was a woman league member used to take me to clubs, which I then later on got to know that they were Masupatseleng, Walter Sisulu league, which were run under the woman's league of the ANC, that would be around the early '60s, '61, '62 and '63.

ALI: And how old were you then?

ZWELI: I was about 4, 5.

ALI: Are you able to recollect what the women were doing at the time? Are there things that stuck with you?

ZWELI: No! They would go to meetings and whilst they were in meetings, we would be seated outside as children. Reig taught liberation songs and freedom songs that spoke to our leadership, but one song that has always been in a consciousness, is the one that relates to Cuba for instance, "take your country and cast away". I learnt

it there and my granduncle, brother to my grandfather was in the first group of MK, and,

ALI: As the first group of MK, was it inside the country?

ZWELI: Inside the country, amongst the first group of MK. He was working with Mgader as a student musician and unfortunately when he passed away. Only did then did I realise that he was a member of the MK because there were some dynamites in the yard. Because I was the only one in the house when he passed away, so he told me where to find them, who will come for them and what is that person going to say.

ALI: How old were you then at the time?

ZWELI: At that time I was about 6 years old. That person came, didn't say what I was told. I didn't give him the dynamites and a few months thereafter, then, I took one friend of mine, just three houses from home and we went to Orlando Power Station, got into at tube at a break-lunch break, lit the dynamite and put them into the pit slip and we scattered back to the township. That friend of mine ended up in MK too, like myself. He is working in one of the government departments presently and I think after the Rivonia trial.

ALI: Before we go into the Rivonia trial, at that early age of 6, you then had to go to a primary education, what was the experience like?

ZWELI: The experience was traumatic in a sense that, one started in '63 and you start and you didn't ever finish a year. As a combined school that had no ethnic intervention with you. Frantic in a sense that we were then taken into different schools. We remained in Zathani Lower Primary School in Orlando East, those who spoke Sotho went to different schools, Zulu, Shangane, what have you,and, but then we bonded and meet friends. In the location we'll still meet together because Orlando East was never ethnically disaggregated and, but that was something that "plunked" ones mind. You then go to school there is this political climate in the country and just at a blink of an eye its almost not there. You try to sing "Nkosi Sikeleli" in class and the teachers tell you "no! That son is not sung", but all along at

school we used to sing it. You get into that situation and fine, there was no area in which one would get involved. Like all the youth in Soweto started playing soccer. I started with a club called Transvaal Techs, led by the younger brother to the founder of Orlando Pirates. I played for about 6 to 8 or so then and joined Orlando Pirates. I played in the same team with Jomo and them and, but in '69 when I was doing standard 5, in fact '68, when I was doing standard 4 when I was being taught by the wife to the lade Ngudlu and in one way or the other she would raise political issues in class. As our class teacher and that assisted a lot, one could at least again at least start to interact with people who were political because even at home we were no longer to discuss politics and then later on we then got into standard five and the Vietnam issue was coming up. The teacher used the Ali Mohammed conscious kier incusseration for effusing to go into Vietnam as an entry poet teacher, now and again we would diarise into politics because at that time you didn't have specialised teachers per subject. A class teacher would teach everything so History lessons were quite important to me at the time and we get, standard six nothing much. It was a teacher who was said to in the youth league but did not want to discuss anything political.

ALI: You don't remember his name, the teacher?

ZWELI: Olifant. That was at Mokweleni Higher Primary and then we went to Orlando High. That's where we joined SASM

ALI: How did you join SASM? Did they recruit an individual or join as an individual?

ZWELI: One of the principal Kambula was not very comfortable with SASM operating in the school because it was seen as a political student movement. He was not concerned with student issues, he was bringing in something that sounded different, ideologically, black consumers what have. But we kept on and as a grouping of co- activists. I think we started growing from there in '72 then joined Transvaal Youth Organization.

ALI: Can you mention his name?

ZWELI: Super Moloi, Billy Masetlha, Mbuyisa Makhubu and then there was Mathe Diseko, Martin Ndlovu was not that political, ya! Sandile Mfenyane, Bolgar, the last I think, I heard was the managing director of Nelspruit Hospital; Jackie Selebe was our teacher in Form 1.

ALI: And what do you remember of him?

ZWELI: At the time he got a sense of humour, you can't get used to. Like he would say SASM was a South African Society of Monkeys, (hahaha!), calling people remadent and what have you, but at the same time we never realised that he was embodied as we later on got to know and that was that. I think at that, as much as we were political, we would get into sport and what have you. But also round about '68, I had been active at the YMCA, one within the Johannesburg Youth Club formation, we even had MmeJune, Mmaphaladi, all the other as youth coordinator in the township which meant that one could even go to camp like Cape Town, Umtata and what have you, but also being always frequenting areas like YMCA, Orlando YMCA and then get exposed to the arts for instance, music, theatre, cinema, ballroom dancing, martial art, bill arts, some game that from which pool was developed, table tennis, tennis, basketball, so some interacted in almost all these arts, but then as one saying that in '72 we joined trial founder members coordinated by SASO, Streeny Motle, Steve Biko, Jeff Baqwa at Rakaspruit, that's where it was founded. I served in the community development committee and from there '74 I left school because I clashed with the teachers. I was very conservative politically, Afrikaans teacher and felt but also the atmosphere or the climate then was a climate in which without having had a formal Mathebula began to say that were reached a limit in terms of Black Consciousness. We've got to move beyond this emancipation of the mind that doesn't talk to physical emancipation of society, of our country, those were some of the issues that I could have stayed at Orlando high but I felt, let me go out and can do my Matric right and do it for two to three years, which was important in a sense that, to then elongate once stay especially on the high school students scholarships then around '75, then we find a number of troops arrests fortunately one was not and worked in those areas. From '74 this climate was brought about largely of cause by the liberation of Mozambique, '75. By the time Buwas went to Angola coincided with a conference of the BPC in King Williams

Town and together with two or three other comrades we managed to stop the BPC from recognising unit in Angola.

Fortunately we were assisted by Ben Njokarelo who was a close friend to Biko and also an internal SOHO leader and also stopped them from adopting a political program because our argument was that the Freedom Charter was adopted by the people of South Africa and if BPC even if it is a political organization under Black consciousness, its got to recognise the fact that South Africa is a multi-racial country.

ALI: Those two points are important. I would like you to link that point which you've just made now on stopping BPC from adopting the Freedom Charter?

ZWELI: No! From adopting a political program?

ALI: Oh yes! I would like you to link that with the earlier on when you began, at what point when you said you began to realise that Black Consciousness philosophy was limited? Was that at a personal level or was that beginning to be at a broader network level? And which other ideas were beginning to come to you and at what point did you systematically come to appreciate the Freedom Charter?

ZWELI: On thinking back, it happened amongst us. All much as it could have been at an individual level, but for instance Super introduces me to his uncle Shabangu, Shabangu in Dube who then recruited me into the ANC.

ALI: At what age were you recruited?

ZWELI: I was 17 and I was still in high school. I was 17 but prior to that with me I found Black Consciousness a bit__ and I enjoyed James before he even called himself _____. One thing the style of writing, this thing that I couldn't understand how does he write so clearly and address issues of the down treading in a manner that is different like you would find in the ___ literature. The methodology used and then now and again you would come across comrades especially those in SASO go out and resource and realise no this one might be important to go through personally I took it as important in preparing yourself for any eventuality in case

you get arrested. You should be able to deal with your interrogators, people who are likely to torture you, how you are going to survive if you are with them. Situation of detention and that torture but they would, the growth paths were different. The comrades who were in SASO, Charles Mthombeni in the township in Orlando East were going into another direction like exestialism and what have you, being frustrated by _, I mean much as I wouldn't conceptualize it. It was not speaking to our situation; to its still is nothing but philosophical thrush. But then we then began exchanging books, comrades I think after '74 in particular started going to neighbouring countries and would come back with Sabelin, Marcs but I got attracted to Leny his style of writing and easy to understand only if; you situate him, contextualize him to the South African conditions because he was writing about Russian conditions, you began to grow politically. You then realize that there was just mess, there's nothing but idealist. You interact with philosophy for instance with you realise that they're a whole wide world that has been close to you, to your generation, to everybody in the country. It only then dawns on you that you can't love with your heart but love like all other feelings and sensations from the brain and you begin to understand and appreciate a materialist approach to life but it was not intellectualism that was divorce from where do we go from here. '75, you get groups of comrade Sbu Masondo, Mdie Mmolokeng, arrested people like Sandile Mfenyane, Themba Ngubeka, you then begin to say where do we go from here. Do we sit back and say, we'll find a way of continuing in the same old way but then at an individual level, one then began to ask oneself what is it that we are not doing that would make my next door neighbour to respond positively to political to being organise politically.

ALI: That's another interesting point; I mean you have spoken about the beginnings of ideological shift from the early political consciousness.

ZWELI: Ok! Then I joined SACP in '75, which was I have to serve some probation for two years. The full membership was conveyed in Angola in 1977.

ALI: When you'd already left the country?

ZWELI: When I'd already left the country?

ALI: I want you to look at that level of political consciousness that you had already reached and how did that translate into political activism at high school level for you?

ZWELI: For me you then had to look at fine, you had the working class who were not, which was a class that was not that organised and that conscious of its role it the struggle, in history but at the same time you had another level youth who were beginning to aware of the saturation and you would go to commemoration days, you'd realise that there is a certain hood, for instance I think it was '75 when there was a young girl from the states, the father was South African and she had come to say in Soweto, was studying at Orlando North and people were saying you wasn't commemoration. I think it was a day of reconciliation to somewhere in Mapetla, Tladi people were saying that she is a spy agent and one had met her Orlando High discussed a bit her realised that she is a child of a person who is in exile coming to stay here with her father's people, getting to know her roots, one intervened but what struck one was for instance somebody saying that bring petrol, because they couldn't understand here is this kid, she's black but she cant speak any of our African languages, she speaks English with a twirl and all those things and one had to put his body on the line and say I know this person and you can't begin to do that.

ALI: Doesn't this link to the Afrikaans issue, when Afrikaans came in as a problem into high school. Where were you?

ZWELI: At that time I was outside the formal schooling. It came in at Orlando West Senior Secondary in 75 and Orlando West high School. You had a number of ex no there were not ex there were still active in SASO but they were from different Bantu Universities and they were temporary teachers, they declined, they refused total to teach kids in Afrikaans and Mzidume then had to come and I think one of them was Harold Diseko, Mzidume had to intercede and talk to the department of Bantu education to stop that because it was stopped. Then in 76 it came up again it was taken by, first it was taken by late February early March by school boys in Meadowlands but it could not be sustained, one it had no political behind that refusal except that our kids re going to be denied the opportunities to learn and even denied opportunities of studying outside of South Africa because people were becoming aware that South Africans were being offered scholarships in Swaziland, Botswana

and Lesotho and it was stiffly. Much as it was political but there was no quality political consciousness and it couldn't be sustained and the wife to Mathe Diseko, Joyce, was teaching Maths and we somehow got her to get students to begin to respond to this because also she was in a situation where she wasn't comfortable teaching Mathematics in Afrikaans and in that class of Seth Mazibuko's and Mudimo Refiloe. They started that boycott around April and it then continued interactively but for instance Seth we had gotten, we became aware of him because around 75 he started directing a theatre group and noticing him we then wanted to get him somehow involved in the struggle because here wa a young person, leadership potential leading a group of kids in high school. Then he also got involved in this Student Christian Movement, which was also another area, grouping that we wanted also to mobilise and it just coincidentally that Seth became amongst the leaders at Orlando West and then we started to begin to talk and he didn't know properly when he was passing by Orlando.

Seth would see me probably when he passes by, going to his house at Orlando and I would ask him "hey man how's it?", then he'll say "fine man, what's happening at your school?" and then begin to chat with him the importance of sustaining that. But long before that around 75, we had began to think in terms of what is it that we have to do because one has recognised that there was a fear that had paralysed our people and FRELIMO's victory was not enough to get our people to loose that fear, to begin to take seriously the issue of liberating themselves. And we began interacting with the exile movement, to the ANC in particular.

ALI: Could you be a little detailed of how was the connection with that?

ZWELI: I joined the ANC in 74 through Edwin Shabangu had began interacting but also began interacting with the ANC direct in exile through Stanley Mabizela, Xeyoziwe Khayile Diseko, who could go to Swaziland.

ALI: So, there was quite a well-organised network at that time internally and externally?

ZWELI: And, also went twice, I went for the first time, I went to Botswana with Charles Mthombeni and found a group ya bo _ and stayed with this group and found

personal life of the – was fundamentalist, in the manner that they clung to maxisizm, limnism and not appreciating where they came from in terms of BC, in terms of how do you know something that has assisted you, in making you who you are up until you reach a certain level of consciousness, you don't begin to cast it away as waste of time and all that. And what one realized there, it seems that they did not have any thing but we later on went when Charles Mthombeni go arrested and then I took Roller and we went to Botswana again. Of course we were jumping fences, and still I found that this people the way the press is portraying them, SASO radicals and leadership assisted that did not come about. And there when we were with bo Roller, I think it bo Sindi Mabandle and he husband, people of the country. I had meet them when I had gone earlier with Charles Mthobeni and when I went with Roller there was one guy from the PAC, they rained Garyl and chatted with you found him.

ALI: You don't remember his name?

ZWELI: No, I don't remember his name. In fact there were not one but there was two. There was one who was an ex Robben Irelander, who when he spoke about the ANC of cause, we were hid the fact that one was in the ANC North Rand. When he spoke of the ANC we realized that this guy respects the ANC in exile, respects leadership of the ANC in exile even Robben Ireland or respectively. And this gorilla leader was a bit aloof withdrawn, who made an admission that the PAC's military army was not organized and they had stopped functioning as an army. They were pursuing their own interest everywhere, anywhere in the world except here in South Africa and a grouping or a proper organization that had an army was the ANC. But then what one then did was how do you get used to end up leaving the country, not to go to BC in formations, not to go to PAC but to go the ANC where there is a ready army. Then, we would then begin interacting but not developing plans around June 16 itself. How do you get bo Seth to sustain this? But you then have to bring in what you had learned ko BC as a slogan, "Black Solidarity", but we had to bring in an element of solidarity into it with other students which had to empathise with junior secondary students who were studying Afrikaans. And the day, for instance, from around 75 in the underground, we began distributing. There were comic strips from MK to teach you how to manufacture a petrol bomb, a homemade grenade. We started contributing it, started typing it out, because we had limited

copies but we typed out instructions of how to make it and sometimes we then go into a telephone directory, choose all the black serving and post those typed out instructions forward to the officials. Irregardless of whether this person was political or other or what, just take out the thing, you don't write the initials, we just write son, some of them will write junior, hoping that there's a son or whatever who would open it and all those things, the railway stain distributing. I think in one instance more in sending in Naledi, I used David Kutungawne to distribute but then we would use the post office, put them into envelopes and post them to addresses that appear in the telephone directory, they'll get where they'll go to. But at the same time long before you even go the national conference of Swaziland in the 76, from the 28th May to the 31st of May 1976, one had already sensitized the ANC there's likely to be this on by this day, 1, 2. Its important that they read the front line's date including Lesotho because _ was there already, to where possible the underground must be instructed to be ready in case there's killing or shootings of the students, the demonstration itself is meant to be peaceful. That happens and national conference, a resolution was adopted that all schools in the country must go out in solidarity with. And besides Soweto, the comrades from Eastern Transvaal, Eastern Cape and KZN. And a resolution was adopted that said Soweto must come out first, demonstrate solidarity and then the other regions will then come out. But that resolution was adopted after Elliot Tshabalala were to address at the conference that evening and spoke to youth, spoke about youth activism and started with 1968's French students demonstration and that we should begin to emulate such activism. We started into what one had in mind, not the violence because the violence if it were to occur it was not going to the young students who will be part of it, it will be those who had the knowledge of how to manufacture petrol bombs for instance but only in the eventuality of young kids been shot at and of cause that resolution was adopted. It was moved I think by Tebello but of cause one has drafted it but asked Tebello to move it. Why? Because much as we were getting involved into this, one was always away, you've got to be in the background, you also have to be in the ANC underground, you cant always be seen. No, to be coming with radical motions when you are in the underground because it opens you up to possible arrests and that was that. And then around June the 8th or 9th, we met at Tebello's. It was Super, Tebello, myself, _ five of us. We met and began to plan for the June 13th meeting, to practicalize the resolution and the date of June 16 was also carried on board in that meeting of that day. And from there, I was going to the Eastern Cape

on 14th, one had to fetch sum money from SASO and from Steve Biko as director of the PE community programs. And it was left on the four provinces to see to it that they steer the meeting such that it adopts the resolution to go out as well as the demonstrations and accept the date of the 16th, but with the hope that we could have that will be able to mobilise students within that shot period. Then, was trusted to get in touch with his principal Mathabathe, to begin to sensitise the other principals to turn a blind eye. And I came on the 11th, I went to the Eastern Cape and came back on the 14th, everything had gone as we had planned. And we then had a meeting on the 14th, no! On the 15th, that was some sort of a dry run but at a distance what has been done, what was been burners have been prepared, confirming routes of the march, confirming people who were to lead groups, these columns and as we had reps for different schools. Everything was on track, on came June 16, I didn't want to, no! On the 15th I spoke to Diseko, since he had access to VW ya _ that he should avail it because it was going; to become _, it will be running from one column to the other throughout Soweto, he availed it and he agreed. And he jumped into it when I was going to fetch him. I went to Diseko's place and he fetched me on that day in the morning, he fetched us about seven at night at Orlando East, we went to pick up Seracha and then we moved on.

ALI: Could you just speak briefly on how you monitored the different routes and who are the people you remember leading the different columns?

ZWELI: You know sometimes when you active, you would choose to remember faces rather than their names but most of the faces that I saw I knew. Why we chose not to remember names, in case we get arrested, that's all. But for instance we witnessed the first incident of shootings, it was around eight in the morning, students being shot at by police, white policeman. To those who were left behind, the column ya Morris Isaacson because we were trying to rush to Morris Isaacson, we were delayed by that syringe, that is all. And we got that kid to France Kotomela that used to be manager of young lovers or teenage lovers ko Mofolo that she must be taken to a private doctor not hospital because we were sure that if we went to hospital we were going to be arrested, interrogated and from there we went Naledi, they had already left, long left. We reached them around Molapo I think, spoke to bo Kotomela that already the shootings were occurring but they should continue. We went to Sekano's group, the person that I can remember in that group

was Vuni Mathabathe and then came back this side to come and check because when we were passing going to fetch the syringe nothing was, it was still empty around the vicinity of Orlando West. Then, we came back this side by that time it was around nine, passed nine, Ya, and that's when we met with Mboyiswa, telling me that a kid has been shot. From there round about that time then met with Super and no, before come to Orlando West, the Orlando, the Sekano Ntwane's group we were then around Mofolo Park, and told them not to go towards the Vocational but move into Dube and then join the taxi route that goes to, towards Maponya. And when we met, I think there was an incident just before we met with Super of a woman who was in the process of being raped and we managed to stop that. A white woman took her to I think, Methodist Church to a priest to take care of her and already bo Dr Eldenstein also had already been killed and because the report that we got from Mboyiswa was that there were a number of students were shot at but we largely wanted to see Hector. What was not clear was he didn't tell us Hector had been taken to a clinic, we thought he had been taken to Bara. So we drove to Bara and then at Bara they said no, we can't have access to any of their wards and then we came back. On our way back as we were going into Orlando West at the bridge there, we found a platoon of soldiers and I think then it was around eleven. We then moved up and gotten hold of Tsietsi who by the way had been discussed in the meeting of the 8th and 9th as a choice of the person that we project to speak on that day because one, we wouldn't want to come out in the open, his character was a person who liked attention, one flamboyant and we could hide behind him. We could hide behind him when it was important.

ALI: Orlando High, there was always a contestation on whether Orlando high did march or a small group did march or nobody marched. What is your view? And we are in the police records and they said that you drove via Orlando High and they found them, right?

ZWELI: Orlando High did not march the route but those who finished their first paper in that morning were a small group who decided to come over here.

ALI: How do we explain the role of Maja who has a book, which is not yet published, he claims that he led a group that defied the principal and walked out of the school?

ZWELI: Oh no, there was no defiance of a principal, they all wrote, it was only after writing that they then left, that the scenario and not all of them because there was still another paper that had to be written. I think at that time Ohare Diseko was teaching at Orlando High, she confirmed that and bo Maja did arrive with a group he had with Thandi Qwete and others, but they were very, very few with Niki too. And I think we did go to check on them and it was then told us that even that route ya Orlando Station, Orlando Stadium was blocked, police were already there. And then when we were coming in there was this street.

ALI: Phiri

ZWELI: Is it Phiri, this one?

ALI: Yes, it is Phiri.

ZWELI: I think when Boers came to fetch Eldenstein's body they did a lot of shooting and that's when we realized that the magnitude of shootings and killings, possible killings might be too dangerous to allow the demonstration to continue from there. We then instructed Tsietsi to speak and after the speech we dispersed students and he did that. There was a, what you call this, a tractor, yes a tractor that he stood on, addressed students. I'm not too sure whether because we had gone at some stage to Gibson Kente's home to fetch a loudhailer. I think he used that but it was not big enough in terms of sound to reach out to every student, so we drove around to groups of students to telling them to disperse from as early as passed twelve right up until two. And by three, four on our way to the Methodist Youth Centre at Central Western Jabavu, already Barclays' Bank was burning around Dube. And we went to the Youth Centre, not too sure what is it that we were doing but when Bonet dropped them we planned to converge there and then we converged and could not leave because we were relying on Kotomela for transport but at the same time we were trying to convene a meeting between ourselves and the Black Parents Association which we then managed to get Sis Winnie, drove to Dr. Matlhare's surgery at Naledi and then came back with her. By that time it was bo passed eight and Soweto was really burning. We were also stopped across that for instance at Morris, Ya, it was around Morris and Kotomela had to come out because

its his area, I recognised him and you cant burn this car. And with Sis Winnie we drove on we went to Matlhare's home that's where we met and said to the BPA we must be in charge of arranging for funerals, everything as a parents association. We then became to, Ok, convene a meeting also for the 20th of June had to be in AME Church in Orlando West. We then had to try and get as much leaflets as possible, which we did, we distributed and on the morning of the 20th that meeting was banned.

ALI: Ya, I think we can actually conclude it here. You've covered quite a lot but I would still be interested in the follow-up session if it is still possible with you, where we could then begin to look at how the funerals, the political funerals were used to consolidate further organizing students and maybe at a personal level at what point do you then leave the country. And also show how funerals and the commemoration of '76 leading to the formation of COSAS' lead now, to a more focused political line as opposed to the early 70's where there was still the following of the political ideas.

ZWELI: OK!

Appendix 2

Interview with Mphafi Mphafi

04 August, 2006

Interviewed by Ali Khangela Hlongwane

ALI: Today is the 4th of August we are interviewing Mr Mphafi Mphafi about his life history having grown up in Soweto, particularly with the focus on how his life history was shaped by the developments leading up to June 16, 1976. Mr Mphafi, could we start with you introducing yourself.

MPHAFI: Oh, thank you very much. My full names are Anthony Mphafi Mphafi, however when I went for my ID, there was a question to say we can't have a surname cause the authorities couldn't let me use my other name Mphafi as a first name as well as a surname. I was born in January on the 8th in 1954 and I grew up in Moroka, thereafter my family moved to White City Jabavu.

ALI: How old were you when they moved to White City Jabavu?

MPHAFI: I think I was two years or so.

ALI: Which means you don't have recollections of Moroka?

MPHAFI: No, I don't have recollections of Moroka. Then I grew up in White City Jabavu, it was a two-roomed house made out of concrete, all the walls even the roof is made out of concrete, and the number is 1392C. In that house it was my father and myself the first-born, my younger brother George Tladi and then comes my younger sister Polo and then my younger brother Lehlohonolo and my younger sister Nnino. It was a family of seven and we the kids we used to sleep in the kitchen because the other room was used as my father's bedroom with my mother. We used to entertain people in the kitchen, it was our dining room, it was our bedroom at night for the kids; we used to sleep on the floor – there were no beds in the kitchen. And thereafter I went to school in Tshebedisanong Primary School, just a few minutes walk from my place; its about 15 minutes walk from my place to the school. When I started schooling I had already been taught by my mother who was an ardent reader to read certain things and all that to a certain level that I could. And then I being the first-born child my mother probably took a great deal of interest in my education. I was taught on the first day I went to school. I remember that the teacher wanted us to use a sleight, she wanted us to write 1, no, strokes of 1,1,1,1 on one side of the sleight and turn the sleight again but instead I started writing 1 up to 20 and she reprimanded me for doing that and said "I didn't say and tell you must do that, I said to you, you must write 1,1 instead of you writing 1 up to 20" but after some time she realised that I was far much advanced to my own classmates. And then around June I was taken into Std Sub B instead of Std Sub A when the schools re-opened after school holidays. I completed my primary schooling at Tshebedisanong there, where I passed my Std 2 primary education and then I then went to what was then called Hoërendly, ya it's Hoërendly Higher Primary School where I studied for my Std 3 and passed.

ALI: Where is that school?

MPHAFI: In White City Jabavu.

ALI: It's also in White City Jabavu?

MPHAFI: It's also in White City Jabavu but it's quite a bit of a distance maybe something like maybe 20 to 25 minutes walk to the school from my house. I passed my Std 3 and I was number one in the class, we were something like fifty something up to sixty in a class. I remember the teacher quite not happy with that, I was leaving the school because sh felt that I was doing very well and she probably maybe she wanted me to, you know to put the school on the map if I would have, you know studied until Std 6 probably I would have obtained a first class in Std 6. then I went to after my Std 3 from Hoërendly then I went to St Matthews Catholic School where I studied my Std 4 until my Std 6, but in the interim I got ill. I was a sickly child I had an Otitis Media, is the damage of the middle ear on my left hand side. Almost every year when I was at school I had to go to hospital for surgery and all that but every time I used to come back but I was still doing good at school and all that. When I was at St Matthews Higher Primary, which was a Roman Catholic School in Rockville, normally called Rockville, but otherwise the official name I understand is Moroka North, no is called Moroka that's where I was introduced to Irish nuns who taught me. I would go there and help you know with extra lessons on Saturdays or maybe after school I would stay and I used to teach. It only daunt to me at a time that, that this intention probably they'll try to convent me to take Priesthood, that's why they had so much interest in me but it was a very valuable teachings that I got from them in terms of language, in terms of other things that were not commotional school you know subjects. I came to and I was given a lot of books to read that exposed me a great deal to many things that I lacked as a student of that time.

ALI: And how old were you at that time?

MPHAFI: I can't was round about 15, 16 there. Then I passed and left St Matthews but you must remember St Matthews because it's a Roman Catholic School, there were times that we had to go to the church in the morning, they called it a morning mass then we would go to the church we pray in the morning and we would come back to the school, the very church which is Regina Mundi, we used to go to Regina Mundi. But there were certain things that were disturbing me whilst I

was till there because my father now started feeling that I was, I was of age that he could you know tell me of the politics. The things of elderly people talks but in most cases they used to discuss such issues at my home. Now remember that my home was only a two-roomed house and all these people used to meet at my father's house. You see my father comes from Lesotho but it's only now lately that I've learned that actually he was born in Eastern Cape then when he was a little boy he was taken to Lesotho although most of his people were in Lesotho, they are from Lesotho but because his father was working in Eastern Cape a place called Matatiele, that's where my father was born; my father was taken back to Lesotho and he always said he was from Lesotho. Now a lot of people that were coming from Lesotho who belonged to what was then called Basotholand Congress Party used to meet at my father's house and majority of them, they were PAC. They spoke of many issues concerning the sufferings of the Black people and in their discussions much as they were talking about Lesotho, they also touched on issues about the appliances of being immigrant workers in South Africa and having to take out the yoke of apartheid. At a certain instance I couldn't understand certain things but my mother would after everybody has left when we are only tow of us, will explain to me exactly what is the meaning of certain things that they said the Sotho rough man who were talking in very deep you know, deep ethnic language of Lesotho, what they meant about certain issues. Of course there were some of them who were very presto Dias chaps who could speak very big English and my mother would also try to explain certain words to say what it meant.

Now my conscience started around that time, my conscience of saying about myself, about my family, about my neighbours, about Black people, about the whole nation of South Africa to say who are we and what's taking place. And now there were also certain times when I could hear the nuns' disreactionalist when they would express you know their you know their disgust of apartheid, particularly one was Sister Josephs and they were Whites, remember that they were staying in Soweto, they were of course one of the few people I mean Whites staying in Soweto. Then as things evolved I became much, much more aware of other things that even my own you know my own friends would always find me a queer person who's speaking things that are not usually within you know their circumstance of knowledge then I moved after I passed my Std 6 I went to Morris Isaacson. The nuns most were not quite happy, they wanted me to go to a Roman Catholic School but I had to go to

Morris Isaacson because by then my family had moved in 1969 from White City Jabavu to a bigger house of four-roomed house in Central Western Jabavu. Central Western Jabavu now, ya, Central Jabavu is something like 10 to 15 minutes from, to Morris Isaacson where I was, it was quite reasonable for me to go to Morris High school for instance tea break I could just quickly go dash to home and have a cup of tea quickly if I managed to get some. Then when I was at Morris I was quite in a different situation, people were not playing there and people were coming from different churches and the only you know religion that one could hear was at the assembly in the mornings that when we prayed and we sung, always singing one song they used to love so much a thousand times. And I then thought there was not much of religious studies but I later learned of course that there was Students Christian Movement in the school then I, from my Form 1 that is, my Form 1 at Morris Isaacson I became involved in debates, debating teams. I think maybe this probably an influence I got from those Basotho men who always used to have arguments at my home that, then I had this liking of having arguments about issues and debates too.

ALI: Do you remember the topics that the debating society in your school used to grapple with?

MPHAFI: The topics at first they were very, very subtlelised, there would be that simple something like "the pen is mightier than the sword" and but maybe that was deliberately done because we were the most junior in the students in the school but when we started Form 2 then things started to change then we had different kind of topics. The topics would be 'whether are Black people r3eady to rule the country' and many other, they were politically provoking type of topics were put forward, then I started

ALI: Lets go the SCM itself, what were the activities of the SCM at your school? And who are the individuals that you maybe recall were part of those?

MPHAFI: There was one fellow Willy; Willy was, he was physically disabled. I remember he used to walk with a limp because he had a stick; he was a Student Christian Movement fellow. In most instances the issues that we used to discuss there was the, they were read out of the Bible you know and then tried you know to

explain to people reasons why they had to be Christians, it's a good life and you know all the kind of talks in terms of Christian teachings that were not dealing with current issues, they were only dealing with issues that pertains to the soul. Then thereafter I when I was in Form 2 there, I started to have friends amongst myself in school that were, who were particularly concerned about you know speaking about issues of political nature or issues that were current issues that were affecting our society either immediate society or even you know far away outside our borders, we used to have starting you know having debates of many issues. I remember that we even after school we used you know to sit and had debates about many other issues and then it was when I was in Form 3 that Solomon Rataemane, he's a doctor now, he's a professor in some psychiatry. Rataemane approached me and told me that they are going to open a branch Students Movement, which is called South African Students Movement (SASM), South African Students Movement and he tried to explain reasons why there wa a need for students, I think he was trying to conscientise me but I was already on that of course. He was telling me that America has done it before, remember those were the times of Black power and he tried to explain to me that what is the purpose of the whole thing, of course he didn't surprise me that he particularly came to me cause maybe i was much more vocal, I was much more you know involved with other students in the school amongst my crew and then, that was in 1972. Then elections were held for the executive branch of SASM, I was made a chairman of that branch.

ALI: At your school?

MPHAFI: At my school, at Morris Isaacson.

ALI: Rataemane was a student also?

MPHAFI: Rataemane was a student and Rataemane was now, he was ahead of me in class despite the fact that by age wise he was younger than me, he was much younger than I am but he was a very big fellow. He was with one felloe I've just forgotten his name, they came together and told me about it that and I organised the students and I did get permission from my class teacher to organise the students and we had the meeting. Normally what happened is that the teachers who will be, will be assigned on a roaster that day, everyday to take charge of afternoon studies and

all that the liable one used to be one of those teachers, I remember that teacher used to be Fanyana Mazibuko. Fanyana Mazibuko, he was quite glad and he said to me you go on with your meetings and he said he is very supportive of that and then I stared then, its then when I was elected the chairman of South African Student Movement. Then it became obvious that I had to get in touch with other schools you know executives of South African Students Movement, its then when became in touch with Den Motsitsi from, from Sekano-Ntoane so was, so was the Mayor Amos Masondo, Billy Masetlha from Orlando, Zwelinzima Sizane, Matthew Moruwe, of course, was at Morris, no he was not at Morris by then in 1972, he was not there I didn't fail when I was doing Form 4. then we started having regular meetings with these guys, guys from South African Students Movement Executive committees from different schools and we used to meet either at Morris Isaacson or, but in Morris we used to have lot of Meetings in Morris Isaacson, at times we would go meet at one fellow's place maybe at one of the elderly people that will accommodate us.

There were people who were from SASO of course, South African Students Organisation who were very much in touch with us. I remember at one stage round early in the very year 1972 there was a conference of South African Student Organisation which is SASO which was held at Waggespruit then we had to go there, the SASO guys promised that they'll came and you know pick us up from the branch of Morris Isaacson and I think from other chaps from Orlando at night so that we could go there and it was one Friday that we had to be picked up from our school and be taken to Waggespruit but they delayed, they never came, they never came. And chaps you know they were very anxious and feeling now we better walk and we were highly motivated, we felt that we ere going to walk definitely this is a call to us, it is part of our liberation, part of liberation contribution that we must take a walk and go to Waggespruit *te voete.* Then there was one fellow Vincent Senare, he's late now, he has passed away, he refused flatly, he said "no, it's a slogan that you guys will walk from here go to the other side of Roodepoort no, I am not gonna do that" and he stayed in the classroom, he was busy doing his Mathematics calculations on the board. We left, amongst them there were other people we had a band bridge, Xola Nyose, brand bridge Xola Nyose; we also had Simon Molemodi, the two chaps were the two fellows who were state witnesses against Eric Moloi at a later stage. We had the Sobane brothers, Onicko Sobane, ya those were the guys

who were the chaps that, some of them were serious; they were in Matric already doing their final studies of high school. And then we left somewhere on the road before we could reached before could reached Roodepoort the SASO Kombi approached us and these fellows told us no, we must stop there and then they'll try to pick us, we must stop at one point outside the town because we might be arrested for trespassing and they went back to fetch Vincent Msilando and they came back with him and picked us up at a point at we agreed upon then we crossed Roodepoort, we highlighted when we got to Weggespruit. Weggespruit was on centre I think it was on church or centre that was managed by some Christian group that allowed and agreed the debates of people of different you political pursuits. At one stage I remember even the prime minister then Forster even he was, he showed his dissatisfaction about the centre. When we were there it's where I then met people like Abraham Motirao, Mokgopotso Ramothibi, I also met Bantu Biko, I also saw Mapetla Mohapi, Sterilely Moodily and quite a most of them and Haden Mokutu, quite a most of them. Those were the kind of chaps that we used to look up to, to say that these are the big boys you know these are big boys in our struggle. As students we used to have this kind of a term that will say somebody who could articulate these issues very well, I don't know if it was a type of I don't know a type of slang language that we used to say his "u clear, his clear". Then I, to be honest that was the highlight of my political, my political training because now issues were discussed in piecely, issues of labour, issues of politics, issues of economics, issues of every you know concept that affecting in the life, were discussed at that conference. We were little fellows ourselves from high schools and they, they were like our mentors and but they were quite very supportive and very helpful to us, you know after sessions maybe certain issues were not quite understood by ourselves, they'll call us to sit down and have a talk with them and explain the challenges that we shall be faced with in our quest for the liberation of our people and issues and their problems that we, they also encountered and all that. I was with on fellow by the name of Pat, Patrick Madibe Tjamakga, his still alive and me, he was a brilliant fellow, he was from Sekano-Ntoane and you know in that kind of set up one, when you come out of such meetings, conferences, you feel like freedom must be here now, it was just highly motivating and of course you know before going to that conference of SASO when we used also have sessions where like I said we used to go to different schools but though some of the schools' headmasters were reluctant to have you know politics being discussed at their schools and all that, they were

actually reactionary but I remember at Sekano-Ntoane we had no problem there was Tom Manthate there, so Morris Isaacson there was

ALI: Tom was what, the principal?

MPHAFI: No, he was a teacher but a very popular teacher at that school. There was also at Morris Isaacson we had Fanyana Mazibuko, we also had the like of but I think Fanyana was the most outstanding that was a very remotionary *Menneer* at school. We also had Mathabatha, Mathabatha well will be like if you approach him he will say to you "whenever you want any issues having to do with your students' politics just go to Menneer Mazibuko and then he will fix up whatever you need."

ALI: And he was the principal?

MPHAFI: He was the principal, he was very, very, very supportive, and he was very supportive. None of course we had, we had people like Roller Masinga who was at Morris Isaacson.

ALI: He was a student also at your time?

MPHAFI: He was my classmate actually.

ALI: Oh, he was your classmate?

MPHAFI: ya, he was my classmate but Roller wouldn't be in class many times, Roller will always disappear. It only daunt to me later that Roller was actually involved in after I have been to his place and then I found his father and I could hear from his father the way he told that the father was in a hurry to say we're playing marbles, why are we still engaged in these issues, these student politics are wasting time, arms must be taken at haste. Now that gave me an indication to say that Roller must be involved something that is very serious because Roller will leave the country in several occasions and come back to class but still write exams and pass well in his tests, whatever tests were there at school. At one time he said to me "Mphafi, these studies are wasting our time, ya no these studies are wasting our time, we must definitely liberate our country". A very militant fellow, a no nonsense

chap who was very impatient in most instances then of course. I had those, a really close friend of mine, a very intelligent fellow; we started what was called the Black DAPS stood for Black Drama Art Poetry Society. We used to write poetry perhaps some drawings done; we had very good chaps like Keith Mabeta was a good artist. We had people like, we had debates, Tsietsi Mashinini was there and Tsietsi Mashinini a very efficient writer, very quick to take on issues even if he might even not understand the matter correctly at that time but he was still eager to you know to go forward and express his feelings. But although Tsietsi Mashinini was actually in the lower classes because when we were studying our Matric, Tsietsi was only doing Form 2, Form 3, ya Form 3 but I know of his elder brother before who was also higher than me, Donald, no Ronald, Tsietsi is Donald, ya Tsietsi is Donald his older brother is Ronald Mokete Mashinini. Now Ronald Mokete Mashinini was not sure you know obviously inclination to our issues at school.

ALI: We were still talking about Tsietsi's brother.

MPHAFI: Tsietsi's brother was Ronald and as I said that Tsietsi's brother at one stage he came to me and said to me "Mphafi, I want you to talk to Siya Mboyo, he is too much, too forward man, *uya phapha* man, just tell him to bring down on that". That surprised me because I thought maybe Ronald was suppose to be supportive to his younger brother because now Tsietsi was now involved, highly involved in South African Student Movement affairs and of course he maybe knew that Tsietsi from time-to-time seen with me, talking to me, consulting but I only learned later that actually Mokete belonged to an ANC SIR, he was already an ANC fellow whilst he was still at school. Of course there were some other chaps who were also known to SIR because I remember when we used to have meetings on weekends at Morris Isaacson after the meetings we were, when we were suppose to disperse you'll find that some chaps would call themselves aside and talk and amongst them there was Masondo, Amos Masondo, there was Zwelinzima Sizane, Billy Masetlha, Naledi Ntsiki, Anthony Nolwane. I always question myself to say '*ba khuluma ngani labs manje?* but realised then it was explained to me later on to say no there was actually a Sam Moeketsi and that was explained by Roller of course. He told me that no, no they are doing other things but when I wanted to protest that I wanted to join them that I also wanted to be part of that and then I was cautioned to say I must always stay in the student politics because there was work to be done in order to mix up the

whole issues and all that. But now you must know that I was a bit reluctant to say why, why they have this kind of a thing at school the ANC, why don't I get an opportunity to try and try to establish a PAC brand in school because my father influenced me. I also wanted to do that but I couldn't, I couldn't just get because there were, because their number were so, they overwhelm me the numbers and then you find that I was involved in daily issues of South African Student Movement in many instances. I remember at one stage one fellow approached me and he wanted me to get him a student, a membership card, was the fellow who was in the killings of Dr Ncele, he was at Morris Isaacson I just forgotten his name.

ALI: Mafomela?

MPHAFI: No, not Mafomela. No, its only later when you realised you were playing with fire because these other kind of guys and there was also another, a friend by the name of I forgot, that fellow he was recruiting people to go outside the country, he was a recruiter for ANC. At one stage he appeared in the papers that the police brought him to his family house, he pointed the yard and they dug out some weapons there and then his mother went and she flew herself at him, he had a bungler clove on, the police were surrounding him and the mother found that his face was swollen that he was beaten up. I don't remember his name.

ALI: And he was a student at the time?

MPHAFI: He was a student at the time?
ALI: At Morris?

MPHAFI: Ya. Let me go back to the Black DAPS, the Black Drama, Art, and Poetry Society. We used to have, I wrote a play; in this play I had people like Nero and many other students who played in my play. There was also another play written by Doctor Moloto, the brother to Oupa and that in his play Tsietsi Mashinini was the lead. My play was in connection with the son that is wanted by the police and the father was like not in supportive with what the son was doing, it shows until when the son you know recruits the father and explains to him that this job had to be done, it cannot be left to other people's children or somebody else, I go to do it Papa and all that. Doctor's play I remember it had to do with the shootings

of Sharpville, it had to do with shootings of Sharpville and many other issues of course we were experimenting with these things we were no qualified writers and we were only students who double into issues of political affairs and wanting to mix it with arts and culture. We had poetry sessions at Morris Isaacson in the afternoon for each and every meetings we used to have, will have a big part of it to be either poetry reading in the first and probably somewhere in the middle and at the end will have to prepare poetry. We also when we had you know function at the school we would ask people like who were good in drawing, Keith Mabeta to make the drawings and then they used to be displayed at youth centre not far away from school just behind the old age home more especially the Matric dance but the term then that was used was called, they used to call it a function. And Morris Isaacson was of different nature to other schools because they used to wear private absolutely new clothing, smart, they'll be smart you know you wouldn't even be able to distinguish between teachers and students. And then we, I remember at our Matric dance we invited Harry Nekokulo, we had Fanyana Mazibuko reading poetry, we had Keith Mabeta's drawings you know art works being displayed around, Doctor Moloto reading his poetry, I read my poetry, he staged his play, I also staged my play, it was something very exciting and then that was a kind of word that we used to do with Black DAPS< all that. I also with Doctor we had an association with one fellow by the name of, his surname is Sithole, he was from Orlando West. He had a group called King Tlambuka, now King Tlambuka in Tsonga, I was meant to understand it means arise and revolt, he was a friend to people like abo Kutu people like abo Menyana, Mzwandile Fanyana whose a doctor also in the East Rand now. Then we would take our group and perform at the centre and Vusi, ya his name was Vusi Sithole would also bring his King Tlambuka kids to came and do their play and also at the June 16 we used to go attend his issues and all that. There was of course other plays' that came around that time, the play that was written by Father Simangaliso, the play about Tiro. We were actually taken in a kombi, we hired Tsietsi Mashinini's father's kombi and then he drove us there and we were like but it was at a young woman centre here at Dube. We would take the first group and we would actually pay out of our own pockets and then take our friends to go there and also see the play because it was a very moving play, something quite different from the usual kinds of things that we were seeing from people like Rocky Mosekete and many others, this was something different and it was very old, attacking issues of

apartheid and it was speaking about political issues which were not very fashionable by then you know and then South Africa.

ALI: Ok, we can go back to school now again.

MPHAFI: Ya. Let's go back to the school. When I was still at Morris I actually spoke with certain fellows, I spoke to Roller, no Roller was arrested already and no he was not, he came around. I spoke to them that I had to go back to school, I had only one subject to write there were only two, they were two actually, this other one I had to do then this other I had to copy write because it was a total failure because I didn't know Geography. I had something like a breakdown when I wrote that subject then on that day, I only had to write two but I decided to back on to full time basis.

ALI: And what year was this?

MPHAFI: This was 1975, ya, this was 1975. Tsietsi now was in charge, Tsietsi was now in Form 4, Tsietsi was in charge but most of my friends were no longer around but a lot of students looked up to me to be their leader once more saying that I was in the first group. Of course, I had also those chaps that were in Form 4 before there that they were now in Form 5 with me, now those chaps were the kind of fellows that also communicated with. Then came in that time, came a teacher by the name of Motsemonele, Motsemonele was a, we was a classmate of Tiro when they were at Teflon, he was there to come and teach History. I didn't have to go to History classes because I had only two subjects to write but I was register for Room 10 because at that time you couldn't register for but I knew in my heart that I wasn't going to write the whole thing but although I ultimately wrote the whole thing. But the teacher never taught us he was not our history master but we used to go and listen to him when he was teaching history. You know it was a different, different way approach of teaching all together from what one has been learning of history of South African history, all this time. Then once I was at Morris there I also had one teacher who was Tom Mnyane, Tom Mnyane was, he was an English master there and he would punish me to come to his place in Dobsonville and give lot of books to read and many other issues and all that. He would tell me and explain to me the problems they have as teachers about the Bantu Education and what they cant, the

best they can do and the likes and all that. Then whilst I was still there then I was approached by one fellow David, I forgotten his surname, Mbatha, I remember it if I'm not mistaken. David then spoke to me about one other fellow who wants to speak to me about issues that I'm always talking about then I asked him *'nge nto zenu zama* politics?' then I went to, then I went to but David. Then I came to a place in Mofolo where I met a fellow by the name of Sobantu Molonzi. Now Sobantu Molonzi from what I later learnt he was actually, he had been in exile and he came back to South Africa, the authority, the system beat him up terribly. He was an Attorney by profession but a very down-to-earth fellow you won't say that. Molonzi then he explained to me that he wanted to then he stared screaming he asked me a lot of questions to say how did I get involved with politics and a lot probably he wanted to make sure that I am being screened so that he can see because he was a member of security, it was a Mayor's issue, actually a lot of fellows got hurt form nothing because t hey were just being suspected for nothing. Molonzi then took me through the whole program, he firstly started with the history of South Africa and then he told me that the organisation was called United Front for liberation of South Africa but normally when we used to talk we just used to call it a Front but this is the home for all liberation organisations for all people who are involved in the struggle of liberation in South Africa, this is their home but this kind of home is a home that is biased to oneself Leninism, Marxism teachings then I was started being taught about South African History another totally different allege totally because now he was taken from point of the workers point of view to say what was history? Quite something, quite different. I was taken through to understand that the pursue is to achieve scientific socialism as opposed to utopian or you know the usual so called African socialism, the Umajo. What? Something like that.

ALI: Ujama.

MPHAFI: Ya. Ujama of a Nyerere but many others gradually used to call it socialistic tendencies that were totally cline for those particular countries. But now he was saying this is scientific socialism and he was totally against the National Movements because he felt that nationalists, they don't have a strong leg to stand on in terms of arguments in terms of saying what do they want because he was saying that we don't have a problem to say what do we want once we achieve you know we South Africans. Then he said, he conveyed to me that 'look I know Doctor Moloto

the brother to Oupa. Doctor failed after I was, no, no he is not going to get involved with this' but I went on. But then as time went by I was advised to slowly but surely get out of Student politics, out of the platform. I was now involved in the underground work, we had to work in cells. As time went by the cells that I formulated with other people wee not to be liked back to Molonzi or to the higher organ of the Front. We had people who were working; I also worked for a very short space of time in Transkei. I worked in Free State. I worked in the Northern Transvaal.

Mostly we used to meet. Then I saw a point of my being with the underground, United Ground for the liberation of South Africa. I was involved with Molonzi for a very long time with the croops there. We used to have groups of people that every evening we would read books on Marxism and we also would attend to. The programme will be like this: you read the daily news, we analyse the articles on the daily news and then we read Marxism. We also had these sessions of having one country discussed at a time. We would speak about; we'll speak about Tanzania. We'll speak about one other country with the likes of so then we were quite aware of many, many countries around the world knew about our political issues. And we tried to go out and get information because we'll be given a country for discussion and we will come back and then we'll sit down because Molonzi was always insisting to say that the numbers is not important but what was important was the quality of the people that were to come out of this programme but unfortunately because. Then came a time when we felt you know because now things were getting hot with, there was no more questions or talks and all, we had to support. We will you know, buy some cold drinks and go to the stadiums and sell at different points to raise funds so that we used these funds for, amongst other things, we could sell people out. But you should understand, there was also resentment about Molonzi. We heard that Molonzi had come back to the country. There were likes of Mohotela if I am not mistaken that were quite happy about him coming back to the country and all that. You know this element of suspicion was one of the most retarding things in political struggles for many people. But maybe now it is important that I should speak about 1976.

ALI: Yes. If I can also ask you now to come in and say how then does this link up with the development in 1976? And where are you as a person in that?

MPHAFI: From the on set when they met at the South African Students Movement conference I was informed, I was informed that they've met and the conference was intended to have a boycott even up to the Eve of June 16, I spoke to Tsietsi Mashinini. We were at the place, the rocky place that is next to the school at Morris Isaacson also next to his home where normally people referred to it as *'Dithabeng'*. Now I come from the mountains country, that's not *"thaba"*there, there's no mountain. Now I remember I met him there that night.

ALI: But that was the significance of that place *"Thabeng"* because it was a place for meetings.

MPHAFI: It was also a place of clarify meetings. But because you know it's rocky, it got lots of trees and its dark. You would be in the darkness and somebody who is under the streetlights far away from you could be easily visible and people wont recognise you very easily there. Although unfortunately at the height of the riots the enemy of course used that as well, thy camped there actually. Now, I was informed of the movements of what is taking place then I was also informed by chaps to say this archive of this are coming that is the underground chaps that this archive of this are coming. But to be true we never envisaged that it would as big as it became to be. Then when we were preparing ply-cards, my younger brothers showed me the ply-cards and they were getting ideas from to say what they should write on the ply-cards. They had wet paint and all my fathers things around, they took the paint and they started drawing, I mean writing of the boards and they were hidden somewhere at the very place *"Dithabeng"*. Some were hidden at the place *Dithabeng* and some were hidden of course in the schoolyard but most of them were hidden in Dithabeng, a few of them were done at Tsietsi Mashinini's place. By then I was already, I had a piece job that I was doing that I couldn't be registered because of fear of the system where I was, I was working in a factory as a clerk there. Then I knew of course that I had to just come to work maybe I thought maybe the students will march then everything will be over and come back. But one when I came forward and said he was from the factory and he said *"a benu*, all of you should leave because *abantwana* (the kids), they've been shot ba *bangisaama poyisa (*fighting the police)." Then I left and came back. I came and got of at the Phefeni Station. There were lot of chaos by then, there were lot of noise, lot of teargas, the atmosphere was

not quite conducive with anything what so ever. Then I left with some few fellows then who explained to me who were from Central Western Jabavu, a bo I forgotten his name, Speedo, abo Speedo, ya. I remember now Speedo to me "hey Mphafi Mphafi" because actually my name then was called Power. They were saying "Power you know what's taking place, be careful" and then after that we dispersed, we had to run away until I reached my granny's place in Mofolo. I stayed there for a moment and then I only left there the following day but I didn't go home. From there, the greater part of the chaotic times of the uprising, I think I took more or less two weeks, more than a week I was not staying home. I was circling around going to friends and sometimes you know moving around and all that. But, and I used to meet with Oupa Moloto and Oupa will tell me that him and bo Titi and the likes of so and so. I would have a discussion with him about the likes of many issues and maybe we even be critical to say to them we are, people are not quite happy about certain things that people are necessarily hurt and then this will subsequently would not be official to the cores if you don't take of the elements who are coming in under the disguise of saying that they are comrades and whereas they are coming to spoil it and things went on that way. Mr Ali I'd tell you, I had to leave the country. I went to Lesotho for almost three months then I came back, I was in Vereeniging. Whilst I was in Vereeniging I had to come back quickly home because I was told that my younger brother was leaving, my younger brother wanted to, but he never said anything and then immediately after my brother left, he left the country. Then he left the country and he went via to Botswana, I also understand that he was even approached once he was in Botswana by Matthew, Morongwa and Roller to leave PAC and go and join the ANC.

ALI: Your brother was in the PAC? Do you recall when did he begin to associate with the PAC?

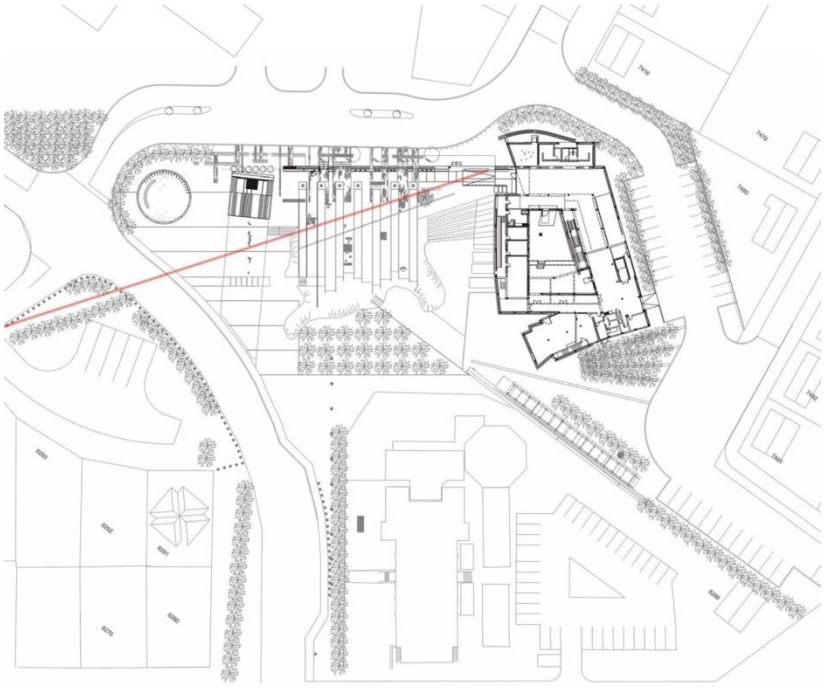
MPHAFI: He was never a much talking fellow but I happened to know that they had some clarity meetings. Actually his last meeting before he left the country was a *'Thabeng'* with the fellows there. Dennis Mashile, he was amongst them. My brother tells me now today that when Dennis was with them he would say to Dennis *be se be hamba* (when they were about to leave) going towards getting their transport at Mofolo. He said he went to Dennis and said 'Dennis, its either you are with us or you are not with us, *unga loku usilandela buyela emuva* (stop following us, go back)',

then that's how Dennis was left behind. He is now a General in the South African Police force.

ALI: Maybe, in conclusion, if we could comment about how June 16 is commemorated? How was it commemorated then? How is it commemorated now? And what are your issues with the way we commemorating June 16?

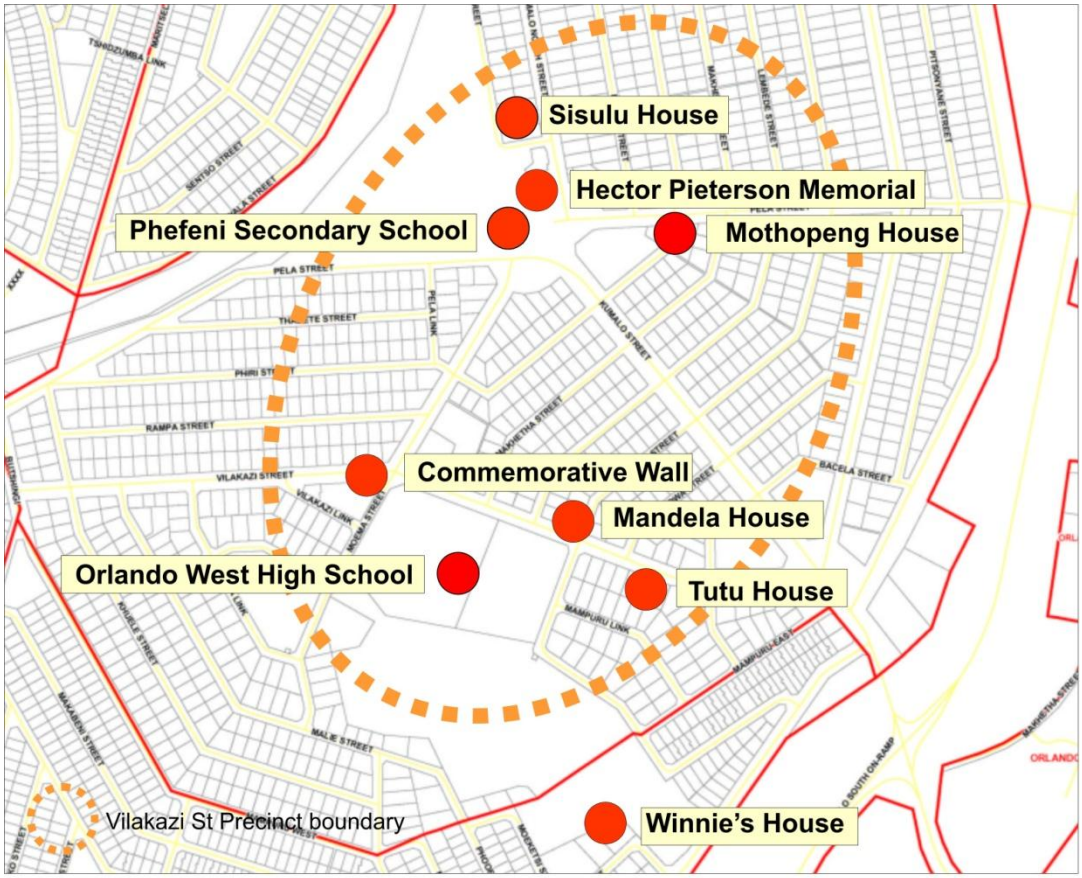
MPHAFI: Ya. Maybe, ya there has been a shift. There has been a shift in terms of it being commemorated. You know one the memory was still fresh that is you know after 1976 when it was being commemorated. It was obviously commemorated in such a way that we had so much, so much emotions that it would really at one stage start again some other riots again, you know uprising and all that. But as time went by up to now that has come down up to the democratic elections in 1994 that it has come down a great deal. I think this kind of a thing will happen in history in any case that when something she's been left long, long time ago, the memories of such things will fail and fail unless we'll be from time to time we'll be evolved by a group of people who probably have passion to do that. There's no more rituals or you know explosive kind of commemorations that they used to be. And also the tendency of having the whole thing and making it a "bash" out of it that probably would have crossed over the significance of it being a memorial thing of pain, of sufferings, of either maybe of applaud. To say this "we applaud the bravery of our people who died then or who stood against the fellable with nothing else but dust-bin lids and stones in their hands". It's fading away slowly, slowly; maybe it is not appropriate for one to expect it to be as emotionally as it was in the earlier ages. But you know the criticism I get from fellows they feel that it was not handled probably.

Appendix 3
Site plan of the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum by Mashabane Rose Associates



Appendix 4

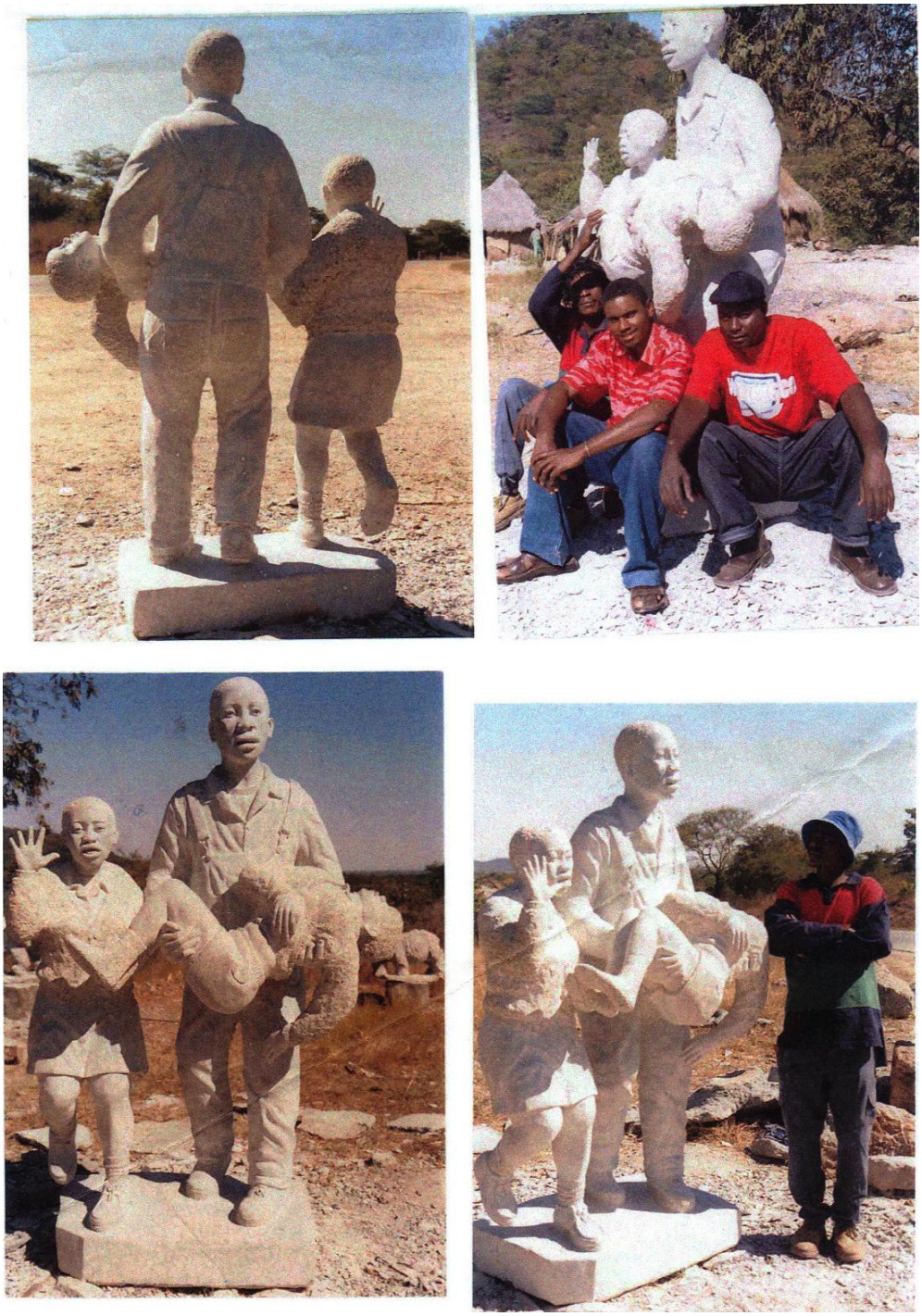
Vilakazi Street Precinct with selected heritage sites.



The Vilakazi Street Precinct with Selected Heritage Sites

Appendix 5

Zimbawean artists posing infront of the statue based on the Sam Nzima photograph. The completed sculpture was subsequently bought by the Nzima Family and it is in their home in Mpumalanga Province.



Appendix 6

City of Johannesburg Blue Heritage plaques marking sites of the June 16, 1976 Trail



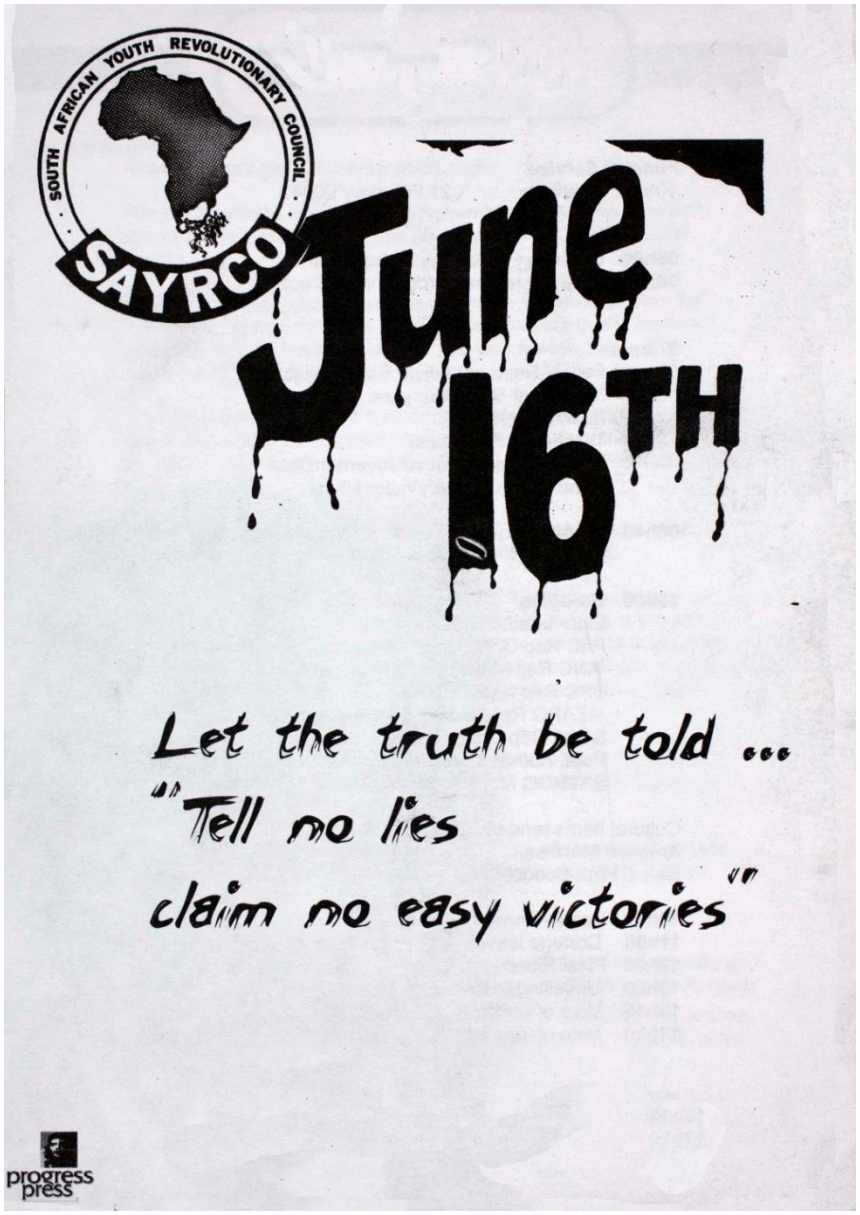
Appendix 7

June 16 material artefact produced by the PAC of Azania in 1988.



Appendix 8

South African Youth Revolutionary Council Poster commemorating June 16, 1976.



Appendix 9

June 16, 1976 uprisings mural at Meadowlands High School in Soweto



Appendix 10

Poster issued by AZAPO to commemorate the June 16, 1976 uprisings in 2005

