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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

BY

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University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Supervised by: Professor S.P. Lekgoathi
2023

SOLEMN DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis titled **Shifts, Changes and Continuities in Heritage Commemoration and Memorialisation of the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre: 1960-2010** is my own work, and that all the resources used or quoted have been duly acknowledged by means of footnotes and complete references, and that I have not previously submitted the thesis for any degree at any other university; neither is it a joint or collaborative work.

Joseph Mairomola Ngoaketsi
Date: 25/02/2024

DEDICATION

This doctoral thesis is dedicated to the Sharpeville martyrs who on 21 March 1960 besieged the Sharpeville police station and became victims of colonial apartheid brutality. It is also dedicated to the Sharpeville survivors who still carry with them the physiological and physical wounds of this tragedy, as well as those whose traumatic experiences of the massacre are forgotten or have gone unacknowledged for far too long. Your action of ripping off the humiliating badge of slavery indeed inspired this work.

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"Whoever acknowledges me before others, I will also acknowledge before my Father in heaven."

Matthew 10:32

Working on the Sharpeville memory, at least for me, needed a long hard think and it really took the best part of my life to get my head around memorialisation and commemoration of the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. The journey has been a lengthy, arduous, and at times, lonely process. For this reason, this study would not have been completed without the assistance, support, and encouragement of several people and institutions. My heartfelt gratitude goes to Professor Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi, for his unfailing support and infinite patience. In the course of the research journey, he read through long and copious amounts of rough drafts and embarrassing sentences, including those that never made it into this final thesis. Bra Peter believed in me even when I did not think that I would pull through this research. Thank you, Bra Peter, for being a part of this journey. You indeed provided me with unwavering guidance, knowledge, support, friendship and encouragement throughout. I, therefore, declare that without your infinite patience, completing this work would have been even more difficult. The completion of this thesis is indeed a culmination of your efforts which propelled me above my ordinary abilities. Although Bra Peter contributed immensely to the completion of this thesis, the ideas and shortcomings of this work are entirely mine.

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PRESENTATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

Aspects of this research project have been published and presented at various conferences and seminars in slightly different forms and focuses including but not limited to the following:

Weaving the historical threads in Sharpeville: Memory institutions as a citadel of cultural heritage. International Conference. National Institute of Technology. Rourkela. Odisha. India.(2019).Next Generation Libraries: *Emerging Technologies, Community Engagement & future Librarianship*.(2000).Ess Ess Publications. New Delhi.

Shifts, Changes and Continuities in Heritage Commemoration and Memorialisation of the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre: 1960-2010. Paper presented to the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS) *Virtual Annual National Doctoral Conference*. 3-5 November 2020.

Changes, shifts, and continuity in the commemoration and memorialisation of Sharpeville massacre in the context of historical amnesia and political distortion. Paper presented to the 5th Social Science and Humanities Scholars in Africa and Centre for African Studies. Summer *School*. Dakar. Senegal. 15th to 19th August.2002.

Dlomo dam-leeuwkuilpan: A revered site of the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre Environmental Narratives: History, Memory, Trauma. University of Turku. *International Symposium*. Finland. Turku.(2023). International Symposium, University of Turku, Finland organized by SELMA: Centre for the Study of Storytelling, University of Turku. 21–22 April 2023.

Human Rights Day: *Grassroots Commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre Amidst the COVID-19 Pandemic Restrictions in South Africa*. In Fridman.O. & S. Gensburger. S (eds.), *The COVID-19 Pandemic and Memory. Remembrance, commemoration, and archiving in crisis provide* the name of the city where this book was published: Palgrave Macmillan.London.2023.

ABSTRACT

The Sharpeville Massacre was a key turning point in modern South African history. The massacre ended the non-violent civil rights-style political activism and flickered three decades of armed confrontation with the colonial apartheid regime. Most importantly, it became the catalyst for the declaration of apartheid as a crime against humanity by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1966. However, most of the studies on the massacre focus mainly on documenting the events of that day, and very little has been written about the historical re-presentations of the shooting beyond this. This study, therefore, aims to fill the lacuna in the re-presentation and observance of this event. It does so by not only complementing the existing literature but also looking at an area that has been grossly neglected, namely the diverse ways in which the killing has been observed over a period of five decades, starting from the 1960s to 2010.

The study employs discourse analysis as well as critical and in-depth analyses of published secondary, historical and archival sources, including newspaper reports and commentaries on the 21 March Sharpeville Day commemorations. These sources are complemented by a large spread, and wide range of biographical sources, unstructured interviews, testimonials, informal discussions, and conversations with key local heritage activist respondents. The focus group consists of members of the Khulumani Support Group at the Sharpeville branch. The findings and conclusions of this study derive from observations of the anniversary commemorations of the massacre by ethnographic participants.

The study utilises several theoretical frameworks, while the Life Narrative Interpretative theory of oral history lays the basis for this research venture. As the findings of this thesis bear out, the application of this theory converges oral history and collective memory studies. Other theories used in this study include Maurice Halbwachs' theory of collective memory, which is located in nostalgia, individual testimony, oral history, tradition, myth, style, language, art, popular culture, and physical landscape. Émile Durkheim's performance or ritual theory postulates that the past is represented and relived through rituals, and the relationship between the past and the present takes the form of a dramatic (re)presentation.

The study observes that cultural rites conducted during memorialisation processes and annual observances of the Sharpeville massacre are marked by human arrangements of performances or

ritual remembrances. The transitional justice theoretical discourse is applied in the study's analysis of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission - a socio-political initiative devoted to fact-finding, reconciliation and memory culture. It concludes that memorialisation processes and rituals are communal reflexes for survivors of the Sharpeville Massacre and families of the victims.

Contrary to assertions by notable Sharpeville Massacre historians, this day was not observed between 1964 and 1984, despite an international commemorative tradition that developed beginning from 1966. The study observes that during the 1960s, the Human Rights Society, an affiliate of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), commemorated Sharpeville Day even at the height of state repression. It demonstrates that it was the Black Consciousness Movement family of organisations that popularised the commemoration of Sharpeville Day, calling it Heroes Day during the 1970s. The observance of this day took the form of church services, cemetery visitations and political rallies.

The study notes that with the formation of the Congress Movement-aligned civic structure in the form of the United Democratic Front, Sharpeville Day was used as a platform to openly defy the apartheid government and undermine its institutions. The 1990s was a period of political transition in South Africa, and the study analyses commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre during this decade. In the context of the unbanning of liberation movements, observances of this day took place in a more politically tolerable landscape. During the first half of this decade, commemorations of Sharpeville Massacre revealed the deep-seated political and ideological differences between the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress former liberation movements turned political parties in the early 1990s after their unbanning.

The study observes that this day was used during this period to garner support for the upcoming elections in 1994. Following the establishment of the Government of National Unity, the hegemonic impulses of the African National Congress overrode long-held traditions of how Sharpeville Day was observed. The study highlights that from the year 1995, 21 March started to be observed as an official public holiday, later transforming into Human Rights Day, instead of being a solemn commemoration, as was the case before the democratic dispensation.

The study further observes that during this decade, court-like restorative justice bodies, such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, created a theatrical environment for victims of gross human rights violations. The ritualistic oral testimonies of those who appeared constituted a

memorialisation process. Lastly, the study reveals that post-1994, Sharpeville commemorations possess distinct characteristics at the core of which are distortions of history, the watering down of other narratives and contributions, selective amnesia and the silencing of other voices on the part of the governing party. There are further contestations, grand narratives, commemorations, counter-commemorations and counter-narratives regarding the memory of Sharpeville by both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. In terms of material culture, the study highlights how this tangible feature of Sharpeville's memory is characterised by official memorials and counter-memorials.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	Anti-Apartheid Movement
ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
APC	African People's Convention
APF	Anti-Privatisation Forum
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
AZANYU	Azanian National Youth Unity
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
AZASO	Azanian Students' Organisation
AZAYO	Azanian Youth Organisation
BC	Black Consciousness
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BLA	Black Lawyers Association
BPC	Black People's Convention
BSO	Black Students Organisation
BSS	Black Students Society
BWL	Bantu Women's League
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COP	Congress of the People
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CUSA	Council of Unions of South Africa
DA	Democratic Alliance
DISA	Digital Innovation South Africa
DPSC	Detainees Parents' Support Committee
DSAC	Department of Sport, Arts and Culture
ELM	Emfuleni Local Municipality

FEDSAW	Federation of South Africa Women
FTW	Federation of Transvaal Women
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
GPG	Gauteng Provincial Government
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRC	Human Rights Commission
HRV	Human Rights Violation
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ID	Independent Democrats
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
KSG	Khulumani Support Group
KZN	KwaZulu Natal
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
MEC	Member of Executive Committee
MEDUNSA	Medical University of South Africa
MIRA	Middleburg Residents Association
MISCO	Middleburg Students Council
MIWO	Middleburg Women Organisation
MIYCO	Middleburg Youth Congress
MSM	Moderate Students Movement
MWASA	Media Workers Association
NF	National Forum
NNP	New National Party
NPSL	National Professional Soccer League
NUMSA	National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
PAC	Pan African Congress
PASMA	Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania
PAYCO	Pan Africanist Youth Congress of Azania
PEBCO	Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation
PWV	Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RMC	Release Mandela Campaign

SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADET	South African Democracy Education Trust
SAHA	South African History Archives
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SANDF	South African Defense Force
SANFA	South African National Football Association
SAPA	South African Press Association
SAPS	South African Police Services
SASO	South African Students' Organization
SCR	Sharpeville Concerned Residents
SDM	Sedibeng District Municipality
SDU	Self Defense Unit
SHRP	Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct
SOPA	Socialist Party of Azania
SRC	Students' Representative Council
SRDA	Sedibeng Reconstruction and Development Agency
SYC	Sharpeville Youth Club
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization
UWC	University of Western Cape
UYCO	Uitenhage Youth Congress
VCA	Vaal Civic Association
WCSO	Western Cape Students Congress

CHAPTER ONE

SHIFTS, CHANGES, CONTINUITIES, AND/OR RAPTURES OF MEMORIALISATION AND COMMEMORATION OF 21ST MARCH 1960 SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE: 1960-2016

Sharpeville: A new era of struggle - "… We are fully aware of the nature and size of our task…."
Robert Sobukwe[1]

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The *Business Day* of 26th March 2013, published an article by Palesa Morudu titled "Sharpeville's history, not the PAC's sole heritage". Morudu wrote the piece after reading a "tweet"[2] by Zwelinzima Vavi, stating that "the laying of wreaths by the DA was a very clever electioneering" strategy and political tactic. Neil Coleman followed suit by writing that "it is utter insincerity for the DA to try to steal struggle heritage when it still preserves apartheid socio-economic foundations".[3] Morudu, Vavi, and Coleman expressed these sentiments upon observing the Democratic Alliance's (DA) leaders – among them Helen Zille, Lindiwe Mazibuko, Mmusi Maimane, and John Moodey – laying wreaths for the victims of the "Positive Action Campaign", led by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which resulted in what became known as the Sharpeville Massacre of 21st March 1960 (Sharpeville Massacre hereinafter) at the Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct (SHRP hereinafter).[4] In her article, Morudu is of the view that the notion that opposition leaders and supporters cannot lay claim to South Africa's history of struggle is flawed and goes

[1] South African History Online, *Speeches of Sobukwe.* 26-Apr-2012. https://aplapoqo.wordpress.com/. (Accessed on the 20.01.2022).
[2] A "tweet" is a post made on the social media application called Twitter.
[3] P. Morudu, Sharpeville's history not the PAC's sole heritage. *Perspective*. Rhodes University. 26 March 2013. https://www.ru.ac.za/perspective/2013archive/sharpevilleshistorynotthepacssoleheritage.html. (Accessed on the 28.07.2021). Zwelinzima Vavi and Neil Coleman were senior members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) during the 2013 Sharpeville massacre. For more see, J. Seekings and H. Matisonn, The continuing politics of basic income in South Africa. *The Centre for Social Science Research* (CSSR). Working paper No. 286. 2010.p.1-30.
[4] In this thesis, "Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct" memorial complex, referred to as *"Monumenteng"* by Sharpeville residents, is one of six heritage sites in Sharpeville dedicated to the victims of the 21st March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. It was constructed between 2001 and 2002 and inaugurated on the 21st of March 2002. It consists of a Garden of Remembrance, a South African Heritage Resource Agency (SAHRA) memorial boulder, a museum structure, known as the Sharpeville Exhibition Centre, a library, and the original memorial stones built before its erection. Besides the 21st March memorial, the complex hosts two other commemorative events: i.e. the 1984 Vaal Uprising and the signing of the 1996 Constitution.

against the Freedom Charter.[5] She further stated that the notion that one's political opponents are "thieves of our history" could easily lead to unintended consequences, like the creation of "no-go areas".[6]

However, Morudu's statement is disingenuous as the PAC and BCM family of organisations were not signatories to the Freedom Charter in 1955 and should thus not be expected to abide by its principles. The above introductory excerpt points to public debates surrounding the Sharpeville Massacre observance; its meaning, significance, place in the contradictory historical narrative, divisive identity politics, contested historical heritage and the direction of the continuing liberation process in post-1994 South Africa.[7] Despite the repressive measures of the apartheid government prior to 1994, the Sharpeville Massacre has historically been observed as Sharpeville-Langa Day. Since 1995, 21 March has been hallowed as "Human Rights" Day and a public holiday. This day, since then has somehow been devalued as little focus is given to commemorating the 21 March 1960 massacre, but celebration of human rights. Unathi Sonwabile Henama and Lwazi Apleni observes that observance of this day in Sharpeville is always an embarrassment for the ANC-government because there are sections of the political opponents of the ANC that feel that the Sharpeville Massacre commemoration and its associated material culture presents a skewed reflection of history about what happened at Sharpeville.[8]

[5] According to R. Isaacs, & B. van Der Merwe, Celebrating 60 years of the Freedom Charter: The identification of two signed copies of the Freedom Charter that forms part of the national estate, *South African Museums Association Bulletin*. Vol.38.(2016).p.16. Freedom Charter is a document of monumental historical and political significance in South Africa, as it was a statement of core principles as a founding document of the South African Congress Alliance, which was adopted in Kliptown, Soweto, on 26 June 1955. For more on the Freedom Charter, see G. Marcus, The Freedom Charter: A blueprint for a democratic South Africa. the paper was published by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies as an occasional paper no. 9 June. 1985. University of Witwaterand.file:///C:/Users/ngoakmj/Downloads/Working%20Paper%20Number%208.pdf (Accessed on the 10.08.2021).

[6] P. Morudu, Sharpeville's history not the PAC's sole heritage. *Perspective*. Rhodes University. 26 March 2013. https://www.ru.ac.za/perspective/2013archive/sharpevilleshistorynotthepacssoleheritage.html (Accessed on the 13.08.2021).

[7] See, A.K. Hlongwane, *The Commemoration of Sharpeville*. http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/commemoration-sharpeville-extract-paper-ali-hlongwane.(Accessed on the 26.07.2021).

[8] U.S.Henama, & L. Apleni, "Heritage Preservation for Tourism Consumption in The Global South: The Case of South Africa and St. Helena in The Atlantic Ocean." Culture, People and Technology: The Driving Forces for Tourism Cities Proceedings of 8th ITSA Biennial Conference. (2020).p.315-316.

The contestation over the sanitising of this day and the way it is being observed post 1994 has, according to Khangela Ali Hlongwane and Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, given rise to rich memorial debate surrounding political and heritage ownership of Sharpeville memory.[9] Therefore, the primary aim of this thesis is to explore the complex, multifaceted nature of historical memories, (re)presentation, re-construction and issues of identity formation through various forms of memorialisation of the Sharpeville Massacre. The study further deals with living partakers and witnesses who carry subjective hurts, anger, political perceptions and anguish.

The memorialisation process is described in this thesis as a search for meaning and an expression of grieving where individuals come together to undertake the ritual of mourning.[10] It is explicitly for survivors and relatives of victims still traumatised not only by an inability to integrate their experience, but also the lack of will to communicate the complete catastrophic knowledge to others, thereby caught between the compulsion to bear witness and the impossibility of doing so.[11] Memorialisation process further establishes frameworks of history in order to ensure their future does not contain the same fate.[12] Its expression can be found in the phrase "Never Again"[13]. According to Ali Khangela Hlongwane, this theme epitomises a fortitude to think of what occurred in such a way that the killings in question should not be repeated.[14] For example, at the entrance of Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct, there is graffiti of hanging nooses and the face of a person in the background with a "Never Again" signature at its bottom right,[15] highlighting a painful incident

[9] A. K. Hlongwane, & S. M. Ndlovu, *Remembering Sharpeville Day and Fashioning Contested National Narratives: The Sharpeville Memorial Precinct and the Langa Memorial*. In A. K. Hlongwane, & S. M. Ndlovu, *Public History and Culture in South Africa Memorialisation and Liberation Heritage Sites in Johannesburg and the Township Space*. Palgrave Macmillan. Switzerland. Cham.(2019).p.79.

[10] J. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. (1995). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. In S.L. Steele, Memorialisation and the Land of the Eternal Spring: Performative practices of memory on the Rwandan genocide. *Passages: law, aesthetics, politics*.(2006).p.3.

[11] C. Caruth, *Trauma: Explorations in Memory Baltimore*. Johns Hopkins University Press.(1995). In S.L. Steele, "Memorialisation and the Land of the Eternal Spring: Performative practices of memory on the Rwandan genocide". *Passages: law, aesthetics, politics*.(2006).p.3

[12] B. De Bortoli, "Post-Conflict Memorialisation in Rwanda and South Africa". *Australian Institute of International Affaris.*26 May 2014. https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/news-item/post-conflict-memorialisation-in-rwanda-and-south-africa/ .(Accessed on the 18.08.2021).

[13] According to D. I. Popescu, & T. Schult, "Performative Holocaust commemoration in the 21st century". *Holocaust Studies.* Vol.26.No.2.(2020).p.135. The *"Never Again"* mantra or pledge belongs to the standard repertoire of Holocaust commemoration, and it is currently expressed in a wide range of settings such as official commemorations, memorials, and museums as well as school curricula globally.

[14] A. K. Hlongwane, "The Historical Development of the Commemoration of the June 16, 1976, Soweto Students' Uprisings: A Study of Re-representation, Commemoration, and Collective Memory". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Witwaterand. Johannesburg.(2015).p.31.

[15] Z. Buthelezi, Retracing the struggle route at the Sharpeville Memorial. *Gauteng Tourism Authority.* 04 April 2016. https://www.gauteng.net/blog/retracing-the-struggle-route-at-the-sharpeville-memorial. (Accessed on the 18.08.2021).

in South Africa's past. These words were also used by Nelson Mandela in 1994 in his first speech to the nation.[16] According to one lexicon, its definition, as opposed to memorialisation, is "to honour and preserve the memory of something for all eternity".[17] According to Brian Conway, social groups mobilise to represent the past to themselves and to others. It, therefore, relates to what people do in a communal way and in public contexts. Sabine Marschall argues that it serves not just to remember the past and honour the victims, but also to form consciousness and establish collective identity among the living.[18]

The working definition of commemoration in this thesis means a set of narratives and practices that draw together individual memory, collective grief, regular ritual, aesthetic representation. It includes its dynamic combination of space, sensory experience, affect, expressive and material culture.[19] It can also involve festive celebrations as seen in the post-1994 state-led observances of the massacre, a tradition followed by the governing party in the form of the ANC and its alliance partners such as the South African Communist party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. It is further conveyed and sustained within the ritual performance of political speeches.[20]

This study traces the historical development of the way in which Sharpeville Day has been observed and how it has changed in terms of traditions, re-constitution, and expressive and material cultures. The focus is on private forms of memorialisation by victims' relatives and the low-key commemoration activities of the 1960s when this day was not openly observed. It was followed by different traditions such as demonstrations, protests, political speeches, and enactments by both the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the ANC family of affiliates from the late 1960s to 1980s, respectively.[21] The focus expands to include the transitional period, characterised by the unbanning of liberation movements in the 1990s, as well as the state's master narrative and counter-commemorations of this massacre in the post-apartheid dispensation. Lastly, the material culture associated with this incident is also analysed.

[16] M. B. Mhlauli, E. Salani, & R. Mokotedi, "Understanding apartheid in South Africa through the racial contract". *International Journal of Asian Social Science*, Vol.5. No.4.(2015).p.203-204.

[17] J.T.Baumel, "In Everlasting Memory": Individual and Communal Holocaust Commemoration in Israel". *Israel Affairs*. Vol.1.No.3.(1995).p.149.

[18] S. Marschall, "Visualizing memories: The Hector Pieterson Memorial in Soweto". *Visual Anthropology*. Vol.19.No.2.(2006).p.149.

[19] S. Sumartojo, "Commemorative atmospheres: Memorial sites, collective events and the experience of national identity". *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. Vol.41.No.4.(2016).p.542.

[20] J. S. Damico, & L. Lybarger, "Commemoration, Testimony, and Protest in Argentina: An Exploration of Response and Responsibilities". *The Journal of Literature, Literacy, and the Arts, Research Strand*. Vol.3.No.1.(2016).p.15.

[21] It must be noted that these affiliate movements became agents for change in South Africa after the banning of liberation movements in the 1960s.

The context of the study is, therefore, the observance of this day within South African borders by "progressive" or "above-ground" organisations (as opposed to "underground")s,, particularly students, labour, youth movements as well as the role of churches where evident during the period under investigation. This was prior to the 1990s when liberation movements were banned within the country and operating only in exile. The views of the ordinary residents of Sharpeville are analysed to determine what the political parties' heated claims and counterclaims of ownership mean to the residents. The views of survivors and victims' descendants which have, until recently, not received proper attention are also analysed to establish what it means to have a personal experience turned into a national event.[22]

The choice of the research period is significant. Besides the fact that Sharpeville has been included in the Resistance and Liberation National Heritage Route, in 2016 Sharpeville Massacre memory spaces were declared national heritage sites, thereby gaining governmental protection and preservation status. The Sharpeville Massacre is also the most revered incident with more memorials than any other political event, where all these memorials are erected within a radius of less than 10 kilometres.[23] There are further ongoing efforts and a submission to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to declare the entire township a World Heritage Site.

[22] A. K. Hlongwane, *The Commemoration of Sharpeville*. http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/commemoration-sharpeville-extract-paper-ali-hlongwane. (Accessed on 29.08.2021).
[23] Interview with Nicho Ntema. Sharpeville. 21 March 2020.



Map.1.1. Map of Africa showing Johannesburg and Sharpeville.
https://melbourneblogger.blogspot.com/2021/03/sharpeville-massacre-in-south-africa.html.
(Accessed 28 April 2023).

1.1 A CASE FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF THE SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE

Several factors motivate the choice of observance of the Sharpeville Massacre over two other commemorative anniversaries happening within Sharpeville and its surrounds. Firstly, in many accounts, the Sharpeville Massacre was a key turning point for contemporary South African history.[24] In his autobiography *A Long Walk to Freedom* (1994), Nelson Mandela writes: "This massacre marked a break with the epoch of peaceful demonstrations, which had its origins in Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha campaign".[25] In describing the events of that day, Kgalema

[24] S. Dubow, "Were there political alternatives in the wake of the Sharpeville-Langa violence in South Africa:1960?". *Journal of African History*. No.56.(2015).p.119.

[25] N. Mandela, *A long walk to freedom: The autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. Abacus. London.(1994). In T. Ntlemeza, "Demonstrations on 21 March 1960: A view from the Western Cape. *The Thinker*. Vol.50.No.4.(2013).p.46.

Motlanthe[26] said, "Sharpeville and Langa Massacres were a tipping point in that they served to trigger off deep revulsion and disgust both locally and internationally against the apartheid government."[27] Reflecting on the killing at Sharpeville, Pierre Nora remarks; *"*No event since World War II has been fully assimilable to a unified national memory."[28]

Secondly, the Sharpeville Massacre was a seminal incident in the dark history of apartheid. It continues to resonate in historic memory as an iconic symbol of the apartheid regime's ruthlessness and of the popular struggle against racial subjugation.[29] Philip Frankel argues that the Sharpeville Massacre continues to occupy the emotional heights of anti-apartheid struggle in a way that no person or place has superseded for generations. It further has a unique capacity to evoke worldwide recognition even among people with little other knowledge about the struggle against apartheid.[30] Within the South African borders, it started the true beginning of hostilities and other provocations resulting in both the ANC and the PAC forming armed wings to fight for the freedom of Africans against the tyranny of colonial apartheid.[31] Thirdly, the onrush of the Sharpeville Massacre was for many years a global media sensation and as such provided a strong and simple narrative. Father Patrick Noonan recalls: "…The foreign media normally get it right; they came and asked the right questions. Mallory Saleson from the Voice of America never misses 21st March Sharpeville Day…."[32]

Rob Skinner (2010) argues that the massacre marked a definitive moment in the formation of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM). He contends that the Sharpeville Massacre and the apartheid regime's draconian response resulted in a fast-tracked internationalisation of anti-apartheid activism. Political refugees became essential figures in the formation of anti-apartheid networks in

[26] Kgalema Motlanthe served as president of South Africa from 2008-2009 and deputy president from 2009-2014. For more on Motlanthe, see E. Harvey, *Kgalema Motlanthe: A Political Biography.* Jacana Media.(Pty).Ltd.Johannesburg.(2013).

[27] Address by Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe at the Human Rights Day Celebration, 21 March 2010. In *The Thinker*. Vol.50.(2013).p.46.

[28] P.Nora, & L. Kritzman, *Realms of memory: The construction of the French past*. Vol. 3. New York: Columbia University Press. (1998). In K. Wells, "Symbolic Capital and Material Inequalities: Memorializing Class and "Race" in the Multicultural City". *Space and Culture*. Vol.10.No.2. (2007).p.202.

[29] S. Dubow, *Apartheid. 1948-1994*.Oxford University Press.Oxford.(2014).p.74.

[30] P.Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre.* Yale University Press. New Haven. 2001).p.4.

[31] S.Ellis, "The Genesis of the ANC's Armed Struggle in South Africa 1948–1961". *Journal of Southern African Studies.*Vol.37.No.4.(2011).p.661.

[32] P.Noonan, *They're Burning the Churches: The Final Dramatic Events That Scuttled Apartheid*. Jacana Media.(Pty).Ltd.Johannesburg.(2011).p.114.

Europe, North America and Africa.[33] Within the United Nations (UN), the Sharpeville Massacre marked a turning point in the global efforts against apartheid.[34] The UN regarded the massacre as disproportionate to anything that the demonstrators had done.[35] From the mid-1960s, racial discrimination in South Africa became "one of the major preoccupations of the UN system".[36] On the sixth anniversary (1966) of the Sharpeville Massacre, the UN designated 21st March as International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.[37]

Fourthly, the Sharpeville Massacre overshadowed one of the worst mining tragedies to ever happen in Africa.[38] On the 21st of January, 1960, the Coalbrook mine disaster occurred, with 435 miners perishing when a huge section of the mine collapsed a few kilometres from Sharpeville.[39] Furthermore, Sharpeville continues to get the lion's share of attention in commemorative discourses in South Africa, although there was a massacre in Langa on the 21st of March, 1985, where at least twenty mourners were killed in what became known as the Langa Massacre.[40]

Fifthly, the fact that the TRC selected the Sharpeville Massacre as the starting point of its work cannot be overlooked as it is also a form of commemoration - a "negative commemoration,"[41] Charles Taylor argues that this form of commemoration is associated with a valorisation of previously marginal voices, creating occasions for their stories to be told and whereby individual testament has become the overriding repertoire for the act of regret.[42] He further contends that politics of negative commemoration is inseparable from politics of victimhood and the "victim consciousness" attached to it. Taylor further posits that truth commissions are occasions wherein

[33] R. Skinner, *The Foundations of Anti-Apartheid Liberal Humanitarians and Transnational Activists in Britain and the United States, c.1919–64.* Palgrave Macmillan.London.(2010).p.157.
[34] I. J. Gassama, "*Reaffirming Faith in the Dignity of Each Human Being: The United Nations, NGO's and Apartheid". Fordham International Law Journal*.Vol.19.(1996).p.1483.
[35] S. C. Jansen, & B. Martin, "Exposing and opposing censorship: Backfire dynamics in freedom-of-speech struggles". *Pacific Journalism Review*.Vol.10.No.1.(2004).p.31.
[36] R. Schifter, "Human Rights at the United Nations: The South African Precedent". *American University Journal of International Law and Policy*. Vol.8.(1993). In Dubow.S,"The United Nations and the Rhetoric of Race and Rights". *Journal of Contemporary History*. Vol 43.No.1.(2008).p.48.
[37] K. Wells, "Memorializing Class and "Race" in the Multicultural City". *Space and Culture*.Vol.10.No.2.(2007).p.202.
[38] K. Sheth, *Worst Mining Disasters in Human History*. 25 April 2017. https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/worst-mining-disasters-in-human-history.html. (Accessed 26 on the 26.08.2021).
[39] A. Cobley, "Powering Apartheid: The Coalbrook Mine Disaster of 1960". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.72.No.1.(2020).p.80.
[40] R. Thornton, "The shooting at Uitenhage, 1985, South Africa, 1985: The context and interpretation of violence". *American Anthologist*. Vol.17.No.2.(1990).p.217.
[41] C. Taylor, *"Justice, Memory and Inclusion,"* paper presented at Global Imaginaries Symposium, Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Witwatersrand, 2002. In Posel.D, "History as Confession: The Case of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *Public Culture*. Vol.20.No.1.(2008).p.123.
[42] Ibid.p.123.

negative commemoration can route its discourses and ethical imperatives into the politics of fledgling democracies seeking to come to terms with recent histories of intensely violent and divisive conflict.[43]

Sixthly, South Africa in 1994 saw the advent of a "Memory Boom,"[44] symptomatic of a society that has emerged from years of conflict.[45] A significant post-1994 feature of South African cultural life has been the rise of commemorations manifesting in new monuments and memorials, museums, archives and historical exhibitions and national memory cultures. There has also been a deliberate move by the ANC government of declaring landmarks of historic significance as liberation heritage sites. As Jay Winter has observed, "State sponsored commemoration is a politically sanctioned and politically funded rite of remembering in public adjusted to a publicly or politically approved narrative."[46] Drawing from Robert Hewison (1987), Sabine Marschall argues that South Africa's obsession with heritage involving not only the preservation, but sometimes actual recreation of the past is in fact a global phenomenon that characterises the contemporary era.[47]

Lastly, there is the structural development of historical consciousness in relation to the consciousness of time, transition, cause and effect, time, and development.[48] In this regard, Ali Khangela Hlongwane and Sifiso Ndlovu provide an example of how the Hector Peterson Museum in 2007 hosted a youth workshop with "Human Rights" as its theme. Participants were asked to make a short original documentary on what 21st March 1960 Sharpeville Day meant to them. Both scholars observe that none of the participants interviewed was able to link Human Rights Day to the Sharpeville Massacre.[49] Furthermore, the Human Sciences Research Council's (HSRC) *South African Social Attitudes Survey* profiled cognizance of the Sharpeville Massacre and views on the

[43] Ibid.p.123.

[44] According to S. Arnold-de Simine, *Mediating Memory in the Museum Trauma, Empathy, Nostalgia*. Palgrave Macmillan. London. (2013).p.14. '*Memory Boom'* refers to a development in which, over the last few decades, the prominence and significance of memory have risen within both the academy and society.

[45] A. K. Hlongwane, "The Historical Development of the Commemoration of the June 16, 1976, Soweto Students' Uprisings: A Study of Re-representation, Commemoration, and Collective Memory". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Witwaterand. Johannesburg.(2015).p.6.

[46] J. Winter, "The generation of memory: reflections on the memory boom in contemporary historical studies". *Canadian military history.* Vol.10.Iss.3.p.366.

[47] S. Marschall, "Canonizing New Heroes: The Proposed Heroes Monument in Durban". *South African Journal of Art History*. Vol.18.(2003).p.80.

[48] M. J. Ngoaketsi, "Historical consciousness experienced by the community of Sharpeville: A case study". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Free State.Phuthaditjhaba.(2001).p.113.

[49] A. K. Hlongwane, & S. M. Ndlovu, *Remembering Sharpeville Day and Fashioning Contested National Narratives: The Sharpeville Memorial Precinct and the Langa Memorial*. In A. K. Hlongwane, & S. M. Ndlovu, *Public History and Culture in South Africa Memorialisation and Liberation Heritage Sites in Johannesburg and the Township Space*. Palgrave Macmillan. Switzerland. Cham. (2019).p.97.

importance of memorialising the past. The survey was conducted between March 2020 and February 2021, consisting of respondents older than 15 years of age.[50] In the study, respondents were asked about their familiarity with the Sharpeville Massacre. The results showed that 39% of the respondents had not heard of the incident before, 39% of them knew very little or nothing about it, 19% of them knew enough to describe it to the next person, and 3% did not give any response to the question.[51]

On awareness of seminal moments such as the Freedom Charter and the Soweto Students Uprising, findings revealed that awareness of the former was comparable to that of the Sharpeville Massacre, with 57% of respondents having heard of it and 40% of respondents not having heard of it. Familiarity with the latter was higher at 71%, with 27% of respondents reporting no acquaintance of it. The survey concluded that levels of knowledge about specific events remain quite shallow. Furthermore, there is a wide generational difference in awareness of the Sharpeville Massacre, with 60% of respondents aged between 16-24 never having heard of this important massacre. There is also a strong class gradient, indicating low levels of awareness among adults from rural and low economic backgrounds. The conclusion being that the more sophisticated an individual is, the more likely they are to be aware of the Sharpeville Massacre.[52] The higher awareness, amongst younger generation can be attributed to one's level of schooling considering that Sharpeville Massacre features in the school history curriculum.

Scholars such as Matthew Graham, Thando Sipuye, Ali Khangela Hlongwane and Sifiso Ndlovu provide some insights as to why there is such a lack of knowledge of the connection between the Sharpeville Massacre and Human Rights Day. Thando Sipuye's views regarding the ANC government are that South Africa has a theatrical crisis of selective amnesia and partisan remembering of history and commemorative events. Sipuye also believes that the ANC government is biased towards a singular political trajectory and one particular school of thought that is portrayed as the sole agent of the socio-economic and political transformations. The reconstruction

[50] B. Roberts, G. Houston, J. Struwig & S. Gordon, Survey shows ignorance about big moments in South Africa's history – like the Sharpeville massacre. The conversation.19. March. 2021. https://theconversation.com/survey-shows-ignorance-about-big-moments-in-south-africas-history-like-the-sharpeville-massacre-157513 . (Accessed on the 17.10.2021).

[51] T. Bernard & African News Agency, 4 out of 5 people ignorant about big moments in South Africa's history – like the Sharpeville massacre. *Independent Online*. 20 March 2021. https://www.iol.co.za/news/opinion/4-out-of-5-people-ignorant-about-big-moments-in-south-africas-history-like-the-sharpeville-massacre-0659e605-3c4e-4907-a924-844f59b59b66.(Accessed on the 17.11.2021).

[52] Ibid.

and rewriting of histories about the Sharpeville Massacre and the reconstitution of that day as ahistorical and a depoliticised "Human Rights Day" is but one of many examples of this unfortunate political bias and narrow approach to the telling of history. Hlongwane and Ndlovu also observe that for some residents of Sharpeville, the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre is just a boring day.[53]

On the other hand, Matthew Graham argues that the ANC has worked tirelessly to recover certain historic events as its own while excluding other liberation movements from the struggle for liberation narrative. For example, the ANC's rewriting of South Africa's history denigrates other organisations involved in the anti-apartheid campaign, such as the PAC. It is, according to Graham, an acknowledged fact that the PAC's anti-pass campaign resulted in the Sharpeville Massacre. This study is, therefore, by no means a comparative study; however, it draws heavily on pioneering works on aspects of memorialisation and commemorations by South African scholars of the 1976 Soweto Students Uprising.[54]

This study makes a significant contribution in attempting to investigate shifts, charges, continuities and/or raptures of memorialisation and commemoration of the 21st March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre and the extent to which it has been used in constructing a heritage landscape and group identity over a period of fifty-six years. Furthermore, in South Africa, memorial efforts post-1994 have mainly focused on the evocation of the battleground of struggle. They are today the object of memory enterprises which are intended to contribute to the construction of a national identity rooted in memories of a violent past and the abuses committed under apartheid. Noor Nieftagodien argues that the question of the link between these memorialised neighbourhoods and the population

[53] A. K. Hlongwane, & S. M. Ndlovu, *Remembering Sharpeville Day and Fashioning Contested National Narratives: The Sharpeville Memorial Precinct and the Langa Memorial*. In A. K. Hlongwane, & S. M. Ndlovu, *Public History and Culture in South Africa Memorialisation and Liberation Heritage Sites in Johannesburg and the Township Space*. Palgrave Macmillan. Switzerland. Cham.(2019).p.110.

[54] South African scholars this work will draw heavily on include among others, A.K. Hlongwane, *Soweto 76 Reflections on the Liberation Struggles: Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of June 16, 1976*.(2006) *Footprints of the Class of 76: Commemoration, Memory Mapping and Heritage* (2008). A.K. Hlongwane's doctoral thesis on *The Historical Development of the Commemoration of the June 16, 1976, Soweto Students' Uprisings: A Study of Re-Representation, Commemoration and Collective Memory*. (2015). S.M.Ndlovu, *Soweto Uprisings Counter Memories of June 1976*. Pan Macmillan South Africa.(2017). Edited work by Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 7, Soweto Uprisings: New Perspectives*. (2021). Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu's *Public History and Culture in South Africa Memorialisation and Liberation Heritage Sites in Johannesburg and the Township Space* (2019); Angel David Nieves and Ali Khangela Hlongwane's Public History and "Memorial Architecture" in the "New" South Africa: The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, Soweto, Johannesburg.(2007). Ali Khangela Hlongwane's Commemoration, Memory and Monuments in the Contested Language of Black Liberation: The South African Experience (2008).

currently living in them has not yet been explored in depth. Not only do these evocations of memory tend to obstruct opposing voices, but also little space is left for ordinary memories. Chris Saunders and Cynthia Kros argue that urban memory - including its meaning in the making of identities and development strategies linked to intangible and tangible heritage produced by local and municipal governments - has recently come under investigation by researchers in Africa.[55]

1.2 KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The Sharpeville Massacre has been commemorated by the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) family of affiliates from the second day after its occurrence - a practice that it kept observing annually until 1994 when AAM was itself disbanded. Simon Korner an AAM activist writes; "We were one organisation that could disband because what we wanted, which was the right of the people of South Africa, both black and white, to elect their own government in a fair way, that was achieved, and the people of South Africa could rule themselves".[56] As far back as 1966, the day was institutionalised and annually observed by the United Nations (UN) as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and continues to be commemorated as such. Within South Africa, the day continues to be observed through ongoing memorialisation processes by victims' relatives and survivors alike. There have been other annual commemorations, however low-key, by progressive movements since the days of apartheid. taking the form of expression of grief and loss during the first two decades (1960s through the 1970s). From the 1980s to the early 1990s, commemorations took the form of symbolic defiance against the same illegitimate apartheid system, in pursuit of the liberation project in South Africa. John Hunter argues that we commemorate to instruct ourselves, to inspire others to act in a way similar to that of the persons we venerate and, perhaps most of all, to impress the fact of the debt of the living to the past.[57]

With the unbanning of the liberation movements, observance of the Sharpeville Massacre began to compete for space in the form of memorial sites within Sharpeville itself. As a result of contestation over ideological hegemony among the liberation movements turned political parties, new forms of tangible and intangible public re-presentations and political identity happened. The post-1994 period witnessed a range of "massacre memorials" being built all over the country and at Sharpeville specifically. The memorials were to visually represent the new foundation myth,

[55] Ibid.
[56] M. Graham, & C. Fevre, "Mandela's out so apartheid has finished': the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and South Africa's transition to majority rule, 1990-1994". *Contemporary British History*. (2021).p.22.
[57] J. Hunter, "Purpose of Commemorations". *Nature.* Vol.129.(1932).p.427.

legitimise the emergence of a new socio-political order[58] as well as contribute to the construction of a new South African identity based on the "struggle for liberation".[59] According to Sabine Marschall, material culture in post-1994 South Africa is part of a larger process of appropriating the past for the political, social, cultural or economic purposes of the present, which can be regarded as a key characteristic of "heritage".[60]

This study, therefore, is specifically aimed at answering the following questions: How have the survivors and descendants of the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre memorialised this tragic event since 1960? What roles have soft powers played in the memorialisation and/or commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre during the repressive decades within South Africa? What forms of narratives and traditions have the commemorations taken and how have they changed over time, including the period after 1994? What are the dominant political questions emanating from these commemorations? Why have certain narratives become dominant and which ones have been silenced or excluded? What is the relationship between the residents of Sharpeville and the material culture built and natural environments associated with the massacre? What is the role of commemoration practices and how do they influence the contemporary construction of territorial and political identity narrative? How have heritage sites been negotiated within the community of Sharpeville? Given that social and political changes impact on the evolution of historical memories, what impact have the post-1994 socio-political changes had on the commemorations and memories of the Sharpeville Massacre?

1.3 RESEARCH STATEMENT

This study attempts to analyse the complexities of commemorating the Sharpeville Massacre within South Africa from 1960 to 2016. Its spontaneous memorialisation by victims' next of kin and anniversary commemoration by different ideological/political movements before the end of apartheid should be viewed against the backdrop of violent and repressive regimes. Its shifts, change and continuity post-1994 should further be observed against the backdrop of proliferation of heritage sites encompassing archival expansion, commemorative museum, library, gallery and

[58] S. Marschall, **"**Pointing to the dead: Victims, martyrs and public memory in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.60.No.1.(2008).p.1.

[59] S. Marschall, "Lest we forget": The "struggle for liberation" as foundation myth. *Alizés: Revue angliciste de La Réunion, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines* (Université de La Réunion).Founding Myths of the New South Africa/Les mythes fondateurs de la nouvelle Afrique du Sud.(2004).p.253.

[60] S. Marschall, "Pointing to the dead: Victims, martyrs and public memory in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.60.No.1.(2008).p.1.

(counter) memorials erected by the state based on the notion of a shared history of oppression transcended by resistance. The role of the state is investigated in the post-1994 dispensation, which is characterised by state-sanctioned master narrative, appropriation, and different forms of observances through festivities and celebrations of the Sharpeville Massacre as a national holiday, as well as the re-presentation, re-naming, and re-branding of the day as Human Rights Day.

By analysing the way in which the Sharpeville Massacre has been (re)constructed, (re) packaged and (re) fashioned over five decades, the study advances the argument that memorialisation and commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre was not, until recently, a straightforward process. It is marked by contestations, counter-commemorations, and political power struggles over ownership of its memory. The study maintains that the occurrence of political contestations during anniversaries and over the political legitimacy, hegemony and memory ownership and role of the state post-1994 has altered the meaning of this day. It has also muted and whitewashed the narratives and contributions of certain liberation movements and their leaders in the contemporary history of South African liberation struggle. With the proliferation of sites of memory in the form of commemorative monuments, memorials, memory institutions and heritage sites in the post-1994 South African landscape, this research contends that there are obvious contestations, manifesting as a quest for aesthetics of representation, consultations, counter-commemoration, inclusion and exclusion, as well as heritage production and consumption. This is because the physical Sharpeville landscape boasts eight memorial sites of historical significance and heritage sites in a radius of less than 10 kilometres, commemorating a single event occurring within the community.

1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK UPON WHICH THE RESEARCH IS CONSTRUCTED

The research on collective memory, oral history, commemorations and heritagisation of traumatic events is too diverse to be explained by a single theory. Therefore, several appropriate theoretical frameworks are used to construct this study. Firstly, there is collective memory, which, according to Maurice Halbwachs, is:

> "A mode of memory carried out by social group and societies within specific social framework. Collective memory became public memory when it is transformed into political instrument to build, assert, and reinforce identities of these groups. It is not related to individual recollection of personal experiences and events but is about the way the past of a group is lived in the present".[61]

Over the past decades, historians have focused on collective memory by drawing heavily on the work of Maurice Halbwachs. It is an approach that views oral history and collective memory studies as converging.[62] Maurice Halbwachs's theory of collective memory involves accumulated individual recollections, official commemorations, shared representations and intangible constructive landscapes of shared identities.[63] In societies marked by a traumatic past, as in the case of Sharpeville, collective memory gives way to historical memory, which, to some extent, can be "crystallized" into more permanent forms, including museums, monuments and memorials, in the processes that can be defined as memorialisation and heritagisation.[64] Halbwachs's emphasis on the functions of everyday communication in the development of collective memories and the imagery of social discourse resonates with recent historiographical themes, such as historical representation.[65]

[61] A. L. Araujo, *Politics of Memory: Making slavery visible in the public space*. Routledge. New York.(2012).p.1.
[62] A. Green, "Individual remembering and 'collective memory': Theoretical presuppositions and contemporary debates". *Oral History. Memory and Society.* Vol.32.No.2.(2004).p.35.
[63] J. K. Olick, "Collective memory: The two cultures". *Sociological Theory*. Vol.17.No.3.(1999).p.336.
[64] Ibid.p.1.
[65] W. Kansteiner, "Finding meaning in memory: A methodological critique of collective memory studies". *History and Theory*. Vol 41.No.2.(2002).p.181.

On the other hand, the theoretical discourse of transitional justice[66] will be applied. In this work, the Theory of Traditional Justice is applied to the Sharpeville Massacre commemorations and memory projects. This theory has recently emerged as an international discourse - with the presence of international criminal tribunals, truth and reconciliation commissions and other societal initiatives devoted to reparations, fact-finding and the culture of remembrance.[67] Researchers working on historical memory subscribe to a postmodernist approach, which seeks to expose the notion of commemoration concealing beliefs and ideologies behind the masks of objectivity and one truth.[68] I agree with the belief that the postmodernist perspective enables and encourages the participation of people in the production of meaning, as opposed to the belief that individuals receive immediate and incontestable truths. The notion of commemoration can remain a process that encourages different and various interpretations and narratives of the past. According to the postmodernist view, there are various authentic representations of the past. In other words, there is no one objective truth to the past: there are many ways in which one can describe and commemorate the past.[69]

Post-Structural Language Theory focuses on the role of language in our thinking and understanding of reality. Post-structural theorists, like Jacques Derrida, argue that language inherently affects the way in which we understand and conceive the world and, in this manner, directly mediates and orders our sense of history and reality.[70] Durkheim's Performance Theory will be applied in this research as far as it relates to commemorative performances of the Sharpeville Massacre. According to Performance Theory, the past is represented and relived through rituals, and the relationship between the past and the present takes the form of a dramatic presentation.[71] I will demonstrate that in South Africa, as in the rest of the world, anniversaries like that of the

[66] Transitional Justice is associated with upholding human rights after the demise of an authoritarian regime. The goals of it include addressing and attempting to heal divisions in society that arise as a result of human rights violations, bringing closure and healing the wounds of individuals and society through truth-telling, providing justice to victims, and accountability for perpetrators. It involves creating an accurate historical record for society, restoring the rule of law, reforming institutions to promote democratisation and human rights, ensuring that human rights violations are not repeated, and promoting co-existence and sustainable peace.

[67] M. Fischer, H. J. Giessmann, & B. Budrich, Transitional Justice and Reconciliation: Theory and Practice. Advancing Conflict Transformation. *The Berghof Handbook*. Opladen/Framington Hills. 2011.https://gsdrc.org/document-library/transitional-justice-and-reconciliation-theory-and-practice/. (Accessed on the 28.10.2021).

[68] T. L. Meets, "Deconstructing museums and memorials in pre-and post-apartheid South Africa". Unpublished master's dissertation.University of South Africa.Pretoria.(2009).p.4.

[69] Ibid.p.4.

[70] Ibid.p.5.

[71] A. Cossu, "Durkheim's argument on ritual, commemoration, and aesthetic life: A classical legacy for contemporary theory". *Journal of Classical Sociology*. Vol.33.No.49.(2010).p.36-38.

Sharpeville Massacre are marked by human arrangements of performances or ritual commemorations.

Wagner-Facifici and Schwartz's contributions to Durkheimian's theory of commemoration are useful in this project. Their point of departure is that all commemorations have undercurrents of dynamic interaction among political organisations and social movements. According to their theory, all commemorative acts are infused with dynamics of political conflict to different degrees. They argue that different groups mobilise and contest commemorations to promote their particular version of collective memory, thereby advancing their own political interest and symbolic legitimacy.[72] The commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre by global social movements and internal movements such as churches, non-governmental organisations and advocacy groups can be analysed by looking at transnational activism, civil societies, and non-governmental organisations. Social Movement Theory highlights the significance of alliances across nation, race, class, and gender. Social movements are established with a common purpose and solidarity to mount collective challenges to elites and authorities.[73] Civil Society Theory, which has emerged, is a movement opposing apartheid in South Africa. Robert Fine argues that Civil Society Theory "refers to the public realm of free association which mediates between the state and the private individual".[74]

The life narrative interpretative theory of oral history further lays the basis for this project. From the 1970s, there has been an epistemological shift into the "interpretative" modes from empiricism, by turning to narrative forms and creative dimensions of oral narratives. According to this theory, the emphasis moves from the individual to the wider social and cultural context within which remembering occurs.[75] For this research, the life narrative interpretative theory (oral history) will also be employed to uncover the history of commemorative events, places, and the material history of a historic site such as Sharpeville. Unpacking the way in which gender politics plays itself out in the commemoration and memorialisation of the Sharpeville Massacre, the study adheres to the combined use of oral history and grounded theory. Oral history gives the opportunity to explore life

[72] H. Saito, From collective memory to commemoration. In Hall.J.R, Grindstaff. L, & Lo. M.C, Handbook *of Cultural Sociology*. Routledge. London.(2010).p.629-635.
[73] A. Klotz, "Trans-national activism and global transformation: Anti-apartheid and abolitionist experiences". *European Journal of International Relations*. Vol.8.No.1.(2002).p.57.
[74] R. Fine, "Civil society theory and the politics of transition in South Africa". *Review of African Political Economy*. Vol.19.No.55.(1992).p.71.
[75] Ibid.p.35.

histories by using living memory, its structures and language and by providing social context for historical events within this community.[76] In South Africa, the use of oral evidence is not a new practice. Tina Sideris observes that the use of oral testimonies in South Africa has often focused on local and regional issues, domestic life and popular culture, the place of the individual in historical processes, as well as on informal and spontaneous forms of resistance.[77]

1.5 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

1.5.1 SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE/PERSPECTIVES ON THE SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE

Matthew Chaskalson's *The road to Sharpeville: A history of South African townships in the 1950s* (1985) and Ian Jeffrey's *Cultural trends and community formation in a South African Township: Sharpeville, 1943–1985* (1991) provide an analysis of the social and economic development of Vereeniging up to the 1950s. The common threads in the foregoing works are the early years of Sharpeville, the social circumstances before the massacre and how it was a fertile ground for pass laws resistance. Chaskalson further provides undelaying reasons for Sharpeville being receptive to the PAC, such as social control which banned political activism, thus creating an impression that Sharpeville was quiet. Other factors, he argues, were youth unemployment, inadequate housing as well as the rise in municipality rent charges. What is common in these works is the view of the authors that the authorities regarded Sharpeville as a "*model township",* while, according to earlier residents, it was *"dull and boring"* because it was under constant surveillance, but also lacked the social vibe that Top location offered even though the residents referred to it as *"Skoti Phola"*. These bodies of work proved to be useful in providing background to the topographical history of Sharpeville.

However, as Carlton Monnakgotla observes, "people outside Sharpeville only know Sharpeville post 1960, but even then, they would ask, 'Where is Sharpeville? Is it in Soweto?'".[78] Therefore, much of existing literature covering Sharpeville is limited to and focuses exclusively on the Sharpeville Massacre and its aftermath. Ambrose Reeves*' Shooting at Sharpeville: The agony of South Africa* (1961) and Humphrey Tyler's *Life in the time of Sharpeville* (1995) provide graphic

[76] B. Marcus, *Oral History, and the Documentation of Historic Sites: Recording Sense of Place*. Architectural Conservator Page & Turnbull.Inc. Los Angeles.(2008).p.1.
[77] T. Sideris, "Recording living memory in South Africa".*Critical Arts*. Vol.4.No.2.(1986).p.50.
[78] Ibid.p.80.

eyewitness accounts of the massacre. In his book, Reeves outlines his interactions with the victims at Baragwanath Hospital. During the Wessels Commission, he further provides a counter narrative to that of the apartheid regime which claimed that demonstrators were armed, and police were justified in opening fire in self-defence.[79]

Tyler's book, published 25 years after the shooting, provides an authoritative eyewitness account of the massacre. Tyler was a reporter for *Rand Daily Mail*, and together with Ian Berry, the *Drum* magazine photographer, witnessed the shooting. Tyler, in his book, gives a vivid description of their arrival at Sharpeville, the mood of the demonstrators and a chilling account of the massacre. On the other hand, Peter Magubane, another *Drum* magazine photographer, arrived at Sharpeville after the firing had stopped. He, however, succeeded in getting more than a few snapshots of the bodies and witnessing the suffering of the survivors.[80] Blum argues that Magubane's funeral pictures are "classic examples of political art",[81] while Okwui Enwezor notes, "The events of that day produced the picture of the funeral as one of the central iconographic emblems of the anti-apartheid struggle."[82] The chapter by Darren Newbury (2012) presents an account of what made the massacre a global news sensation. According to him, "The Sharpeville Massacre did not derive its significance from the fact that it was photographed, but that the availability of photographers contributed to its international prominence."[83]

Drawing from Darren Newbury, Ali Khangela Hlongwane argues that there is a close relationship between the development of photography and socio-political issues in South Africa, which 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.[84] Claudia Castellano argues that the sequences of the massacre

[79] Following the massacre, the apartheid government established a one-man Commission of Inquiry to investigate and report on the occurrences in the districts of Vereeniging, namely at Sharpeville location, Evaton and Vanderbijlpark province of the Transvaal on 21st March 1960. National Archives Repository.SAB.1/3/60. Commission of inquiry into disturbances at Vereeniging. (Sharpeville disturbances) - claims arising from No.1-35.

[80] P. Von Blum, "Resistance, Memory, and Hope: The Photographic Art of Peter Magubane". *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies.* Vol.6.No.4.(2005).p.5.

[81] Ibid.p.6.

[82] O. Enwezor, "*A Critical Presence: Drum Magazine in Context"*. In Bell.C, Enwezor. O, Danielle Tilkin.D.& Zaya.O, *In/sight: African Photographers, 1940 to the Present.* Guggenheim Museum Publications. New York.(1996). In Thomas.K, History of Photography in Apartheid South Africa. *Oxford Encyclopedia of African History.* (2020).p.11.

[83] D. Newbury, *Picturing an ordinary atrocity: The Sharpeville Massacre*. In Butchen.G, Gidley.M, Miller.N.K, & Prosser.P, *Picturing atrocity: photography in crisis*. Reaktion Books. London. (2012).p.209.

[84] A. K. Hlongwane, "The Historical Development of the Commemoration of the June 16 1976 Soweto Students' Uprisings: A Study of Re-representation, Commemoration and Collective Memory". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Witwaterand. Johannesburg.(2015).p.64.

pictures by Jürgen Schadeberg, Peter Magubane and Ian Berry are now carved into the collective memory and characterise a noteworthy lesson on photojournalism.[85] The strength and value of the above literature provide a rich descriptive account and a window through which the massacre can be understood. In this way, it is useful in understanding, from the eyewitnesses' points of view, what happened during that day.

Sally Stein contends that photography, as opposed to photographs, guides our appreciation of the past.[86] According to Jay Prosser, "…to not picture atrocity is therefore to omit what's there, to fail the truth of a situation, to withhold that proof. Equally, to not look at pictures of atrocity is to deny its existence, not only when atrocity happens at a distance but also when it's there on our doorsteps, in front of us."[87] The works of these scholars are useful in understating the socio-political dynamics that were at play within this community. These pictures are also useful in that they fill the lacunae in analysing the funerary rites which are memorialisation processes in their own rights.

Mirna Lawrence's unpublished master's dissertation focuses on the social memory and commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre. It discusses issues around "ownership" of the memory of the Sharpeville Massacre and the public contestation post-1994, particularly between the ANC and the PAC, in terms of which organisation can claim the initiation of the anti-pass campaign.[88] Although Lawrence does provide an interesting insight into heritage and history, Natasha Thandiwe Vally argues that Lawrence's work should be a heritage analysis that aims to provide input on teaching the Sharpeville Massacre rather than a historical account.

For this thesis, Lawrence's work provides a foundation upon which the heritage commemoration of Sharpeville Massacre will be explored as it deals with different perspectives of political parties and

[85] C. Castellano, "The Gaze Back: Photography and Social Consciousness in South Africa". *Wrongwrong magazine*. No.19.(2018). https://wrongwrong.net/artigo/the-gaze-back-photography-and-social-consciousness-in-south-africa. (Accessed on the 18.08.2021).

[86] S. A. Stein, "The rhetoric of the colourful and the colourless: American photography and material culture between the wars". Unpublished doctoral thesis. Yale University. Ann Arbor. (1991). In Berger.M.A, "Photography, History, and the Historian". *American Art.* Vol.29.No.1.(2015).p.4.

[87] G. Batchen, J. Prosser, M. Gidley, & N. K. Miller, *Picturing Atrocity Photography in Crisis.* Reaktion Books. London. (2012). In Dollery, Picturing Atrocity: The ethics of photographing violence. *Daily Maverick*. 25 July 2021. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-07-25-picturing-atrocity-the-ethics-of-photographing-violence/.(Accessed on the 26.10.2021).

[88] M. Lawrance, "An analysis of a variety of perspectives: A case study on Sharpeville". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Witwaterand.Johannesburg.(2004).p.1-6.

their claims over the memory of the event in the post-1994 era.[89] Vally's unpublished master's dissertation, *The 'Model Township' of Sharpeville: The Absence of Political Action and Organisation, 1960–1984* (2010) explores the establishment of Sharpeville as a model township, as well as political organisations before and after the massacre. The work of Vally was somehow inspired by her observation of pictures and broadcast stories of the commemoration of Human Rights Day and how political parties were contesting for *"ownership"* of the day and the right to commemorate the massacre in Sharpeville.[90] Vally's work provides political context in which this day is observed and a solid background for this study as to why Sharpeville is a politically contested space among liberation movements turned political parties.

An unpublished doctoral thesis by Motena Jonas Dhlamini, titled *The relationship between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, 1959-1990* (2006), contains a chapter on the anti-pass law crusade of 1960. In his work, Dhlamini (2006) argues that the beginning of the 1960s saw the rivalry between the ANC and the PAC coming into the open. The emergence of the PAC in 1959 not only halted the ANC's dominance of the South African political scene, but it also forced these two liberation movements to enter a struggle in radicalism to win the backing of Africans so as to establish supremacy and hegemony in confrontation politics. Thus, the Sharpeville Massacre provided an opportunity for a short-lived dominance by the PAC in liberation politics and marked the end of the legal operations of both the ANC and PAC.

According to Willem Jacobus Booyse's *The concept "People's War" in the Strategy of the ANC and the PAC: A comparative analysis* (2006), the PAC was tremendously popular among black South Africans during the early sixties. It was accountable for mass political upheavals which lead to the Sharpeville Massacre, as it was able to politically educate the masses in order for them to be mobilised. The Sharpeville Massacre was a direct result of PAC's "Status Campaign", a political campaign aimed at educating black South Africans on their second-class citizenship status in their own country. The Sharpeville Massacre, Booyse claims, was the net result of PAC's "Anti-pass Campaign" and police counteraction. Furthermore, the 1976 Soweto uprising was largely due to

[89] N.T.Vally, "The 'Model Township' of Sharpeville: The Absence of Political Action and Organisation, 1960–1984". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Witwaterand. Johannesburg.(2010).p.26.

PAC's involvement as evidenced by the incarceration of Zephania Mothopeng, PAC's president, and other 17 members (under the Terrorism Act of 1967) for their roles in the Soweto uprising.

Tom Lodge, in his doctoral thesis *Insurrectionism in South Africa: The Pan-Africanist Congress and the Poqo Movement, 1959 -1965* (1984), focuses on the PAC from 1959 to the mid-1960s and its effective influence among black South Africans, although its followers were in only a few areas where the ANC was weak and badly organised. The other work by Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945* (1983), deals with the political situation in South Africa. It further describes the PAC in exile and its decline which, according to him, was a commentary on the transient nature and peculiar vulnerability of populist movements. Lodge's *Sharpeville: An apartheid massacre and its consequences* (2011) and Philip Frankel's *An ordinary atrocity: Sharpeville and its massacre* (2001) provide descriptive accounts based on archival and personal testimonies of this tragic event. Both works provide a complete account of the origins, details and implications of Sharpeville and only fleetingly comment on memorialisation and commemorations.

Unlike Lodge, Frankel paints a picture of the events preceding the Sharpeville Massacre. He discusses the immediate reaction of the apartheid regime following the massacre, and its implications for the initiation of the PAC and ANC's armed struggles. These works, combined, provide a compelling, authoritative and blow-by-blow account of the pre- and post-Sharpeville Massacre. However, Lodge's claims that there was no commemorative observation of 21st March within the country for the 20 or so years between 1964 and 1984, despite an international commemorative tradition that developed from 1966 onwards,[91] will be proven otherwise by this thesis. In the same vein, Kwandiwe Merriman Kondlo's doctoral thesis, "In the twilight of the Azanian Revolution" The exile history of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania: South Africa-1960-1990.(2003), explores and traces the events which led to the banning of the PAC and the call for positive campaign that led to the Sharpeville Massacre, its re-establishment in exile, particularly in Lesotho, between 1960 and 1962, as well as its internal conflicts during various periods of its leadership.[92]

[91] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.333.
[92] Kwandiwe Merriman Kondlo's doctoral thesis is published as a book. For more see, Kondlo. K.M, In *the twilight of the revolution the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. (South Africa) 1959-1994*.Basler Afrika Bibliographien.Basel.(2009).

Saul Dubow in his book *Apartheid: 1948-1994* (2014) dedicated a chapter titled "Sharpeville massacre and its aftermath*"* to the Sharpeville Massacre victims. His subsequent article, "Were there political alternatives in the wake of the Sharpeville-Langa violence in South Africa, 1960?" (2015), provides a background under which this thesis was enhanced from the point view of how heritage commemoration and memorialisation took place amid state repression from the 1960s to the 1970s. Ethel Khopung's *Apartheid: The story of dispossessed people* (1972) provides a historical account of how the land dispossessed from the Africans in South Africa and Sharpeville "closed the old chapter".[93] Khopung argues that the success of the positive action campaign was as a result of an earlier status campaign which aroused among African people self-assertion and the value of human dignity. Khopung also posits that the PAC campaign, in many places where it took place, went off as planned and Sobukwe and other leaders handed themselves over for arrest and were indeed detained.

The work by Motsoko Pheko, *The land is ours: The political legacy of Mangaliso Sobukwe* (1994), pays tribute to Robert Sobukwe and portray him as the personification of the sincere struggle of black people for land repossession and restoration of a stolen national sovereignty. At the heart of all these is his role in the Positive Action Campaign that led to the Sharpeville Massacre. Other books by Motsoko Pheko (2001, 2009, 2010) emphasis that the uprising in Sharpeville that resulted in the massacre was indeed a turning point in the history of liberation struggle in South Africa, with the PAC taking the lead.

Ngila Muendane's *Sharpeville: The epic goes on* (1982) discusses the significance of Sharpeville. Muendane contends that all historians agree that the massacre was a watershed in the struggle against colonial apartheid. It is interesting to note that the book documents speeches made by diverse people around the world in observance of Sharpeville Day and by representatives of different countries on the occasion of commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination at the United Nations headquarters in New York. Making use of illustrations from South African newspapers and photos of the massacre and subsequent memorialisation by youths in the 1980s, Muendane demonstrates how it all began.[94] Both the works

[93] E. Khopung, Apartheid: The story of dispossessed people. *Sharpeville Day Association Mbizana*. Dar es Salaam.(1972).p.67.

[94] N. Muendane, *Sharpeville: The epic goes on.* Pan Africanist Congress of Azania Mission to the United Kingdom and Eire.United Kingdom.London.(1982).p.1-51.

of Pheko and Muendane are essential in providing the background to the study from the PAC's perspective.

The works by Benjamin Pogrund, *How Can Man Die Better...Sobukwe and Apartheid* (1990) and *Sobukwe and Apartheid* (1991), are not mournful accounts, but celebrations of an extraordinary man who had much to offer South Africa and Africa had he been allowed to.[95] The book edited by Benjamin Pogrund, *Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe: New Reflections* (2019) provides a window into how Robert Sobukwe conceptualised positive action against the pass laws and how it was envisaged to transform the history of South Africa. On the same personality, Thami Ka Plaatje's *Sobukwe: The making of a pan-Africanist leader* (2019) provides the reader with the life history of Robert Sobukwe, from his birth in Graaf Reinet in 1926 to his presiding over the first PAC conference in 1959[96], a few months before the Sharpeville Massacre. The honours dissertation by Sizwe Makaba, "Reflections on Nyakane Tsolo – A forgotten political figure in the struggle annals of South African history" (2020), provides a history of local political personalities from an insider's perspective. It puts forward the role of local PAC leaders such as Nyakane Tsolo and his committee members. This work is useful in elevating local leaders who have been side-lined and became unknown figures in the memory and narratives that are created around the Sharpeville Massacre post-1994.

The South African Democracy Education Trust's (SADET) publication, *The Road to democracy in South Africa Vol 1 (1960-1970),* consisting of contributions from various scholars, provides insights into the activities of liberation movements in the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre. It challenged the notion that the 1960s was a period of political dormancy compared to the decade before it, whereby it was characterised by mass defiance campaigns and the popular upheavals of post-16th June 1976 Soweto students uprising. Even though this decade (1960s) marked a low point in the history of the liberation struggle, the apartheid regime could not crush the determination for freedom through resistance to colonial apartheid. An example is found in a chapter by Martin Legassick and Chris Saunders' "Aboveground activity in the 1960's". This publication was useful in providing background on the role of "soft powers" during this decade and pre-1994, with respect to the heritage commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre, especially the press industry, white

[95] G. Hayes, "In search of the missing Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe". *Psychology in Society*.Vol.50.(2016).p.103.
[96] T. Plaatjie, *Sobukwe: The making of a pan-Africanist leader*. KMM Review Publishing Company. Sandton.Vol.1.(2019).p.xxi-xxii.

progressive movements, the National Union of South African Students (hereinafter NUSAS), churches as well as the coloured labour party.[97]

1.5.2 MEMORIALISATION AND COMMEMORATIONS: A GLOBAL CONTEXT

In Europe, the memory culture surfaced in the 1970s, followed by several museums, historical exhibitions and monuments from the 1980s, with a series of 40th and 50th anniversary commemorations of World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945).[98] This cultural memory was characterised by a plethora of memorials bearing the names of fallen soldiers, which were a common sight in most village squares throughout Europe.[99] Alan Borg (1991) puts forward the argument that war memorials are the most widespread of all public monuments, and World War I memorials have given rise to the largest number of memorials, with 1920-1930 being the classical period of memorial building.[100] The commemoration of that war's victims was probably the most widespread movement for the construction of public monuments ever known in Western society.[101] The study was conducted in forty-five European countries including Israel, because its commemorative culture was influenced by that of Europe, as its inhabitants are mostly European migrants. In these countries, commemorations are marked by the symbolism of mourning, wreaths, candles and low-key reflective ceremonies.[102]

In the United States of America, Barbara Biesecker witnessed the development and construction of the World War II memorial, between Washington Mall and the Lincoln Memorial.[103] The Vietnam Veterans Memorial in the United States of America consists of black granite inscribed with the names of men and women who died in the war.[104] The listing of names in this memorial creates an area of cultural memory that could be seen as subverting and contributing to the history of the war as it is currently being written. These *"milieu de mémoire"* have become the centre of interest

[97] M. Legassick, & C. Saunders, *Aboveground activity in the 1960's.* In SADET, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa.* Vol.1.(1960-1970).Unisa Press. Pretoria.(2004).p.601-626.
[98] P. Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Culture in France and Germany since 1989*. Berghahn Books. New York & Oxford.(2005).p.2.
[99] P. Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Culture in France and Germany since 1989. The Origins and Political Function of the Vél' d'Hiv' in Paris and the Holocaust Monument in Berlin.* Berghahn Books. New York.(2005).p.2.
[100] A. Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present*. Leo Cooper. London.(1991).p.ix-x.
[101] A. Forty, & Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting. Materializing Culture*. Berg Publishers.Oxford.(2001).p.147.
[102] Nationaal Comate 4 en 5 mei, *After the war: Commemoration and celebration in Europe.* Netherlands. Amsterdam.(2018).p.4.
[103] B. A. Biesecker, "Remembering World War II: The Rhetoric and Politics of the National Commemoration at the Turn of the 21st Century". *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. Vol.88.No.4.(2002).p.1.
[104] M. Sturken, "The Wall, the Screen, and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial". *Representations*. No.35.(1991).p.119.

activities for individual and group memorialisation and commemoration activities. Furthermore, compared to those of World War I, there have been fewer memorials erected in the post-World War II era. In many places in the United States, World War II memorials stand alongside World War I, thereby creating a single memorial complex.[105]

The analysis of literature on World War I and World War II was important in the sense that their observance and the debates relating to their monuments, memorials, museums, as well as ceremonies of commemorations, have, according to Ali Khangela Hlongwane, been re-imagined in different contexts and circumstances over the years. Also, just like Hlongwane's work on the commemoration of the 1976 Soweto students uprising, the rites of remembrance, in this thesis, refer to the erection, devotion and constant annual visits to sites of traumatic memory of the Sharpeville Massacre. Therefore, the strength of this literature lies in the fact that differences and similarities can be identified in how different commemorative rites apply to the Sharpeville Massacre.

1.5.3 THE HOLOCAUST COMMEMORATIONS

In terms of the influence of the Holocaust on memorialisation and commemoration, available literature points to the fact that the Holocaust is connected to World War II. Peter Carrier (2005) traces the functions of monuments as artistic sources of historical and political learning. He situates monuments in France and Germany historically within memory cultures, critiques the collective codes used for the interpretation of memory cultures and observes that the World War I memorials consist of cenotaphs, tombs of unknown soldiers, flags and male and female icons. On the other hand, Carrier notes, the World War II memorials depicting names of fallen soldiers are a common sight in most village squares throughout Europe.

Steven Cook (2000) addresses the way in which the first memorials dedicated to the Holocaust victims reveal the ways that memorialisation of the Holocaust is crosscut with issues of identity, memory and history. He argues that monuments and memorial are important symbolic sites in the articulation of national identity.[106] According to him, monuments and memorials are part of the meanings passed down across generations in traditional, social and cultural practices and their ritual purposes are the representation of the past and perpetuation of its memory. All these are rooted in

[105] A. Forty, & Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting. Materializing Culture*. Berg Publishers. Oxford.(2001).p.129.
[106] S. Cooke, "Negotiating memory and identity: The Hyde Park Holocaust memorial". *Journal of Historical Geography*.Vol.26.No.3.(2000).p.449.

what Pierre Nora describes as "*lieux de mémoire",* or mnemonic sites.[107] Peter Novick (1999) analyses the reason for Americans being so "holocaust conscious" and how the Holocaust has become so prominent in American public discourse, life and culture decades after World War II. Referring to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, Novick argues that the Holocaust is the only denominator of Jewish identity in the late 20th century that could fill the need for a consensual symbol and serve as a transnational paradigm of collective identity.[108]

Dina Wardi (1992) uses the metaphor of memorial candles, which are a Jewish symbol infused with feelings and great significance.[109] She argues that they not only express an emotional burden but are also a source of light and hope. Furthermore, in Eastern Europe, Mordechai Altshuler (2002) describes the commemoration of the Holocaust as an expression of personal anguish and emotions as a result of the devastation of European Jewry and, particularly, Soviet Jewry, through publishing "*yizkor" (*also known as memorial books), holding memorial assemblies, erecting monuments, gathering survivors' testimonies, as well as publishing victims' testimonies and writings. Altshuler argues that during the period under Stalin, commemorations were held at the local, grassroots level, at the place where Jews of that town had been murdered under the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and religious communities held in synagogues.[110]

Post-communist holocaust commemorations in Poland, for example, witnessed the conversion of concentration and extermination camps into museums and memorials. The Auschwitz-Birkenau state museum was turned into a symbolic place memorialising the dead both during and after the communist era while Auschwitz has been turned into a fully-fledged documentalist site of victims' memory.[111] In Germany, the post-communist recalibration of memorialising the Holocaust in a straightforward way as at the former concentration camp sites museums exhibitions were adapted, according to the ideological model prevailing at the time in West Germany, at areas such as Buchenwald where German Jews were victimised by both Nazis and Communists.[112]

[107] Ibid.p.449-450.
[108] P.Novick, *The holocaust in the American Life.* Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston.(1999).p.6.
[109] D. Wardi, *Memorial Candles: Children of the Holocaust* Routledge. New York.(1992).p.x.
[110] M. Altshuler, "Jewish Holocaust commemoration activity in the USSR under Stalin". *The International School for Holocaust Studies*.(2002).p.1-22.
[111] Ibid.p.42.
[112] Ibid.p.42.

Tammy Kopelowitz (2009) discusses political ritual and sacred events which are practised annually in remembrance of the massacre. As an observant Jew, he draws similarities and differences between memorialisation of the Sharpeville Massacre by the victims' decedents and his own Jewish family's observance of the Holocaust. He observes: "The rituals I experienced, although completely different to the rituals in my life, still have common characteristics such as traditionalism, repetition, formalism, symbolism and rules."[113] The strength of this literature is that it proves useful in drawing influences and comparisons between the Holocaust commemorations and observance of the Sharpeville Massacre in terms of rituals and commemorative architecture.

1.5.4 MEMORIALISATION AND COMMEMORATIONS: AFRICAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXTS

Scholarship on memorialisation and heritage commemoration on the African continent have over the past decades witnessed an increase in the prominence of commemorations and physical markers in the form of memorials in post-conflict African societies.[114] In Ghana, 2019 was officially declared "Year of Return", a link to the 400th anniversary of the first recorded landing in 1619 of Africans in the now United States of America.[115] In his article, Joël Noret observes the striking contrast between the plethora of official discourses on the transatlantic slave trade and the saturating silence on African slavery in Benin. Such discourses are characterised by periodic public initiatives of commemorations of the Atlantic trade, building of memorials and diverse projects such as the UNESCO's "Slave Route" project.[116] Gert Oostindie argues that the memory of this dreadful episode in the history of mankind has been preserved and transmitted in oral traditions, landmarks, archives and libraries.[117]

[113] T. Kopelowitz, "Ritual and response in architecture: A traditional brewery in Sharpeville". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Witwatersrand.Johannesburg.(2009).p.9.

[114] W. Apoh, "Why forget us? Developing the Three-Town enslaved relics as alternative sites of commemoration in south-eastern Ghana". *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa*. Vol.55.No.4.(2020).p.4

[115] P.T.Zaleza, "The original sin: Slavery, America and the Modern World".*The Elephant*.(2019).p.12.

[116] J.Noret, Memories of slavery in southern Benin Between public commemorations and lineage intimacy. In workshop, "Politics of Memory: Making Slavery Visible in the Public Space".*125th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association.*(2011).p.1.

[117] G. Oostindie, "The Slippery Paths of Commemoration and Heritage Tourism: The Netherlands, Ghana, and the Rediscovery of Atlantic Slavery". *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*.Vol.79.No.1-2.(2008).p.55.

On the other hand, Rwanda has seen several memory projects in the form of memorials, monuments, museums and archival projects. Artistic endeavours in the form of films, photographs, paintings and sculptures have also surfaced.[118] The most significant form of representation, projection and creation, focusing on "*lieux de memoire"* (sites of memory), is the Kigali Memorial Centre. In the post-genocide period, the site contains many aspects and serves multiple objectives, as it is part-cemetery, part-museum, part-archive centre and part-educational centre.[119]

Annie Coombes (2011) identifies conspicuous similarities and contrasts of how in Africa commemorations of those who fought against colonialism share a number of features across the continent despite the differing nature of the colonial enterprise. She observes that, in Kenya, the post-colonial government responded to demands for historical recognition, particularly from Mau Mau veterans, by erecting a Heroes' Acre. This draws inspiration from similar commemorative initiatives in Africa, particularly the Heroes' Acres in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, but also from the Arlington War Cemetery, outside Washington DC.[120]

The book, *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures.*(2015), edited by Derek R. Peterson, Kodzo Gavua, and Ciraj Rassool interrogates modern-day and historical examples of heritage construction and deployment in Africa, particularly in Ghanaian and South African context. The contributors to this volume highlight ways in which heritage construction takes place outside the formal boundaries of museums. The book henceforth interrogates efforts, memorial complex debates and contestations surrounding monuments creation, treatment of human remains, codification of language and music around the concept of tangible and intangible heritage in both countries. However, Ann Reed, argues that although these contributors make a significant contribution to current debates in heritage studies, a few of them fail to unpack heritage from their substantive topic or develop a theoretical discussion relevant to critical heritage studies.[121]

[118] L. S. Steele, *Memorialisation and the land of eternal spring: Performative practices of memory on the Rwandan genocide*. https://www.scriptieprijs.be/scriptie/2016/aftermath-dark-past-forensic-archaeology-and-memorialization-1994-genocide-against. (Accessed on the 26.09.2021).

[119] Ibid.p.6.

[120] A. E. Coombes, "Monumental Histories: Commemorating Mau Mau with the Statue of Dedan Kimathi". *African Studies*. Vol.70.No.2.(2011).p.206.

[121] A.Reed, "The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures" *Journal of Southern African Studies.* Vol.43.No.3.(2017).p.203.

As is the case with South Africa, and Sharpeville in particular, this thesis demonstrates Coombes's assertion that there is an on-going proliferation of initiatives commemorating notable events and personalities in the liberation struggle; however, other organisations and individuals remain unrepresented despite the crucial part they played during the struggle against apartheid.[122] Drawing from Benita Parry (1995), Neville Edward Alexander (1993), Joshua Brown, Patrick Manning, Karin Shapiro, Jon Weiner, Belinda Bozzoli, Peter (eds) (2004) have long argued that this was due to the prevailing apprehension and desire of the ruling ANC to control the historical record and undermine the roles of contending Communist, Trotskyist and pan-Africanist activists, many of whom did not share the conciliatory and inclusionary programmes of the government of national unity.[123]

Judy Barsalou and Victoria Baxter see the memorialisation process within the African context as a way of preserving memories of victims of past atrocities, as part of a healing process, as symbolic reparation and an instrument of thwarting further killings.[124] According to Shirambere Philippe Tunamsifu, this process can gratify the want for honouring persons who grieved, went missing or were murdered during past violence, even though it takes different forms, as indicated earlier. It also obliges as a sunshade concept, encircling an array of processes to re-establish contested memory and remember the wrongdoings of preceding governments.

1.5.5 THE SOUTH AFRICAN HERITAGE EXPERIENCE

Before 1994, commemorative events of significant cultural moments had long been viewed as a whites-only affair. In his doctoral thesis, Leslie Witz explores how, as far back as 1952, 300 years after his landing at Cape Colony in 1652, Jan van Riebeeck was commemorated through public events, school textbooks and publications of the Dutch East India Company journals. These events were aimed at the observance of white people's conveying of Christianity and British colonial rule to southern Africa, as well as providing the ancestry for an Afrikaner nation.[125]

[122] Ibid.p.203.
[123] Ibid.p.203.
[124] J. Barsalou, & V. Baxter, "The Urge to Remember: The Role of Memorials in Social Reconstruction and Transitional Justice". *Stabilization and Reconstruction*.Series.No.5.(2007).p.4.
[125] L. Witz, "Commemorations and conflicts in the production of South African national pasts: The 1952 Jan van Riebeeck tercentenary festival". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Cape Town. Cape Town.(1997).p.i.

Albert Grundlingh argues that Afrikaner nationalism was commemorated by the Afrikaner community to pay homage to their Great Trek ancestry, as they regarded the Great Trek as a key event in the foundation of their "nation".[126] To visualise above, the Voortrekker Hoogte Monument, located in City of Tshwane, commemorates people who participated in the migration (the Great Trek) from the Cape Colony into the interior of Southern Africa, but also looks to the future in terms of conscious nation-building. The monument was then portrayed as a representation and decree of the Afrikaners' exclusive right of proprietorship of South Africa.[127] Munyaradzi Mushonga argue that the Voortrekker Hoogte Monument dramatises the conquest of "barbarism" and the passage of the indigenous people and their land from savages to imperial custody.[128] Both Boitumelo Moreeng and Chitja Twala observes that in the post-1994 era, there has been an attempt to project the monument as a symbol of reconciliation.[129]

The Women's Monument (Vrouemonument), unveiled in Bloemfontein in 1913, commemorates the sacrifices and sufferings of women and children in concentration camps during the Anglo Boer War of 1899–1902.[130] Besides the Vietnam Women's Memorial in Washington DC, for eighty years this monument remained the only national monument in the world dedicated solely to women and children.[131] Elsie Cloete argues that it commemorates only white Boer women and children who died during that war and records of black people who died in separate camps were not kept.[132] Thomas Pakenham, quoted in Elsie Cloete, contends that no one "bothered to keep full records of the deaths" among "black Boers" who had been placed in African concentration camps, as both the Boers and the British considered the period of conflict "a white man's war", even though black men served as auxiliaries on both sides.[133] Just like the Voortrekker Hoogte, the Blood River Monument

[126] A. Grundlingh, "A cultural conundrum? Old and new regimes: the Voortrekker Monument as a symbol of Afrikaner power in post-apartheid South Africa". *Radical history review*.Vol.1.(2001).p.101. See also A. Sheriff, "Symbolic restitution: post–apartheid changes to the South African heritage sector, 1994–2012". *Electronic Journal of Africana Bibliography*.Vol.16.(2014).p.2.

[127] E. Delmont, "The Voortrekker Monument: Monolith to Myth". *South African Historical Journal.* No.29.(1993).p.76. Also see, C. Kruger, & M. van Heerden, "The Voortrekker Monument Heritage Site: A New Statement of Significance". *Historia.* Vol.2.No.50.(2005).p.237-260.

[128] M. Mushonga, From 'Barbarism' to 'Civilisation': An Interpretation of Colonial Statues and Monuments in Southern Africa. *Boleswa Occasional Papers in Theology and Religion*. Vol.1.No.1.(2006).p.29.

[129] B. Moreeng, & C. Twala, "Monuments as Spaces for Enhancing Social Justice and Sustainable Learning in History Teaching: A Case of the Voortrekker Monument". *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences.* Vol.5.No.7.(2014).p.494.

[130] P. Labuschagne, "The Women's Monument and Memorial Complexity in the Context of Political Change: from Memorial exclusivity to Monument (al) Inclusivity". *South African Journal of Art History*. Vol.29.No.2. (2014).p.30.

[131] E. Cloete, "Writing of(f) the women of the National Women's Monument". *Literotor*. Vol.20.No.3.(1999).p.35

[132] Ibid.p.36.

[133] Ibid.p.38.

also commemorated the Afrikaners' victory over the Zulus in 1838.[134] The Afrikaans Language Monument (1975) in Paarl gives recognition to the Dutch language and represents the triumph of Afrikaans being recognised as an official apartheid parliament language. Its symbolism pertains to all ethnic groups that ever spoke the Afrikaans language. Adjacent to the monument is the museum for the Afrikaans language, making it the only language in the world with a monument as well as a museum dedicated to it.[135]

In her master's dissertation, entitled "Wars are won by men not weapons": The invention of a militarised British settler identity in the Eastern Cape: 1910-1965 (2019), Georgina Ovenstone (2019) explores how British settler identity has been constructed at the English Settlers National Monument. The commemorative museum was structured to promote a style of Anglo-masculine identity that mirrored images of the British settler who, in the Eastern Cape, could adapt to local conditions and defend the land against antagonistic opponents in a protracted, low-intensity war over generations. The museum was established in 1965 in Grahamstown, as a living monument to the South African English settlers and, in large measure, a reaction to Afrikaner nationalist attempts at asserting total racial and political hegemony.[136]

Closer home, Vereeniging, the jurisdiction under which Sharpeville falls, attained world prominence at the end of the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902). The peace negotiations that ended this war were held in Vereeniging in 1902 to terminate hostilities after the Anglo-Boer War and had created the basis of a country which effectively disenfranchised the black majority.[137] The Peace of Vereeniging monument was erected to commemorate the Peace of Vereeniging.[138] Alan Borg contends that there was a great outburst of memorials after the Anglo-Boer War, resulting in the construction of more than 900 memorials.[139]

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[134] P. Girshick, "Ncome Museum/Monument: From Reconciliation to Resistance". *Museum Anthropology*. Vol.2.No.1-2.(2004).p.25.

[135] A. van Zyl, *Afrikaans Language Monument: A Contested Monument for a Contested Language*. In Brunn.S, & Kehrei. R, *Handbook of the Changing World Language Map*. Springer. Cham.(2020).p.885.

[136] G. Ovenstone, "Wars are won by men, not weapons": The invention of a militarised British settler identity in the Eastern Cape c. 1910–1965". Unpublished master's dissertation.University of Cape Town.Cape Town.(2019).p.72.

[137] L. Witz, G. Minkley, & C. Rassool, No End of a (History) Lesson: Preparations for the Anglo-Boer War Centenary Commemoration. *South African Historical Journal*.Vol.41.Iss.1.(1999).p.375.

[138] J. C. C. Pistorius, A phase 1 heritage impact assessment (HIA) study for the extension with view of closure of the Boitshepi landfill site between Boipatong and Tshepiso near Vanderbijlpark. Gauteng. http://www.zitholele.co.za/projects/Archive/8848%2020-Boitshepi/Draft%20Environmental%20Impact%20Report/Appendix%20C3%20-%20Heritage%20Impact%20Assessment%20Report.pdf. (Accessed on the 24.09.2021).

[139] A. Borg, *War memorials: From antiquity to present*. Leo Cooper. London.(1991).p.ix.

In terms of memorialisation and monumentalisation, Mcebisi Ndletyanaa and Denver Webb observe that the national monuments were a specific category of heritage sites, structures and relics, like ship wreckages and meteorites, that had been declared as such in terms of the National Monuments Act 1969 (Act No. 28 of 1969).[140] Drawing from Franco Frescura's *National or Nationalist? A Critique of the National Monuments Council, 1936-1989* (1990), they argue that during the colonial and apartheid period, the pronouncement of commemorative sites as national monuments served to narrow the sectarian interests of the minority regime, while monumentalisation played a significant role in sustaining efforts by the apartheid minority to legitimate itself.[141]

1.5.6 POST-APARTHEID HERITAGE COMMEMORATIVE ARCHITECTURE

Scholars are continuing to investigate the repertory of attempts by the ANC government to publicly memorialise contentious commemoration activities that arose around the anniversaries of the struggle against apartheid. Derek Perteson observes that much of the heritage projects on post-apartheid are meant to consecrate the ANC's political history. It further makes the past into a legacy, a source of inspiration that authenticates the ANC's contemporary policies. However, post-1994 colonial and apartheid commemorative monuments and markers such as Voortrekker Hoogte, English Settlers Monument, Afrikaans Language Monument, Women's Monument, and many others, continue to dominate the national landscape due to the ANC's cultural policy that dictates that Afrikaner monuments would remain intact.[142]

However, in recent years, South Africa has been experiencing opposition to colonial apartheid statuary holding places of prominence in public spaces. For example, students at the University of Cape Town called for the removal of the Cecil John Rhodes[143] statue, with their *#RhodesMust Fall*

[140] M. Ndletyana, & D. Webb, Social divisions carved in stone or cenotaphs to a new identity? Policy for memorials, monuments, and statues in a democratic South Africa. *International Journal of Heritage Studies.*Vol.23.No. 2.(2017).p.101.

[141] F. Frescura, *National or Nationalist? A Critique of the National Monuments Council, 1936–1989* (1990). In Ndletyana.M, & Webb.D, "Social divisions carved in stone or cenotaphs to a new identity? Policy for memorials, monuments and statues in a democratic South Africa". *International Journal of Heritage Studies.* Vol.23.No.2.(2017).p.101.

[142] A. Durbach, *Cultural heritage as transformation: Study of four sites from post-apartheid South Africa*. (November 6, 2014). presented at: 'Twenty Years of South African Constitutionalism: Constitutional Rights, Judicial Independence, and the Transition to Democracy', New York Law School, co-hosted by New York Law School Law Review. UNSW Law Research Paper No.2014-58.p.11. https://ssrn.com/abstract=2520020. (Accessed on the 16.12.2021).

[143] Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902) was a South African mining magnate, strong proponent of British imperialism and businessman, after whom Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) was named. By 1895, he was the unquestioned master of South

campaign.[144] The statue was seen as a symbol of institutional racism and lack of transformation at the university, both symbolically and materially.[145] With the exception of the recent public attacks on commemorative monuments and statues, the colonial landscape remains intact in South Africa. Interestingly, despite controversies around the removal of apartheid statues and memorials, municipalities and heritage authorities have palisaded them, thereby limiting access and cutting off communities that they claim to represent.[146] Despite all these, the sequence of new memorials has resulted in a growing body of literature on memorialisation of what has been described as a post-apartheid memorial complex.[147] Mizan Rambhoros master's dissertation, *South African Commemorative architecture: An assessment of selected contemporary struggle sites within a transforming post-apartheid socio-spatial landscape*.(2009) and Sabine Marshall's works[148] compares South African and international commemorative interventions by analysing contemporary post-apartheid commemorative architectural projects in South Africa.

These works assess the role of architects in heritage commemoration, including Sharpeville, and the appropriate model for public commemorative projects within the South African socio-political spatial context. Annie Elizabeth Coombes (2004) examines the debates over the transformation of museums, monuments and heritage sites. Her work explores questions relating to the way in which the country's need for reconciliation overweighs the need for a truthful representation of past repressions, and to what extent commercialisation or private sponsorship should be allowed in the development of sites memorialising the liberation struggle.

Africa, ruling over the destiny of the Cape and its white and African subjects. www.sahistoty.org.za/people/ceci-jhn-rhodes .(Accessed on the 20.11.2021).

144 S. Barnabas, "Engagement with colonial and apartheid narratives in contemporary South Africa: A monumental debate". *Journal of Literary Studies.* Vol.32.No.3.(2016).p.110.

145 M. Loehwing, & C. E. Holmes, "Icons of the old regime: Challenging South African public memory strategies in #RhodesMustFall". *Journal of Southern African Studies.* Vol.42.Iss.6. (2016).p.13. See also C. Kros, "Rhodes must fall: Archives and counter archives". *Critical Arts. South–North Cultural and Media Studies.* Vol.29.Sup.1.(2015).p.150–163.

146 M. Ndletyana, & D.A. Webb, "Social divisions carved in stone or cenotaphs to new identity? Policy for memorials, monuments and statues in a democratic South Africa". *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. Vol.23.No.2.(2017).p.98.

147 S. Victor, The politics of remembering and commemorating atrocity in South Africa: The Bhisho Massacre and its aftermath, 1992–2012. *Journal of Southern African Studies.* Vol.41.No.1.(2015).p.84.

148 S. Marshall, "Reordering the Past: Monuments and architectural heritage in post-apartheid South Africa". Collections électroniques de l'INHA. Actes de colloques et livres en ligne de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art.(2005). & S. Marshall, *Landscape of memory: Commemorative monuments, memorials and public statuary in post-apartheid South Africa*. Brill.Leiden & Boston.(2009).

According to Coombes, these were the questions confronting the policymakers and museum officials in the nineties, as they planned the change and development of the Robben Island Prison, the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria, District Six in Cape Town and art exhibitions associated with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. She further highlights the contradictory investments in these sites among competing constituencies and the tensions involved in producing new histories for a new South Africa. Ali Khangela Hlongwane (2015) deals with the South African memory boom experience using Soweto as a case study. In this work, he explores the processes of re-imagining and re-presenting the memory of the June 1976 Soweto students uprising and how the commemoration of this incident is characterised by contestations and competing narratives over political ownership of that memory. He further argues that physical forms of public memory have become a most important aspect in the progressions aimed at regaining and humanising public space in African townships.[149]

In a book by SADET, *The road to democracy in South Africa.* Vol. 7. *Soweto uprising: New perspectives, commemorations and memorialisation* (2017), contributors analysed aspects of commemorations and memorialisation of the Soweto uprising based on oral testimonies from eyewitnesses, the struggle of veterans of the uprising, as well as voices from authorities such as the police. Memorialisation of this event is discussed based on material culture associated with the uprising. The book further points to other uprising by students during this period, an indication that the uprising also impacted students in the countryside, despite Soweto being the epicentre. Scholarly publications by Ali Khangela Hlongwane, Sifiso Ndlovu, and Mothobi Mutloatse all provide valuable reflections on the memory of the 1960 PAC campaign that led to the mass killings in Sharpeville.

They further provide a framework in which this thesis is constructed by reflecting on the grand narrative of the origins and significance of the PAC's anti-pass campaign, its significance as a turning point in the history of South African politics, biography of Robert Sobukwe,

[149] See, A.K.Hlongwane, "The mapping of the June 16, 1976, Soweto student uprisings routes: Past recollections and present reconstruction(s)".*Journal of African cultural studies.* Vol.19.No.1.(2007). A.K.Hlongwane, *Footprints of "Class of 76" Commemoration, memory mapping, and heritage*. Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum.(2008). A.K.Hlongwane, "Commemoration, Memory and Monuments in the Contested Language of Black Liberation: The South African Experience". *Journal of Pan African Studies*.Vol.2.No.4.(2008). S.M.Ndlovu, *Soweto uprising: Counter-memories of June 1976.* Raven Press.Johannesburg.(1998). SADET, *The road to democracy in South Africa, Soweto uprising: New perspectives commemorations and memorialization.*Vol.7.Unisa Press.Pretoria. (2017). A.K.Hlongwane, & S.M.Ndlovu, *Public History and Culture in South Africa: Memorialisation and Liberation heritage sites in Johannesburg and the township space*. Palgrave Macmillan. Switzerland.Cham.(2019).

Commemorations and counter commemorations of this day, the change from Sharpeville Day to Human Rights Day, related heritage sites as well as Langa memorial. Although these works do not provide a detailed yearly observance, they, however, provide a useful window on how opposing narratives are framed around the ownership of Sharpeville's memory by both the ANC and the PAC. They also provide a framework by which a comparative analysis of the Soweto students uprising, and the Sharpeville Massacre can be drawn.

1.5.7 HERITAGISATION AND COMMODIFICATION OF THE SHARPEVILLE MEMORY

Heritage is a concept in cultural tourism that has gained popularity in the global tourism industry.[150] In this thesis, the concept means a version of the past received through objects and displays, representations and engagements, spectacular locations and events, memories and commemorations, and the preparation of places for cultural purposes and consumption".[151] It also involves preserving fragments, judged in terms of their ability to link the past to the present, their entertainment and leisure value. It is also linked to identity politics and has a particularly close relationship with nation- and state-building projects.[152] On the other hand, the heritagisation process aims at making residents of a particular place feel that a certain cultural heritage is more relevant to them than to outsiders.[153]

Post-1994 South Africa witnessed the heritagisation and museumification of the past for several reasons, one of them being what Urry refers to as "gazing on history", of which a multiplicity of metaphors appears as a result of societal groupings and historical period narratives.[154] Lynn Meskell and Colette Scheermeyer observe that cultural productions, such as memorials, museums, heritage sites, memorialisation and public spaces of commemoration, provide therapeutic ground

[150] H. Masilo, "Heritage tourists' experiences of 'Struggle Heritage' at Liliesleaf Farm Museum and the Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum South Africa". *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*. Vol.5.No.3.(2016).p.1

[151] E. Waterton, & S. Watson, *Heritage as a Focus of Research: Past, Present and New Directions*. In E. Waterton & S. Watson, *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*. Basingstoke. Palgrave Macmillan.London.(2015).p.1.

[152] J. McGregor, & L. Schumaker, "Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and Marketing Public Culture and History". *Journal of Southern African Studies.*Vol.32.No.4.(2006).p.650-651.

[153] P. Å. Nilsson, "Impact of Cultural Heritage on Tourists: The Heritagisation Process. *Athens Journal of Tourism*.Vol.5.Iss.1.p.37.

[154] L. M. Dondolo, Apartheid spatial plan: Heritagisation and museumification of the past at Vilakazi Street in Soweto. In Myambo. M.T, *Reversing Urban Inequality in Johannesburg.*Routledge.London.*(*2020). https://books.google.co.za/books?hl=en&lr=&id=mDZyDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT178&dq=township+tourism+sharpeville&ots=7XLA7vgDdI&sig=AAbwyEQvqyxQ0Sn_nkN_72xY5Eo - v=onepage&q&f=false .(Accessed on the 24.12.2020).

for survivors and victims' relatives. This heritage category can also be used for community empowerment, restitution and social justice.[155]

Prior to 1994, the South African heritage landscape had been seriously neglected and held no meaning for most of the population.[156] The work by Franco (1992) provides an account of declared monuments by the apartheid government. He points out that 97% of all monuments declared by the National Council, pre-1994, represented white values; 3% represented the arts, architecture and the artefacts of the black African population, which, ironically made up 84% of the South African population.[157] Heritage in post-1994 South Africa commemorates its citizens' achievements and contributes to rectifying the injustices of the past; it educates and deepens understanding of society and encourages its people to have empathy with the experiences of others. It further facilitates healing, material and symbolical restoration, whilst encouraging new and previously neglected research about oral history and traditions.[158] Duane Jethro (2020) argues that heritage has always been linked to nations and nationalism in South Africa.

The works by Elizabeth Rankin (2013) and Sabine Marschall (2004, 2008,2010) address the flourishing monument phenomenon in South Africa, the political discourses fuelling it, its impact on identity formation, its potential benefits and its contradictions.[159] These works discuss the growing South African memory landscape, which relies heavily on commemorative monuments, memorials and heritage sites aimed at reconciliation, nation building and the creation of a shared public history. Although she provides the architectural, cultural and aesthetic form attached to it, she observes the imposing commemorative brick structure opposite the police station, incorporating the existing small memorial unveiled in 2002. However, her work ignores other memorials in

[155] L. Meskell, & C. Scheermeyer,"Heritage as therapy set pieces from the new South Africa". *Journal of Material Culture.* Vol.13.No.2.(2008).p.153.

[156] G. Young, & P. Vosloo, "Isivivane, Freedom Park: A critical analysis of the relationship between commemoration, meaning and landscape design in post-apartheid South Africa". *Acta Structilia*. Vol.27.No.1.(2020).p.86.

[157] M. Ndletyana, & D. A. Webb, "Social divisions carved in stone or cenotaphs to new identity? Policy for memorials, monuments and statues in a democratic South Africa". *International Journal of Heritage Studies*.Vol.23. No.2.(2007).p.101.

[158] C. Kruger, & M. van Heerden, "The Voortrekker Monument Heritage Site: A New Statement of Significance". *Historia*. Vol.50.No.2.(2005).p.238.

[159] See, E.Rankin," Creating/Curating Cultural Capital: Monuments and Museums for Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Humanities*. Vol.2.No.1.(2013). S.Marschall, Gestures of compensation: Post-apartheid monuments and memorials. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*. Vol.55.No.1.(2004). S. Marschall," Pointing to the dead: victims, martyrs and public memory in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal.* Vol.60.No.1.(2008). S.Marschall, *Landscape of memory: Commemorative monuments, memorials and public statuary in post-apartheid South Africa*. Brill.Leiden & Boston.(2010).

Sharpeville and historic sites declared as heritage resources, such as graves, the memorial in the cemetery, the Roman Catholic church and the old police station.[160]

In terms of cultural tourism or historical tourism, existing literature points to the fact that post-1994 South Africa saw dark tourism begin an upward trajectory because of the country's troubled past, with a plethora of dark tourism sites such as Sharpeville.[161] Jackie Grobler argues that trustworthy portrayals of South Africa's heritage and culture at tourist attractions are facing the danger of being ploughed under by the current emphasis on political correctness and transformation. Portrayals of the past in monuments, statues, and memorials in all parts of the world are more or less one-sided. The foundation myth of the ANC, which is in political control, demands portrayals that support their legitimacy through the interpretation of history as a struggle for freedom.[162] The work by Karel Anthonie Bakker and Liana Müller (2010) argues that in post-1994 South Africa the state, and the ANC by extension, has taken on the role of purveyor of heritage, becoming the dominant hegemonic voice in the production of cultural identity. They further argue that this scenario underlines the strain of commemorating intangible heritage through static monuments, thereby brewing the development of heritage commemoration that is not commodified.

Veronique Labuschagne and Leonie Menzies (2017) argue that Sharpeville has a rich local heritage and a "plethora of dark tourism sites"[163] with potential benefits to the residents. However, they contend that the residents are not informed about the benefits of being involved in township tourism and may have negative perceptions regarding township tourism, thus hindering their participation. According to Sabine Marschall, even though local communities might not always directly benefit financially from tourism flow, new monument initiatives usually include some general upgrading of the surrounding area or become nodes of urban development, as seen in the Sharpeville memorial complex.[164] In his work, Gregory Ashworth argues that Sharpeville may find its notoriety a disadvantage and even townships such as Soweto may find the persistent evocation of association

[160] S. Marschall, "Pointing to the Dead: Victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.60.No.1.(2008).p.119.
[161] U. S. Henama, "Marikana: Opportunities for Heritage Tourism. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure".* Vol.6.No.4.(2017).p.1.
[162] Jackie Grobler, "The impact of politics on heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa". *S.A. Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis*.Vol.22.No.1.(2008).p.185.
[163] U. S. Henama, "Marikana: Opportunities for Heritage Tourism. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism, and Leisure.* Vol.6.No.4.(2017).p.1.
[164] S. Marschall, "Making Money with Memories: The Fusion of Heritage, Tourism and Identity Formation in South Africa". *Historia.*Vol.50.No.1.(2005).p.111.

with egregious violence, lawlessness and conflict a major disadvantage in attracting not only visitors but also economic activities and investment.[165]

Existing body of literature covering Sharpeville, however consistent in relaying the specifics of the origins, details and implications of the massacre as a turning point where liberation movements ceased to operate openly as well as the rise of anti-apartheid resistance movements globally. It is therefore limited and focuses exclusively on the Sharpeville Massacre of 21st March 1960. It is nevertheless significant as it provides a broad window through which the massacre can be understood. With the exception of few references in piecemeals (limited scope) the existing literature does not provide a chronological account of changes, continuity and shifts in tradition (s) on memorialisation and commemoration of this event with the exception of doctoral thesis on 1976 Soweto student uprising,[166] edited book by SADET, on new perspectives on commemorations and memorialisation of Soweto 1976 Soweto Uprising,[167] and Ali Khangela Hlongwane and Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu on Memorialisation and Liberation heritage sites in Johannesburg and the township space.[168]

There is, however, recent and ever-growing literature on liberation struggle heritage in post-apartheid South Africa as more and more commemorative memorial sites are being added to country's heritage inventory. In terms of commemorative practices globally, reviewed literature provides a rich example which comparisons and universalised standard repertoire holocaust influences on performative commemoration of the massacre can be made. These literatures is useful in that it serves as a blueprint for this study on the theme of heritage, material culture, politics of identity and commemoration. It is in these areas of historical memory and heritage that the study attempts to a make a distinct contribution as well as to fill in the lacunae with regards to Sharpeville's historical memory.

[165] G. J. Ashworth, *Tourism and the heritage of atrocity: Managing the heritage of South Africa*. In Singh. T.V, *New horizons in tourism: Strange experiences and even stranger practices.* International.Wallingford.(2004).p.5.

[166] A.K.Hlongwane, "The Historical Development of the Commemoration of the June 16, 1976, Soweto Students' Uprisings: A study of re-representation, commemoration and collective memory". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.Johannesburg.(2015).

[167] SADET, *The road to democracy in South Africa, Soweto uprising: New perspectives commemorations and memorialisation*.Vol.7.Unisa Press. Pretoria.(2017).

[168] A.K. Hlongwane, & S.M.Ndlovu, *Public History and Culture in South Africa: Memorialisation and Liberation heritage sites in Johannesburg and the township space*.Palgrave Macmillan.Switzerland.Cham.(2019).

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The empirical investigation of the study entailed oral sources, documentary analyses in the form of archives and secondary literature. Primary sources in this study refer to archives that originated directly from the period under investigation and were used to set the scene and provide background to the study. To arrive at the stage where this thesis could be written, the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa repositories, both in Pretoria and Cape Town, were my first port of call. The Pretoria repository is in custody of archives dealing with amenities provision, reports of the Wessels Commission of enquiry into the events in the districts of Vereeniging (namely at Sharpeville Location and Evaton) and Vanderbijlpark, province of the Transvaal, on 21st March, 1960. There are highly classified TRC reports, relating to human rights violations and amnesty cases. Only technical records can be accessed through the Access to Information Act of 2000, and some are available online.

The repository in Cape Town is in custody of apartheid's Publications Board. This collection consists of the decision on the banning of literature relating to Sharpeville commemorations deemed as undesirable publications or "objectionable literature" according to the Suppression of Communism Act No. 44 of 1950, Publications and Entertainments Act No. 26 of 1963, Customs Act No. 55 of 1955, Customs and Excise Act No. 91 of 1964, Publications Act No. 42 of 1974, and Publications Amendment Act No. 109 of 1978. Examples include books such as Ambrose Reeves's *Shooting at Sharpeville: The agony of South Africa (1960*), Bernard Sachs's *The road from Sharpeville* (1961) and Ngila Muendane's *Sharpeville: The epic goes on* (1982). These materials proved to be useful as background to the study.

The University of Witwatersrand's historical papers archives and Central Records Office are in custody of archives consisting of the miscellaneous Sharpeville Massacre materials from 1955 to 1995. The Central Records office is in custody of the university's administration, faculties, departments, organisations, clubs and societies as well as associated persons. From this office, the roles of student bodies, such as the Students Representative Council (SRC), NUSAS, Black Students Organisation (BSO), South African Students Organization (SASO) during anniversaries of the Sharpeville Massacre (1960s to 1980s) were analysed insofar as they related to commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre. The University of Witwatersrand's William Cullen library, University of South Africa, City of Johannesburg Library, Museum Africa, Hector Peterson

Museum and the National Library of South Africa host newspapers and magazines including, but not limited to, *Rand Daily Mail, Mail and Guardian, The Citizen, The Star, The Sowetan* and *Drum* which contain articles about the Sharpeville shootings and its aftermath.

The Vanderbijlpark Library has local newspaper collections such as the *Vaal Ster, Vaal Vision, Vaalweekblad* and *Sedibeng Ster.* In many ways these resources were instrumental in publishing feature articles on the commemoration of the meaning of the Sharpeville Massacre. These were also helpful in analysing opposing and complementary perspectives of a single event by different local media houses. The South African Broadcasting Cooperation (SABC) archives has been capturing events of national significance, including the Sharpeville Massacre commemorative events. Documentaries and an inventory list of news clips were analysed, and comparisons made with print media publications that reported on the events of such anniversaries. These audio-visual archives proved useful as interviews with various sectors across the political spectrum and ordinary Sharpeville residents provided a different viewpoint regarding the Sharpeville Massacre and its observance.

At South African History Archives (SAHA), the TRC hearing recordings were located and analysed; however, they do not reflect the natural articulation of how historical injustices affect current generations and also how they could affect future generations, as these gross human rights violations have implications for issues such as intergenerational justice as well as the notion of victimhood.[169] Victims who testified before the commission were subjected to protocols and constraints as its proceedings were theatrical in the sense of being aural and visual, and highly structured in terms of being planned out, '*dramatis personae'* and produced.[170] Charmaine McEachern maintains that the TRC hearings were fully mediated, accessed through the press, television and radio and, because of this, can be regarded as performance constructed for an audience and shaped by and dependent on media agendas, genres, discourses, conventions and forms of communication, and are, therefore, a media event.[171] The edited work by Catherine Byrne(2010) and Bryan Mark Urbsaitis (2007), both dedicated to Duma Joshua Kumalo,[172] provide

[169] C. K. Adonis, *Generational victimhood in post-apartheid South Africa: Perspectives of descendants of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations*. Human Sciences Research Council.Pretoria (2016).p.1-44.

[170] C. M. Cole, *Performing South Africa's Truth Commission: Stages of Transition*. Indiana University Press. Bloomington and Indianapolis.(2009).p.8-11.

[171] C. McEachern, *Narratives of nation media, memory and representation in the making of the new South Africa*. Nova Science Publishers.Inc.New York.(2002).p.21.

[172] Duma Joshua Kumalo (1958-2006) was one of the founding members of the Khulumani Victim Support Group and one of the "Sharpeville Six". He was sentenced to death under the "Common Purpose" statute of 1984, which

harrowing personal accounts, through interviews, of violations suffered by the Sharpeville Massacre survivors and those of the 1980s Vaal uprising.[173]

Digital sources are also primary sources coming from the Information Communications Technology (ICT) platform and only exist in digital formats.[174] Cheryl Mason Bolick contends that digital archives have shifted the dynamics of undertaking historical enquiry by altering who is able to conduct the research and how such research is done. She further contends that "digital primary sources have democratized historical research".[175] Therefore, in researching this thesis, digital platforms that were accessed and examined include Digital Innovation South Africa (DISA), hosted by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. It hosts the archives relating to the socio-political history of South Africa from 1950 to 1994. The researcher also accessed consolidated current and archived information from newspaper titles. The South African Media (SA media), hosted by the University of Free State, has a collection of broadcast transcripts, periodicals, government documents and other publications such as newspapers. These resources were helpful in providing material that proved useful in writing this thesis.

permitted a person to be convicted for being in the vicinity of a crime without physically committing it. He was granted a stay of execution the day before his sentence was to be carried out in 1988. Kumalo became active in several human rights initiatives after his release from prison in 1991, including discussions regarding the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and engagement with Amnesty International. In 1996 he appeared before the TRC. He pleaded with the Commission to allow him to clear his name and have his criminal record removed, a wish that was never granted. During the hearing, Duma said to the TRC: *"I was nearly hanged for something I did not know anything about. I ask myself that how many people have been hanged who are innocent. Even today, I'm not able to believe that I was on a death row."* In 2000, on the 40th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, Duma led a protest march by the Sharpeville Khulumani group members, from the Sharpeville library to the police station. In a memorandum addressed to the then Justice Minister, Penuell Maduna, they expressed their unhappiness with the TRC in terms of victims' reparations and investigations relating to people who have not been accounted for.https://khulumani.net/in-the-news/victims-march-against-trc-process/2000/03/14/. (Accessed on the 17.11.2021). See also the speech by the Deputy Minister of the Department of Telecommunications and Postal Services, Prof. Hlengiwe Mkhize, The Duma Kumalo Inaugural Memorial Lecture and Colloquium. Vaal University of Technology.29 August 2016.
Transforming pain, embracing life: commemorating the life of Duma Joshua Kumalo https://www.dtps.gov.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=679:transforming-pain,-embracing-life-commemorating-the-life-of-duma-joshua-kumalo&catid=62&Itemid=277. (Accessed on the 17.11.2021).

[173] H. Barrell, *Leading from behind: Virtue and necessity, April 1984-June 1985. South African History Online*. https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/chapter-8-leading-behind-virtue-and-necessity-april-1984-june-1985-howard-barrell.(Accessed on the 17.11.2021). See also J. A. Stemmet, "Troops, townships and tribulations: Deployment of the South African Defence Force (SADF) in the township unrest of the 1980s". *Journal for Contemporary History*. Vol.31.No.2.(2006).p.178.

[174] M. A. Kamp, S. Legene, M. Van Rossum, & S. Rümke, *Writing History! A Companion for Historians*. Amsterdam University Press. Amsterdam.(2018).p.50.

[175] C. M. Bolick, "Digital archives: Democratizing the doing of history".*International Journal of Social Education.* Vol.2.No.1.(2006).p.122.

Secondary sources are created using primary sources. In the writing of this thesis, I relied heavily on the University of Witwatersrand's circulation and general services libraries. From these libraries, books, dissertations and journals by social and cultural historians, such as Ali Khangela Hlongwane, Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, Sekibakiba Lekgoathi and Sabine Marschall, were accessed using online institutional repository. These resources provided much needed data on diverse aspects of memorialisation, commemoration and its associated material culture in South Africa before and during the current period.

Oral sources, also referred to as auditory sources, have become a growing discipline and methodology to capture stories of marginalised people. Drawing from Susan Brenna, Richards Harwood argues that this methodology has become a "boom industry", embracing not only "movers and shakers" but ordinary folks as well.[176] Alessandro Portelli refers to this methodological craft as the narrative source.[177] In South Africa, scholars such as Charles Van Onselen (1997), S. P. Lekgoathi (2004), P. Denis and R. Ntsimane *(*2008), P. Bonner and N. Nieftagodien, (2008), Lekgoathi and P. Delius, (1990) and M. S. Ngoepe (2020), to name but a few, have popularised the narrative source through their works.

In this study, oral sources refer to stories recorded about the PAC's Positive Action Campaign as it played out in Sharpeville, the massacre that followed, its memorialisation and commemoration practices aimed at transforming individuals from passive spectators into socially and morally accountable agents. Leo Barnard, Jan-Ad Stemmet and Steven Semela contend that, in its nature, oral history is the personal accounts of an individual who witnessed and was affected or played a part in an event that took place in the past, meaning that it is oral information about an individual's life or about their participation in, and experience of, an historical episode.[178] It therefore relates both to personal stories and memories that people tell others about the past and the formal collection or account of such stories and memories by oral historians. Within families, such stories are often passed on from generation to generation.[179]

[176] R. Harwood, Passing down memories: The importance of oral history. *The Washington Post*. 30 January.1996.
[177] A. Portelli, The Peculiarities of Oral History. *History Workshop Journal*. Vol.12.Iss.1.(1981).p.99.
[178] L Barnard, J. A. Stemmet, & S. Semela, "Expanding the nature of oral history: Examples from the Namoha Battle, QwaQwa,1950: An oral history perspective". *Journal for Contemporary History*. Vol.30.No.3.(2005).p.141.
[179] S. Veale, & K. Schilling, *Talking History. Oral History Guidelines*, Department of Environment & Conservation, New South Wales, Cultural Heritage Division. (2004). In. P. M. Mantuba-Ngoma, Theorizing Oral Tradition: Jan Vansina and Beyond. https://www.blacfoundation.org/pdf/TheorizingOralTradition.pdf. (Accessed on the 28.10.2021).

The reason for employing this kind of historical approach to this study is that, in some cases, primary and secondary sources are limited or inaccessible. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson argue that documents, archived and often written by those in power, are subject to propaganda and discerning editing and therefore do not always promise a comprehensive picture of event(s). Most importantly, they offer scant history on those without major political power.[180] Another reason is that oral sources play a significant role in documenting "history from below", also referred to as "people history". This approach is a diversity of social history that developed in the new left to explore the experiences and history-making power of the working class who had long been left out of elite, "top-down" historical narratives.[181]

Cynthia Kros and Nicole Ulrich observe that oral history, through its deference, could produce that which was not elitist.[182] According to John Tosh, history from below does not mean recreating the rhythm of everyday life but seeing the past from the point of view of ordinary people and identifying with their politics.[183] During the field research, it allowed an assembly of viewpoints and gave expression to ordinary Sharpeville residents who had been side-lined in mainstream histories and, at times, whose stories were in conflict with the published literature which mainly celebrates the elite.

This method was further necessitated by the fact that South Africa, post-1994, witnessed the emergence of a new generation of oral historians whose aim was none but to develop inclusive and culturally sensitive appreciation of the past.[184] In this study, oral history is used to capture the living memory or communicative memory, which Jan Assmann describes as an interactive practice located within the tensions between individual and group recall of the past. It can therefore be seen

[180] R. Perks, & A. Thomson, *The Oral History Reader*. Routledge. New York.(1998). In Marcus.B., *Oral History and the Documentation of Historic Sites: Recording Sense of Place*. 16th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: 'Finding the spirit of place – between the tangible and the intangible'. 29 Sept – 4 Oct 2008.Canada.Quebec.(2008).p.2.

[181] J. Davidson, History from below: A reading list with Marcus Rediker.22 May 2019. https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/history-from-below-a-reading-list-with-marcus-rediker/. (Accessed on the 28.10.2021).

[182] C. Kros, & N. Ulrich, *The truth of tales: Oral testimony and teaching history in schools*. In Denis. P, & Ntsimane. R,*Oral history in a wounded country: Interactive interviewing in South Africa*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.Scottsville.(2008).p.86.

[183] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history: Aim, methods and new directions in the study of history.* Taylor & Francis Group.London and New York.(2015).p.57.

[184] P. Denis, & R. Ntsimane, *Oral History in a wounded country: Interactive interviewing in South Africa*. University of Kwazulu-Natal Press. Scottsville.(2008).p.1.

as the short-term memory of a society; it is bound to the existence of living bearers of memory and to communicators of experience and encompasses three to four generations.[185]

Assmann further argues that communicative memory goes back only about 80 years and is the group memory of events at least that some living people can remember.[186] He contends that it is (auto) biographical reminiscences, bound to persons, and dealing mostly with daily life.[187] According to Jan Vansina, the communicative memory contains memories of the "recent past".[188] The reason and applicability of this method to Sharpeville is that historical consciousness of survivors and descendants of victims of this massacre "is still in flux".[189]

According to Vansina, quoted in Mercer, oral history is distinguished from oral tradition, which is verbally transmitted testimony concerning the past, with or without a conscious intent to record history. The crucial distinction from other major types of oral testimony lies in the tradition's hearsay transmission from an original witness through a series of witnesses to the present narrator.[190] Therefore, oral tradition, according to Paul Thompson, is related to a time beyond the reach of living memory because it has been consolidated and repeated for a long period of time.[191] Both oral history and oral tradition have their own distinctive characters yet share significant overlaps that make them difficult to differentiate.[192] The difference between the two is articulated by Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi, who maintains that oral history is the method that uses oral traditions and/or oral testimony as a form of historical evidence.

[185] W. Harald, *Communicative Memory*. In Erll.A, & Nünning. A, *Cultural Memory Studies*. De Gruyter Berlin.New York.(2008).p.285.
[186] Ibid.p.285.
[187] J.Assmann, *Das kulturelle Geda¨chtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identita¨t in fru¨hen Hochkulturen*. Munchen: Verlag. C. H. Beck.(1999). In Hardenberg.R, "Collective, communicative and cultural memories: Examples of local historiography from northern Kyrgyzstan". *Central Asian Survey.* Vol.31.No.3.(2012).p.270.
[188] J Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*. Oxford. In Currey.J, "Filling in the 'floating gaps' in the history of the Greek Orthodox community of Ayvalık: A study in cultural memory". *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics*.(2016).p.4.
[189] J. Vansina, *Oral tradition as history*. Kenya: Heinemann (1985). In A. Hlongwane, "The Historical Development of the Commemoration of the June 16, 1976 Soweto Students' Uprisings: A Study of Re-representation, Commemoration, and Collective Memory". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(2015).p.67.
[190] P. M. Mercer, "Oral tradition in the Pacific: Problems of interpretation".*The Journal of Pacific History*.Vol.14. No.3.(1979).p.130.
[191] P. S. Thompson, Reconciling recent oral traditions with old documents: Bambatha and his family. *Culture, memory, and trauma*. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.(2006).p.97.
[192] N. Mahuika, "Kōrero Tuku Iho': Reconfiguring Oral History and Oral Tradition". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Waikato.Tauranga.(2012).p.ii.

In this work, the use of oral testimonies provided me with the opportunity of not being a consumer of the communal sharing of life stories, but also of getting inside the lived experience of the Sharpeville Massacre.[193] Furthermore, oral testimonies could not be ignored as methods of reconstructing the memories of the tragic event that occurred more than six decades ago because some of the Sharpeville Massacre survivors are still alive and willing to share their experiences. My realisation that survivors who could provide me with first-hand testimonies were becoming fewer, growing much older, getting sicklier, and with some passing on, gave me a sense of urgency.

As the communicative memory of these survivors is dying out, there is a need to capture their memories. As they become fewer, the preciousness of their memories becomes even more treasurable. Hlongwane argues that survivors are able to reflect on their own experiences as part of the search to be human, as opposed to offering themselves as helpless victims of oppression, as played out during the TRC proceedings.[194] Post-1994, these memories are publicly transmitted to younger generations through "*imbawula"* storytelling, where both oral histories come to life during activities leading to the anniversary of the day.[195]

Zdena Mtetwa observed that it is during "*imbawula"* that the history of Sharpeville unfolds, the unsung heroes are celebrated, and the richness and realness of this oral history sends a shiver down one's spine.[196] This method had positive values as ordinary people make contributions to history through the opportunity to share their memories of that event. This method was furthermore utilised to document associated Sharpeville Massacre's material culture. During that process, places such as churches, police stations, stadia, community halls, swimming pools, art centres, hostels, beer halls, cemeteries, streets and houses were infused with the narratives of the respondents. Benjamin Marcus states that landscape topographies change over time and uses of space can all be captured

[193] T. C. Moloi, "Black Politics in Kroonstad: Political Mobilisation, Protests, Local Government, and Generational Struggles-1976–1995".Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(2012).p.28.

[194] A. K. Hlongwane, "The Historical Development of the Commemoration of the June 16, 1976, Soweto Students' Uprisings: A Study of Re-representation, Commemoration, and Collective Memory". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Witwaterand. Johannesburg.(2015).p.68.

[195] During these times survivors and descendants of the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre make fire at the sides of the road, where the young generation is called to come and hear stories. This has become an ongoing ritual performed by members of the Sharpeville Khulumani Support Group members.

[196] Z. Mtetwa, "*The fire, and the crowd: A case study of Sharpeville*, In Landman.C, *Oral history: Heritage and identity".* Proceedings of the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Annual National Oral History Conference. White River, Mpumalanga (2010) Mahikeng. North-West Province.(2011) & Mangaung. Free State.(2012). Oral History Association of South Africa.(2013).p.11.

using oral history as a methodology to interpret social and historical context of significant historic buildings.[197]

Besides its strengths and opportunities, oral history has its own flaws and limitations. According to Valerie Raleigh Yow, it is inevitably subjective, and its subjectivity is inescapable and crucial to an understanding of the meaning we give our past and present.[198] However, Alessandro Portelli, Luisa Passerini and Michael Frisch challenge this opinion by arguing that the subjective and narrative merits of oral history are essentially its strength. According to Alessandro Portelli, the credibility of oral sources offers a "different credibility".[199]

Lekgoathi further points to the following limitations of oral history: interviewer-interviewee relationship in terms of power relations, unreliability of memory and remembering selectivity, silencing of traumatic and dehumanising experiences, memory often triggered by interest, language barrier (especially if the researcher is a "cultural outsider", meaning can be lost in translation), and sources can be manipulated, leading to distortion of facts.[200] Authors such as Marietjie Oelofse and Derek du Bruyn concur with Lekgoathi, nonetheless arguing that the major limitation of oral history is the unreliability of the interviewee's memory for hard and specific facts and chronological sequence.[201]

To overcome these limitations, I considered the use of a list of *"open-ended"* questions; however, in some instances, the prepared questions were suspended during the conversation, thereby allowing the participants to be fully expressive and follow-up questions being drawn from the conversation, and not the list. The limitation of this method, especially with its research application to collective public memory such as memorialisation, commemoration and social history of representation, is best described by John Tosh who warns that collective oral history may reinforce

[197] B. Marcus, Oral History and the Documentation of Historic Sites: Recording Sense of Place. http://openarchive.icomos.org/id/eprint/32/1/77-auDd-142.pdf.(Accessed on the 28.10.2021).

[198] V. Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.Oxford.(2005).p.23.

[199] A. Hajek, *Research methods cases: Oral history methodology*, SAGE Research Methods Cases. New York City.(2014).p.2–16.

[200] S. P. Lekgoathi, Oral history and historical research in South Africa: Some theoretical issues. PowerPoint presentation. https://www.saarchivist.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Mpumalanga-Oral History Workshop-History-historical-research-in-South Africa-Keynote-9-June-2014.pdf. (Accessed on the 28.10.2021).

[201] M. Oelofse, & D. du Bruyn, "The importance of oral history in transforming South Africa". *Journal for Contemporary History*. Vol.29.No.1.p.160.

the superficial way in which respondents think of the changes they have lived through, instead of a deeper understanding as a basis for more effective political action.[202]

The data collected was used for comparative analysis, followed by factual verification and credibility check by evaluating the responses in juxtaposition with all other sources relating to the Sharpeville landscape, events themselves and the people referred to. The other technique adhered to during field research was the preparation and establishment of intimacy and rapport in the interview process. To gather as much data as possible by this method, contacts were established and snowballing effect was deployed, which involved respondents being persuaded to name one or more people who can be contacted about participation in the research process. Through this process of recommendation, I secured the trust of other potential respondents.

The other method used that undoubtedly enabled me to collect data for this research was "observation", which is a data collection technique because it can be used in a variety of research methods.[203] According to Lynda Baker, observation is an ethnographic research method whereby the researcher immerses himself or herself within a community under investigation. Baker argues that this method allows a researcher to study the subject of research in their native setting in order to appreciate "things" from their perspective. In his own research activities, Rutledge Dennis observed that this method has proven to be successful in providing much needed data, with some of the richest data having been captured using this technique.[204]

In the case of this research, this method proved complex because I lived in the township of Sharpeville during my adolescence. On a personal level, I know survivors of the massacre, including some who had already passed away before the study was conducted. Thus, I was aware of their everyday struggles and pain, both emotionally and physically. I am also an enthusiastic participant in Sharpeville memorial gatherings. Throughout the course of this research, I continued to observe the day and attended commemorations as a non-participant. According to Marianne

[202] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history: Aim, methods and new directions in the study of history*. Taylor & Francis Group. London & New York.(2015).p.66.
[203] K. Williamson, "Research methods for students and professionals: Information management and systems". Wagga Wagga, NSW: Charles Sturt University, Center for Information Studies.(2000). In Baker. L, "Observation: A Complex Research Method". *Library Trends*. Vol.55.No.1.(2006).p.172.
[204] R. Dennis, "Race, and Ethnicity in Research Methods*". Journal of Marketing Research*. Vol.32.No.2.(1995).p.72.

Coleman and Ann Briggs, the researcher enters the scene of the research with knowledge of what they want to observe and why they want to observe the phenomenon.[205]

The dilemma was, firstly, whether my participation at memorial ceremonies and commemorative events - which Penny Summerfield refers to as "mass-observation" or the study of a single national event - was permissible.[206] Secondly, can the researcher think of himself as a participant and a passive participant? At times, I wondered if I could remove myself from the remembrance activities. I also thought about my personal participation and "being there" in the research process and engrossed in becoming a part of the participatory commemoration spectacle under investigation. The most difficult aspect of writing the observation-based thesis was managing the analysis of findings without sacrificing rigour and objectivity. To be at ease during this process, the words of Ronald Grele, that "history can no longer be seen as the work of objective outsiders, nor can it be limited only to the way it is created by political and social historians", were internalised.[207] Despite the complexity of this method, which can be overcome, there is, however, a weakness that scholars regard as subjectivity in the collecting and analysing process based on the researcher's own positionality and beliefs.[208] Once the data and interviews were completed, before some later follow-ups, the research assistant transcribed all the interviews verbatim, collated and then typed them.

1.7 LIMITATIONS AND POSITIONALITY

The shortcomings and limitations of this work have been addressed in the methodology of the research section. In terms of qualitative text, I set aside a considerable amount of time locating archives relevant to the study. When these archives were located, they mainly dealt with the incident itself and its aftermath, such as the Wessels Commission of inquiry into the disturbances, the apartheid regime's response and the international reactions to the killings. At both the Pretoria and Cape Town National Archives of South Africa repositories, some of the archives supposedly relevant to this study are in Afrikaans. These resources were overlooked for analysis thereby posing

[205] M. Coleman, & A. Briggs, *Research Methods in Educational Leadership and Management.* Sage Publications. London.(2002).p.177.
[206] P. Summerfield, "Mass-Observation: Social Research or Social Movement?". *Journal of Contemporary History*. Vol.20.(1985).p.499.
[207] R. Grele, "Reflections on the practice of oral history retrieving what we can from an earlier critique". *Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society.* Vol.32.No.4.(2007).p.16.
[208] J. Iacono, A. Brown, & C. Holtham, "Research Methods – A Case Example of Participant Observation." *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods.*Vol.7.Iss.1.(2009).p.41.

a limitation to this study. The reason for disregarding them is that I had limited understanding and competence to validate the accurateness of my interpretation of the Afrikaans archives.

Useful materials relating to healing sessions of the KSG[209] were not accessed due to its state of dysfunction[210] at the time the thesis was being written. During the early stages of field work, I visited the KSG[211], firstly to request clearance to interview its members in Sharpeville (*see, Addendum A*) and, secondly, to locate archives to consider for enriching the study. During that trip, collections of interviews with its national membership, consisting of its Vaal region members, including Duma Khumalo, its founding member and one of the "Sharpeville six", were identified. The "Art and Memory" workshop recordings, held in partnership with SAHA in the East Rand and Vaal regions in 2007 and 2008, and which developed into the Art Healing and Heritage Workshop Project, were further identified.

These recordings are personal journeys and focus groups aimed at developing community perception and a collective response to the pictures of the massacre.[212] Unfortunately, offices were closed when I went back for an analysis, resulting in a lack of access to the materials. The *Cape Times* (2019) of 14th February reported that members of the board of the KSG were at loggerheads with the newly formed National Working Committee over accusations that a subgroup within the board had taken control of the National Control Centre due to internal financial and governance issues.[213]

[209] Khotso House – Khotso means "peace" in Sesotho. The building used to house the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches (SACC hereinafter), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU hereinafter) and many community organisations in Johannesburg. Commemorations of Sharpeville were also held in this building during the 1970s and 1980s by the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM hereinafter). It was, however, bombed in the 1980s and used to be raided by the apartheid police from time to time. (T. Ntsewa, Background to the renaming campaign and brief explanation around the names of our residence. http://ulspace.ul.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10386/624/Naming_1993.pdf?sequence=1. (Accessed on the 27.07.2021).

[210] Conversation with Dr. Marjorie Jobson.(National Director of the Khulumani Support Group. Pretoria.(18.03.2019).

[211] The Khulumani Support Group is a self-help survivor support group established in 1995 with the aim of assisting survivors of gross human rights violations, dating from March 1960 to May 1995, to gain access to the TRC.

[212] J. A. Seidman, & N. Bonase, Khulumani Support Group: Using art-making and oral narrative to address land dispossession, popular resistance, and restitution. *Oral History Journal of South Africa*. Vol.3.No.1.(2015).p.24.

[213] R. Wolf, Conflict in Khulumani group transforming apartheid victims into victors. *Cape Times*.14 February.2019.https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/news/conflict-in-khulumani-group-transforming-apartheid-victims-into-victors-19287491. (Accessed on the 19.09.2021).

The Vaal Teknorama Museum situated where it used to be Top location,[214] serves as an archives repository of contemporary Sedibeng district municipality. Among its collections are council minutes and historical aspects of the Vaal Triangle. It has a tiny newsroom section where local newspapers such as the *Vaal Vision, Vaal Weekblad, Vaal Ster, Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark News* and *Sedibeng Ster* are kept. It also hosts permanent exhibitions of Sharpeville memorabilia, the South African constitution, F.W. de Klerk's presidential collection, records of social activities in the Vaal and unique archaeological and palaentological collections.[215]

Accessed newspaper clippings proved invaluable, particularly concerning media reports on commemoration days. However, I spent a considerable amount of time trying to locate relevant materials due to a lack of proper classification, which posed challenges to the retrieval process. Although the Sharpeville Massacre has been observed internationally, the scope of this thesis is limited to observance of this incident within the Republic of South Africa from 1960 to 2016, leaving out the rich and fertile scope for future research on commemoration activities by overseas nations. As John Tosh confirms, the greatest interest by historians in a specific locality is felt by those who live there, and local history is a kind of in-depth microcosmic social history.[216]

In terms of field research, despite having lived in Sharpeville, moving out and returning later locked up my observations and perspectives. The respondents who participated in the previous study that I conducted in the area regarded me as an insider; however, the ones I was introduced to through referrals perceived me as an outsider. The advantage of speaking Sesotho, the common spoken language in the area, made it easy for me to understand and be understood. As for first-time encountered participants, conversations were facilitated by a friend whom I brought along with me. Moreover, I took different friends to different people, depending on the level of familiarity.

At times, "name dropping" or reference to Khulumani officials in Sharpeville, such as Selloane Phethane, Mary Mantsho and others, made respondents receptive and at ease to engage in conversations. In terms of my positionality, Ronald Grele's argument that oral history interview is more complicated than a conversation between two people both seen as historians comes to

[214] For more on Top Location, see, M. Chaskalson, "The Road to Sharpeville". *African Studies Seminar Paper*. University of Witwatersrand.Johannesburg.(1986).

[215] J. Letwaba, "The safety and security of tourists with reference to the Sedibeng district municipality".Unpublished master's dissertation. University of North West. Vanderbijlpark.(2008).p.17.

[216] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history: Aim, methods and new directions in the study of history*. (6th ed). Routledge. Taylor & Francis Group. London and New York.(2015).p.66.

mind.[217] I argue that trauma-informed oral history is more complicated and complex. I went to the field trip fully aware that a great deal of sensitivity should be observed when conducting trauma-informed life history. I knew beforehand that I needed to reduce the risk of re-traumatisation of the interviewees.

However, during the interview sessions, I was exposed to horrifying elements of trauma. Some survivors demonstrated in graphic detail how bullets riddled their flesh, with some of them still carrying those bullets. I listened to shocking stories of black policemen who committed suicide or lost their minds after realising that they took part in the demise of their own relatives. These stories, coupled with the state of squalor, poverty and sickness of the survivors who depend on government grants, not only overwhelmed me psychologically but also drained me emotionally. Exposure to that kind of trauma made me realise that I was not trained to conduct oral history interviews with traumatised individuals.

The ethical guidelines did not help much as I was unable, at times, to downplay my distress or distance myself emotionally from the trauma experienced by the survivors, even as the mood of the interview shifted from pleasant to sombre. In those situations, I switched to a lighter discussion, took a break or expressed sympathy. No one who knows the Sharpeville topography, where it was once an open veld before being turned into a material culture, can be unmoved by stories told by survivors. This was a complex process, as I could not distinguish myself as a disconnected or involved participant researcher.

1.8 ETHICS AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to Anjum Halai, sound research should be concerned with ensuring that the interests of participants are not jeopardised as a result of the inquiry being conducted.[218] Drawing from Halai, knowing that the study's participants are human subjects and that some of the people identified as potential participants were still traumatised, presented ethical quandaries to address. The most difficult challenges were delicate topics complicated by victimhood, marginalisation and re-

[217] R. Grele, "Reflections on the practice of oral history retrieving what we can from an earlier critique". *Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society.* Vol.32.No.4.(2007).p.14.

[218] A. Halai, "Ethics in qualitative research: Issues and challenges plenary address: multi-disciplinary qualitative research in developing countries. Khan University. Karachi". *EdQual Working Paper.* No.4.(2006).p.5.

traumatisation. According to Laurie Anne Pearlman and Karen Saakvitne, re-traumatisation also applies to victims of secondary trauma.[219]

In the case of Sharpeville, those affected by secondary trauma were victims and survivors' next of kin. I adhered to ethics guidelines[220] during the data collection process, which proved to be beneficial throughout the field research. After identifying potential participants, some of whom I knew from previous studies, I sought permission from the national office to interview the members of KSG Sharpeville branch *(*see *Addendum* A*).* Upon obtaining clearance, I met with identified participants and set up interviews. I (re)introduced myself to those I knew from previous study interactions as a way of avoiding ambushing them with questions that might be re-traumatising.

During those initial visits, the purpose and nature of the study was outlined. I requested participants' consent to participate in the study through a formal interview process at their own convenience. In this study, the term "consent" refers to a trust arrangement that must be renegotiated on a regular basis.[221] Participants, according to Huma Parveen and Nayeem Showkat, have the exclusive right to consent to, withdraw from, or refuse to engage in research interviews. They have the right to privacy and the ability to prevent the disclosure of private information. They have the right to seek security and safety for themselves.[222] In response to Parveen and Showkat's claim, I made it clear to participants that they would not be coerced to participate and that their involvement would be entirely voluntary, with no monetary incentive. I also assured participants that data generated from the process would be utilised strictly for scholarly purposes without any commercial benefits either to the participants or to myself. I informed them that their right to privacy would be maintained and that it was within their right to opt out of the process if they felt uncomfortable or uneasy at any time.

[219] L.A. Pearlman, & K. Saakvitne, *Trauma and the therapist: Countertransference and vicarious traumatization in psychotherapy with incest survivors.* New York.(1995). In Adonis. C.K, "Exploring the Salience of Intergenerational Trauma among Children and Grandchildren of Victims of Apartheid-Era Gross Human Rights Violations". *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*. Vol.16.No.1&2.(2016).p.6.

[220] In this research, ethical guidelines are those administered by the University of Witwatersrand's Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical).For more see, https://www.wits.ac.za/research/researcher-support/research-ethics/ (Accessed on the 19.11.2021).

[221] A. Orb, L. Eisenhauer, & D. Wynaden, "Ethics in Qualitative Research". *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*. (2001).p.95.

[222] H. Parveen, & N. Showkat, "Research Ethics". *Quadrant-I (e-Text) e-PG Pathshala*.(2017).p.1.

During the first meeting, I asked participants whether they consented to the recording and further transcription of the conversation, which would lead to a third set of meetings to verify the accurateness and completeness of the transcriptions whilst they would then be required to sign the consent form. I explained to the participants that the consent form allows me to utilise their responses during the interview for the writing of my research thesis, and that I would cite them during the writing process and the recordings and transcripts would be stored at the University of Witwaterand with guaranteed access to the participants at any time possible. However, during the verification process, some respondents expressed apprehension about signing the consent form, with some indicating that I could sign it on their behalf. I interpreted this hesitation as respondents' fear of incriminating themselves or having their words used against them in some way. Faced with participants' unwillingness to sign the consent form, I resorted to recording their verbal acceptance.[223]

1.9 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

Chapter One: This chapter introduces the study and details the research's history, key arguments and ideas driving it. It examines current literature in order to highlight a research gap, providing a space for this study's intervention. It accomplishes this by recognising a lacuna in the memorialisation and heritage commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre and indicating fresh insights that need to be contributed. It explains the study's limits as well as how the researcher's stance affected his fieldwork experiences, particularly the reflexive perspectives the researcher took while collecting data. Finally, the chapter addresses the research methodology, charts the research process and lastly explains how the researcher handled ethical challenges pertaining to the study.

Chapter Two: This chapter briefly explores the socio-political history of Sharpeville till 1960 as it relates to the study. It looks at the PAC's Positive Action Campaign, why it was more successful in the Vaal region than any place else, and the consequences, which include the deaths and injuries of dozens of Sharpeville citizens. It also looks at non-organised commemoration practices (or spontaneous memorialisation) in the form of funeral rites that occurred in the aftermath of the massacre during the so-called "silent decade". The chapter also looks at how student bodies at the university commemorated this day.

[223] T. C. Moloi, "Black Politics in Kroonstad: Political Mobilisation, Protests, Local Government, and Generational Struggles.1976 – 1995".Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Witwatersrand.Johannesburg.(2012).p.45.

Chapter Three: The focus is on the time from 1968, when the South African Students Movement was founded, until the 1970s, when the "silent period" of the 1960s ended. It depicts BCM-aligned student movements commemorating the Sharpeville Massacre in various South African colleges during this time period. It goes on to discuss the political vacuum caused by the outlawing of liberation groups, as well as the BCM's political control, which it utilised to popularise the observance of this day as "Heroes Day" during this time. It recounts the first Sharpeville memorial and its aftermath, the SASO/BCP trial, as well as how the town was transformed during this time.

Chapter Four: Commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre during the 1980s are examined. This decade is regarded as the worst riotous decade in South Africa's political history, characterised by country-wide protests by the United Democratic Front (UDF hereinafter) formed in 1983 and which, during this decade, became a protuberant political formation with more than 600 affiliates. Parallel to the UDF was the BCM's National Forum (NF hereinafter) affiliated to church groups, trade unions, social clubs, youth movements as well as students. In 1988, the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM hereinafter) was formed after the banning of the United Democratic Movement, and it pushed the struggle against apartheid into the 1990's.

Chapter Five: This chapter explores the Sharpeville commemorations during the period of transition from apartheid to constitutional democracy in South Africa (1990–1994). It demonstrates how obvious it is that the Sharpeville commemorations persisted in new forms after the unbanning of liberation movements, the return of exiles, the release of liberation fighters from jail and talks concerning the constitutional framework of political authority. Prior to this time, commemorations of this day were all-inclusive, marked by communal mourning, while recollections of the massacre remained as fresh as yesterday for most people who attended such ceremonies.

Chapter Six: The democratic South Africa of post-1994 is the subject of this chapter. It focuses on South Africa after 1994, after the Sharpeville Massacre commemorations had become a powerful instrument for the state to construct the past and build historical narratives about struggle heroes and martyrs. The chapter examines how this day was repackaged as "Human Rights Day", rather than Sharpeville Day, and transformed into a foundation myth. The chapter posits that the rebranding of this day has sanitised the Sharpeville tale, repressed critical voices and narratives, and obliterated the achievements of leaders of various liberation groups, notably Africanists and BCM leaders.

Chapter Seven: It is divided into two halves. The first section examines Sharpeville's memory in terms of commemorations from 2010 to 2016. The second section looks at embodied commemorative brick-and-mortar testimonies, which are visual and material cultures in the form of physical historical markers like archives, museums, monuments and memorials, as a way of preserving history. It examines both tangible and intangible legacies linked with the Sharpeville Massacre, including historic structures, monuments, memorials and natural landscapes, as well as artistic and creative forms of the Sharpeville Massacre commemoration.

Chapter Eight: This is the final and concluding chapter of the study. It therefore attempts to bring together all various stands and present a summary of the overall study by providing more of abstracted and broad overall analysis of shifts, changes, continuities and/or raptures of memorialisation and commemoration of Sharpeville Massacre from 1960-2016. It further offers an analysis of the intersections of Sharpeville material culture in the form of the site of memory - *lieu de mémoire*. The Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct, consisting of the garden of remembrance, library, memorials and memorial museum and cemeteries presents a continuous focus for individual and collective memorialisation and commemoration as well as embodiments of personal, cultural identity and Sharpeville history beyond the calendar-driven observance day of 21 March.

CHAPTER TWO

SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE: MEMORIALISATION AND COMMEMORATION 1960-1969

"It is our task to exorcise this slave mentality and to impart to the African masses that sense of self-reliance which will make them choose to starve in freedom rather than have plenty in bondage, the self-reliance that will make them prefer self-government to the good government preferred by the ANC's leader."[1]

Robert Sobukwe

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter analysed how this study was conducted. It provided a background to the study of the memorialisation and commemoration of the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. It highlighted the need for the study, demonstrating that post-1994 South Africa was obsessed with the memorialisation and commemoration of apartheid-era human rights violations. These commemorations were characterised by the installation of a plethora of memory sites, memorials, commemorative monuments, museums, and public statues. These were largely installed by the state and other grassroots initiatives with the aim of preserving the memory of colonial and apartheid-era repression and resistance and paying tribute to its victims. The commemorations were also geared towards fostering individual and societal healing and reconciliation as a basis for building a new democratic nation.[2]

Historically, 21 March has been recalled as Sharpeville-Langa Day because, just like in Sharpeville, there were demonstrations in Langa, a township outside Cape Town, where police baton-charged and fired tear gas at protesters, shooting three and injuring several others.[3] Langa was, therefore, an epicentre of the 21 March 1960 incident in the Western Cape.[4] Demonstrators marched from Langa

[1] S.S.Mandyoli, "Address by M.R. Sobukwe on behalf of the Graduating Class at Fort Hare College Delivered at the "Completers' Social. 21 October 1949". *Selected speeches of Robert Sobukwe and a mini biography*. https://ilizwe.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/speeches-of-r-m-sobukhwe.pdf. (Accessed on the 10.09.2023).

[2] S. Marshall, "The Memory of Trauma and Resistance: Public Memorialization and Democracy in Post-apartheid South Africa and Beyond". *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*. Vol.11.No.4.(2010).p.263.

[3] Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, "Pass laws in the Western Cape: Implementation and resistance An oral history resource guide for Teachers. Revised for the National Curriculum Statement (NCS)". Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. Cape Town.(2006).p.18.

[4] For more on the 21 March 1960 Langa demonstrations, see R. R.Molapo, "Sports, Festivals and Popular Politics: aspects of the social and popular culture in Langa township, 1945-70". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Cape Town. Cape Town.(1994).p.172-216.

in their thousands to Caledon Square and then to parliament itself to protest against the pass laws.[5] The focus of this study is, however, limited to the memorialisation and commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre. Langa is excluded from this study as it justifies and necessitates its own separate study.

This chapter, therefore, discusses the memorialisation and commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre during the 1960s. It highlights how, despite this decade being regarded as a silent decade, or a decade marked by political acquiescence, the state took over the memorialisation process following the massacre. As a point of departure, it provides a brief account of the establishment of the township of Sharpeville by tracing its origins and highlighting that the majority of the victims and survivors of the massacre trace their roots to Top Location on the eastern side of the Vereeniging municipality boundary. When the massacre took place in 1960, Sharpeville was still a relatively new settlement - about 18 years old in 1960 - having been proclaimed a 'model township' in 1942.

The chapter further provides a short history of the formation of Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) – the liberation movement behind the positive action campaign demonstrations against pass laws on 21 March 1960, which culminated in what became known as the Sharpeville Massacre. It discusses the memorialisation process that took place days after the shooting, in the form of funerary rites and burials. It also highlights that the community of Sharpeville, particularly relatives of the deceased, were denied the opportunity of burying their beloved in accordance with their respective family memorialisation rites and traditions. During this process, the authorities took over the memorialisation process, as the dead were brought on the day of the burial and never handed over to their families who had hoped to conduct the traditional rites of passage.

In terms of the commemoration of this day, the chapter provides evidence of the day being observed despite the repressive political environment at the time. It notes that the liberal white students at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, mainly members of the Human Rights Society – an affiliate of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) – were at

[5] Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, "Pass laws in the Western Cape: Implementation and resistance An oral history resource guide for Teachers. Revised for the National Curriculum Statement (NCS)". *Institute for Justice and Reconciliation*.Cape Town.(2006).p.18.

the forefront of commemorations of this day. This tradition continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s, as the subsequent chapter demonstrates.

It should be noted, however, that although the liberal students at Wits University took a lead in the campaign to keep the memory of Sharpeville alive during the 1960s, the University itself was grappling with its own complexities. According to Bruce Murray, the status of Wits University as an "open" and "liberal" institution was at odds with the apartheid state.[6] According to Mervyn Shear, between 1950 and 1990, the university was in a state of turbulence characterised by abysmally low rates of admission of Blacks, especially in medical training, despite the attempt to uphold its brand of "openness" with a compromising policy of academic non-segregation.[7] There was further racial discrimination and social segregation during this period at the university.[8] According to Howard Phillips, Nelson Mandela felt marginalised while studying law at this university.[9]

Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, an historian and alumni of the University of Witwatersrand, argues that the history of this university depicts a tranquil relationship between the leadership of the university and the apartheid regime. He observes, for example, that the university, the apartheid government and the Department of Prisons prevented Nelson Mandela from continuing his law studies by blocking his correspondence with Wits and other universities within and outside South Africa.[10] Lastly, this chapter also discusses the formation of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in the late 1960s, which was instrumental in popularising commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre in the decades that followed.

[6] B.K.Murray, *Wits, the 'Open' Years: a History of the University of Witwatersrand*. Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(1977).p.xi.

[7] H. Phillip, "What did your University do during apartheid". *Journal of Southern African Studies.* Vol.26.No.1.(2000).p.175.

[8] For more on racial discrimination and social segregation at the University of Witwatersrand, see M.Shear, *Wits: A university in the Apartheid Era*. Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(1996).p.1-19.

[9] H. Phillip, "What did your University do during apartheid". *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol.26.No.1.(2000).p.175.

[10] N.L.L.Ramoupi, "Between Mandela and his LLB Degree was Racism and Apartheid at Wits University". *The Thinker*.Vol.68.(2016).p.76.

2.2 SHARPEVILLE IN CONTEXT

Sharpeville owes its origins to Top Location, a racially mixed residential area situated approximately two kilometers on the northern boundary of the Vereeniging municipality which was proclaimed a 'non-European location' in 1914. According to Nancy Clark and William Worger, the land Top location was situated was used as one of several British troops concentration camps for Africans during the Anglo Boer war.[11] During its establishment, it was referred to as Vereeniging Location; however, the name 'Top Location' was officially used in the 1940s. It was popularly known as Topville among residents.[12] Among the residents of Top Location was the wife of the ANC president[13], Adelaide Frances Tambo.[14]

Ali Khangela Hlongwane and Sifiso Ndlovu argue that knowledge of the local history of Sharpeville and Top Location helps to provide an understanding of why the PAC organisers led a successful campaign over there, garnering more support compared to places such as Soweto where the PAC was unsuccessful in commanding mass support.[15] Only 24 stands were set aside for black settlement in the original planning of Vereeniging. By 1919, Top location had 576 residents and, in 1932, 772 stands were made in Sharpeville available for residential purposes, in addition to the already existing ones where two-roomed houses were built. In 1935, the population of Top Location was 6,400; in 1938 it had more or less 10,000 residents and by 1942 the number had increased to about 12,259.

[11] N.Clark, & W.H. Worger, Voices of Sharpeville: The Long History of Racial Injustice. Routledge. Oxfordshire.(2022). https://books.google.co.za/books?hl=en&lr=&id=InnaEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT2&dq=top+location+sharpeville&ots=pHW6xmeR_m&sig=4HQq1p3YaLp-iGG8VxncshMeUfM&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=top%20location%20sharpeville&f=false. (Accessed on the 17.10.2023).

[12] M.P. Mohapi, "Towards an Appropriate Model of the Local Church in the Vaal Triangle". Unpublished doctoral Thesis.University of North-West.Vanderbijlpark.(2008).p.115-116.

[13] L. Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli mountains.* New Africa Books. Cape Town.(2004).p.6.

[5] South African History Online, *Adelaide Frances Tambo*. https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/adelaide-frances-tambo. (Accessed on the 17.04.2023).

[15] A.K. Hlongwane, & S. Ndlovu, *Remembering Sharpeville Day and Fashioning Contested National Narratives: The Sharpeville Memorial Precinct and the Langa Memorial*, In Hlongwane. A.K. & Ndlovu. S.M, *Public History and Culture in South Africa Memorialisation and Liberation Heritage Sites in Johannesburg and the Township Space*. Palgrave Macmillan.Cham.(2019).p.81.

Sello Hatang argues that people of different racial background lived and socialised together in Top Location.[16] Similarly, Ian Jeffrey contends that Africans, Indians and Coloureds integrated easily into the community of Top Location, and mixed-race marriages were common.[17] The municipality also provided hostel accommodation for single men and women. From 1933 onwards, the Vereeniging Town Council stopped the enlargement of residential areas and stands were no longer made available for migrant workers trooping in from the countryside. Thus, the size of Top Location remained at 61 hectares without any expansion. However, the scarcity of accommodation did not stop the influx of migrant workers to the area because of increased production activities in the armaments industry during the Second World War (1939-1945). The influx resulted in health, social and environmental facilities being outstripped by demand. Residents warned the Vereeniging Town Council about the impending health crisis in Top Location but were ignored. By the end of the war, multiple deaths had been recorded from pneumonia, gastroenteritis, and tuberculosis, resulting in a high turnover of labour, growing absenteeism, and a decline in industrial productivity.[18]

According to Sizwe Makaba, the population of Top Location grew with the steel industry and other industries around the Vaal region and Central Vereeniging in particular. Johann Tempelhoff argues that since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Vaal Triangle has become the face of South Africa's industrial revolution: coal was discovered in Vereeniging in 1892; the Rand Water Board provides an impressive purification plant; Union Steel Corporation of South Africa, the first iron-and-steel factory in the country, was established in 1911; and the Vaal River supplies power stations with electricity that is relayed to the Rand some 70 kilometers away. In 1940, the Vanderbijlpark-based Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa (ISCOR) was founded, followed in the 1950s by liquid fuel products from a coal plant and chemical industries in Sasol, in the newly founded town of Sasolburg.

The industrial boom resulted in increased migration of African workers, especially from Lesotho. Although their final destination was the Johannesburg mines, most of them split their journeys to find jobs in the local industries, which provided them with the alternative of going to the Reef. In

[16] S.S. Hatane, "Post-apartheid desegregation in Vereeniging, 1991-1996". Unpublished master's dissertation. Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoer Onderwys. Potchefstroom.(2002).p.41.

[17] I. Jeffrey, "Cultural trends and community formation in a South African township: Sharpeville, 1943-1985".Unpublished master's dissertation. University of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(1991).p.46.

[18] Z.A.T. Makaba, "Reflections on Nyakane Tsolo – a forgotten political figure in the struggle annals of South African history". Unpublished Honours dissertation. University of North-West. Vanderbijlpark.(2020).p.27

fact, African workers were attracted to Vereeniging as a result of the relatively higher wages being paid by the heavy metal industries.[19] A straight line drawn from Lesotho to Johannesburg shows Vereeniging to be direct en route, undoubtedly making it one of the favourite places where Basotho men sought work as the cities were already congested. Jonathan Crush, Belinda Dodson, John Ga, and Clement Leduka observe that as early as the 1870s, young Basotho men migrated to South African mines, sending their earnings home to buy guns, pay colonial taxes and meet household needs.

The authors argue that the South African mining industry hired only men while the apartheid government barred women and children from accompanying their breadwinners to their workplaces. With the advent of the Second World War, there were urgent demands on South Africa's armaments industry for special steel, leading to a further industrial boom in the Vaal region. The industries that manufactured these products were sited at Vereeniging. Johann Tempelhoff argues that steel production during the war years made South Africa less reliant on imports due to the dawn of the era of grand industrial experiments.

The industrial boom led to more inflows of migrant workers from rural areas. These workers were provided with limited accommodation, and those who could not be housed on the industrial premises resorted to boarding in Top Location. What followed was the physical and social deterioration of the area, which subsequently became a slum despite its vibrancy. Johann Tempelhoff observes that Top Location was an informal settlement notorious for inferior water and sanitation services. In the 1930s, each stand in Top Location had a bucket-system toilet, emptied three times a week, while white suburban areas were provided with water-based sewage systems.[20]

According to Sizwe Makaba, the deteriorating health system contributed to a high mortality rate – due to malnutrition, pneumonia and other conditions related to poor hygiene, and tuberculosis – among children.[21] To deal with these social and health challenges, the Vereeniging Town Council, like many other municipalities on the Rand, implemented a housing scheme whereby residents in Top Location were allocated land for rent on which they could build their own houses. These

[19] I. Jeffrey, *"*Cultural trends and community formation in a South African township: Sharpeville, 1943-1985". Unpublished master's dissertation.University of Witwatersrand.Johannesburg.(1991).p.45.
[20] J.W.N. Tempelhoff, "Emfuleni's wastewater crisis, 2018-2021: The history of a Vaal sub-catchment problem*". New Contree*.Vol.86.(2021).p.33.
[21] Z.A.T. Makaba, "Reflections on Nyakane Tsolo: A forgotten political figure in the struggle annals of South African history". Unpublished Honours dissertation. University of North-West. Vanderbijlpark.(2020).p.27.

measures resulted in a class of African landlords who built houses and lean-to shacks on the land they had rented from the municipality, and which they in turn rented out – ultimately creating an upper class of African, Indian and Coloured landlords. Meanwhile, the Vereeniging Town Council began negotiations with the Vereeniging Estates for the purchase of vacant land southwest of Vereeniging. Consequently, the land was made available for the start of a new settlement that would accommodate the re-settled Blacks from Top Location.[22]

Between the 1940s and 1950s, because of the implementation of the Group Areas Act, residents of Top Location were moved to Sharpeville, and all the houses they vacated were demolished. The decision to establish Sharpeville was taken in 1942 to accommodate people being moved from this area, as the Vereeniging Town Council experienced a growing number of African migrants becoming a settled population.[23] Its establishment, like many townships established during this period, fell under municipal jurisdiction and found expression in the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923.[24] Judith Gay argues that this Act was the first of a long series of measures to restrict African residence in urban areas. Only under special circumstances could long-time urban African families reside permanently in townships.[25] These policies led to the country-wide destruction of shantytowns and freehold settlements, as well as the relocation of African workers to rigidly controlled policed locations and single-sex hostels. Due to financial difficulties, the Vereeniging Town Council delayed the relocation to Sharpeville between 1940 and 1952.[26]

[22] P.J.J. Prinsloo, "Die geskiedenis van Vereeniging*"*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoer Onderwys.(1992). In Hatane. S.S, "Post-apartheid desegregation in Vereeniging:1991-1996".Unpublished master's dissertation. Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoer Onderwys.(2002).p.43.

[23] N.T. Vally, "The 'Model Township' of Sharpeville: The Absence of Political Action and Organisation, 1960 -1984. Unpublished master's dissertation. University of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(2010).p.45-46.

[24] See, A. Mabin, "A Century of South African Housing Acts 1920–2020." *Urban Forum.*Vol.31.(2020).p.453-472.

[25] J.W.N. "Tempelhoff, Emfuleni's wastewater crisis, 2018-2021: The history of a Vaal sub-catchment problem". *New Contree.*No.86.(2021).p.32.

[26] J.S. Gay, "Basotho Women Migrants: A Case Study". *Bulletin*. Vol.11.No.4.(1980).p.23.



Figure 2.1. Some of the demolished houses in Top Location before the eviction of residents to make way for business activities (Emfuleni Local Municipality. Heritage Book. 14 June 2013).

However, from 1943 some Top Location residents moved to Sharpeville voluntarily as conditions deteriorated and the local industry geared up for wartime steel production, drawing a mass of new migrants into Top Location. Many boarders who rented rooms in Top Location and did not qualify for housing schemes in Sharpeville resorted to renting rooms in Evaton while others were concentrated in Small Farm.[27] By 1945, at the end of the war, 15,000 people were residents in Top Location, resulting in acute tensions between landlords and their tenants crowded in the backyard shacks. Many people died from pneumonia, gastroenteritis, and tuberculosis.[28] The final relocation of Top Location to Sharpeville, in 1959, was carried out with a ruthlessness typical of the apartheid regime. The Coloureds were resettled at Rus-her-Vaal, on the eastern side of Vereeniging, while residents of Indian extraction were the last to be resettled in Roshnee in 1974.[29] According to Philip Frankel:

[27] V. Khumalo, "Evaton and a quest for economic independence: A new dimension to entrepreneurship, 1940-1949". *New Contree.* Vol.77.(2016).p.31.
[28] D. Hallowes, & V. Munnik, "Poisoned spaces manufacturing wealth, producing poverty". *Groundwork.* Pietermaritzburg. (2006).p.86.
[29] News Publisher, *Sharpeville*. 17 March 2014. https://www.sabcnews.com/sharpeville/. (Accessed on the 19.02.2022).

> People in Topville were simply informed that they were being transferred to Sharpeville irrespective of their choices or dispositions, and, after impossibly short notice, were bundled at gunpoint into municipal police trucks along with the bare minimum of their portable possessions. When people had possessions, which did not fit the specifications of the trucks, they were simply left at the roadside. Thereafter, municipal bulldozers made short work of the crumbling shanties in order to clear the site for the speedy entry of the industrial developers…. (the) traumatised inhabitants arrived in Sharpeville Extension 1, known as the Vuka section, to be confronted by little more than a collection of shacks and the most rudimentary of public health facilities all on a bare piece of veld grandiosely labelled a 'site and service' settlement. This was particularly harsh on people who had previously been homeowners, who were sufficiently educated to comprehend the iniquitous workings of apartheid, and who had lost the accouterments of a petit bourgeois township existence.[30]

In 2004, the ANC-led government compensated former Top Location residents with the sum of R60,000 for the loss of their property and land.[31] Established in 1935 during the mayorship of John Lille Sharpe, but developed in the 1940s on a portion of Leeuwkuil Farm, after the Vereeniging Riots of 1937,[32] Sharpeville[33] is situated five kilometres west of the central area of Vereeniging,[34] and just over 70 km south of the city of Johannesburg.[35] Nicho Ntema indicates that Sharpeville was but another victim of apartheid architecture that made it one of the townships placed within the highways, cemeteries, and railway lines. It is also the only settlement in South Africa that is situated between two towns, namely Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging.[36]

[30] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.36.

[31] S.S. Hatane, "Post-apartheid desegregation in Vereeniging, 1991-1996".Unpublished master's dissertation. Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoer Onderwys. Potchefstroom.(2002).p.47.

[32] N. Ntema, *Sharpeville history*. https://truthtours.weebly.com/sharpeville.html. (Accessed on the 18.02.2022).

[33] According to M. Menye, Sharpeville was named after an ex-mayor of Vereeniging, John Lillie Sharpe, a Scottish immigrant from Glasgow, Scotland, who came to South Africa as secretary of Stewarts & Lloyds. He was elected to the Vereeniging Town Council in 1932 and held the position of mayor from 1934 to 1937. See M. Menye, "Exploring the continuities and discontinuities in South African political violence: The Sharpeville, Bhisho, and Marikana massacres". Unpublished master's dissertation. Nelson Mandela University.(2018).p.8. P.Frankel argues that Sharpe displayed considerable concern for the interest of the local African population relative to the political climate of the time and did much for their welfare. Initially, the township was called Sharpe Native Township, but it was renamed Sharpeville in the 1950s. See P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.26. The *New York Times* of 22 March 1970 describes Sharpeville as not really the name of the African Township but the name of the nearest post office. The name was picked by the news agencies when reporting the 21st March 1960 massacre. The formal name of the township is Vereeniging City Council African Township. https://www.nytimes.com/1970/03/22/archives/blacks-to-move-from-sharpeville-south-african-map-to-lose-name-in.html. (Accessed on the 18.02.2022).

[34] T.C. Maluleke, "The relationship between poverty and inflation in Sharpeville". Unpublished master's dissertation. North-West University. Vanderbijlpark.(2012).p.5.

[35] I. Jeffrey, "Street rivalry and patron-managers" *African Studies*.Vol.51.No.1.(1992).p.69.

[36] N. Ntema, *Sharpeville History*. https://truthtours.weebly.com/sharpeville.html. (Accessed on the 26.01.2022).

From the 1930s, a small squatter community occupied the land where Sharpeville would be developed at a later stage. Some of them were employees of Brick & Tile, a Vereeniging-based company. When the erection of the first houses started in 1942, eviction orders were issued to eighty-three families already residing on the land to be developed into Sharpeville township.[37] Just like any other apartheid-era township, Sharpeville was established in line with the Black Urban Areas Act of 1923 which stated that Blacks were sojourners in white areas.[38]

The first houses were built in 1942, but construction was delayed due to the Second World War. By 1947, the number of built houses had increased to 2,000 from the 766 houses built in June 1945.[39] Residents were provided with freehold stands and rental stock houses ranging from two-roomed houses to four-roomed units in sections colloquially known as 'Putswasteen' (Grey Bricks), 'Rooisteen' (Red Bricks), Phelandaba (End of Talk), 'Vergenoeg' (Far Enough), Vukazenzele (Get Up And Do It By Yourself) and Sea-Point. In discussing the Sharpeville topography, Ian Jeffrey argues that Sea-Point is so-called because it is built next to Leeukuil Pan, known to the residents of Sharpeville as 'Dlomo Dam', after a stock owner who kept his cattle next to it during the 1950s and 1960s.[40] The last residents of Top Location were forcibly removed between 1943 and 1959.[41] Sharpeville also had its own suburb called Ditentsheng (Stands).[42] By 1949, the Vereeniging Town Council had already constructed a single-sex hostel, named Kensington, in Sharpeville, for unmarried male migrant workers. However, in 1979 all its occupants were moved to hostels in Sebokeng, and the structures were converted into family units in 1980.[43]

[37] M.P. Mohapi, "Towards an appropriate model of the local church in the Vaal Triangle*"*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. North-West University. Vanderbijlpark.(2008).p119.

[38] S.S. Hatane, "Post-apartheid desegregation in Vereeniging, 1991-1996". Unpublished master's dissertation. Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoer Onderwys. Potchefstroom.(2002).p.44.

[39] Z.A.T. Makaba, "Reflections on Nyakane Tsolo – a forgotten political figure in the struggle annals of South African history". Unpublished honours dissertation. North-West University. Vanderbijlpark. (2020).p.23-24.

[40] I. Jeffrey, "Cultural trends and community formation in a South African Township: Sharpeville,1943-1985". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Witwatersrand.Johannesburg. (1991).p.59.

[41] F. Rueedi, *The Vaal Uprising of 1984 & the Struggle for Freedom in South Africa*. Boydell & Brewer. Suffolk & New York.(2021).p.32.

[42] N. Ntema, *Sharpeville History*. https://truthtours.weebly.com/sharpeville.html. (Accessed on the 26.01.2022). For more on the suburbs of Sharpeville, see I. Jeffrey, "Cultural trends and community formation in a South African township: Sharpeville: 1943–1985". Unpublished MA Dissertation. University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(1991).p.60.

[43] I. Jeffrey, "Cultural trends and community formation in a South African township: Sharpeville, 1943-1985". Unpublished MA Dissertation. University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg. (1991).p.63.



Figure 2.2. Part of Dlomo Dam at Putswastene section. (Image by Johan Templehoff).

Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi observes that before the 1960s, it was common practice for municipalities to provide accommodation in the form of hostels for migrant workers who could not be accommodated by the factories, across the length and breadth of the Reef, the Rand, and the Vaal Triangle.[44] Ian Jeffrey summarises the construction of houses in Sharpeville by observing that it went through three stages: the first between 1942 and 1946; the second towards the end of the 1940s and early 1950s; and the last from the late 1950s until 1959. Lekgoathi argues that during the first two stages, people moved voluntarily, and groups of friends and families were able to move together and settle in similar areas. The last group was forcibly moved after the Vereeniging Town Council insisted on speeding up the demolition of Top Location.[45] According to Albert Victor Munnik, the final removal in 1959 created political dissent in Sharpeville.[46]

According to Tom Lodge, in the Vereeniging District (which included Vanderbijlpark), nearly 50,000 people lived in municipal townships and another 11,000 in employers' compounds in 1960.[47]

[44] S.P. Lekgoathi, "From Homeboy Networks to Broader Ethnic Affiliations: Migrants from Zebediela and Shifting Identities on the Rand, 1930s–1970s". *African Studies*. Vol.73.No.3.(2014).p.437.
[45] I. Jeffrey, Street rivalry and patron-managers. *African Studies*. Vol.51.No.1.(1992).p.72.
[46] A. V. Munnik, "Discursive power, and environmental justice in the new South Africa: The Steel Valley struggle against pollution (1996–2006)". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg. (2012).p.149.
[47] T.J. Lodge, "Insurrectionism in South Africa: The Pan-Africanist Congress and the POQO Movement, 1959–1965". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of York. City of York. (1984).p.131.



Figure 2.2.& 2.3 An aerial photograph: A 1939 map showing the area Sharpeville was built in. The image clearly shows the large body of water (leeukuil pan) also known as Sharpeville lake or Dlomo Dam was already in existence.(Image by Nancy Clark).

Although Sharpeville was planned in accordance with modern town planning standards (it had amenities such as a communal hall, a beer hall, football grounds, tennis courts,[48] a clinic, and a tuberculosis hospital, business centres, parks, open spaces, and a civic centre), most people who were moved to Sharpeville resented the unattractive, regulated life of the township which was both incongruent as well as incoherent to people who were used to the urban vibrancy of life in Top Location.[49] Nevertheless, Lodge argues that Sharpeville was rich in the detail and buzz of day-to-day existence.[50] Sharpeville further boasts two iconic burial sites classified as 'struggle graves'.[51] The Vuka cemetery is the burial site of not only Nyakane Tsolo and the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre who died at a later stage, as well as the 1984 Vaal Uprising victims but also for those who died in the Boipatong Massacre of the 17th June 1992.[52]

[48] N.T. Vally, "The 'Model Township' of Sharpeville: The Absence of Political Action and Organisation, 1960-1984".Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(2010).p.57.

[49] E. Naidu, *Empowerment through living memory: A community-centered model for memorialisation*. Research report written for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. (2004).p.4.

[50] M.P. Mohapi, "Towards an appropriate model of the local church in the Vaal Triangle". Unpublished doctoral thesis. North-West University. Vanderbijlpark.(2008).p.119.

[51] J.C.C. Pistorius. "A phase I. Heritage impact assessment study for the proposed new Vaal Colliery (NVC) life extension project". *Anglo American - Thermal Coal*. (2012).p.26.

[52] For more on the 17th June 1992 Boipatong Massacre, see J.G.R. Simpson, "The Boipatong massacre and South Africa's democratic transition". *African Studies Collection*. Vol.35.(2011).p.1-86.





Figures 2.4 & 2.5. The tombstone of Nyakane Tsolo at Vuka Cemetery (Image by Nyakane Tsolo Foundation) and the burial ceremony of the 1992 Boipatong Massacre victims. (Image by Louise Gubb).

The other is the Phelindaba cemetery, the resting place of the Sharpeville Massacre victims. These two cemeteries embody the social history of the Sharpeville community and form a tangible expression of its roots. According to Rachael Jones and Keith David Malcolm Snell, the cemeteries serve as places where the mortal remains of the past generations of the community of Sharpeville are reverently laid and their early lives recorded.[53]

In 1974, the Vaal Triangle Bantu Administration Board announced that the Phelindaba cemetery was full and that burials would from then henceforth be held at Evaton cemetery. This decision meant that Sharpeville residents had to travel twenty kilometres to bury their dead.[54] On the other hand, the Vuka cemetery was decommissioned during the 1960s when it was intended that Sharpeville be physically removed to Sebokeng. In 1984, the Vaal Triangle Bantu Administration Board applied to the central government to re-open it since the Sharpeville removal to Sebokeng did not materialised.[55]

According to Nicho Ntema, the Vuka Cemetery and the Phelindaba Cemetery were de-commissioned after reaching their burial capacity, while the most commonly used cemetery by Sharpeville residents is the nearby Vanderbijlpark Cemetery. However, with the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2019, the Phelindaba Cemetery was reopened for Covid-19 victims – a move which angered some sections of the community and opposition parties in government such as the

[53] R. Jones & K.D.M. Snell, "Angels in English and Welsh churchyard and cemetery memorials, 1660–2020*". Family & Community History*. Vol.24.No.2.(2021).p.85.
[54] G. Mayekiso, Cemetery moved 20 KM. *Rand Daily Mail*.1 August 1974.
[55] E. Nkabinde, Council bids to reopen burial ground. *Rand Daily Mail*.1 August 1974.

PAC who pointed out that distinction was not being made between victims of the Covid-19 pandemic and the fallen heroes and heroines of the Sharpeville Massacre.



Figure 2.6. Mourners performing burial rites of their loved ones who succumbed to Covid-19 during the national lockdown in 2020.[56] (*Sedibeng Ster*. 05 August 2020).

A certain Sharpeville resident noted: "Equating the deceased of Covid-19 with the fallen heroes of the massacre can only be interpreted as an insult to everyone who fought for the freedom of our people."[57]

On the other hand, the PAC, claiming ownership rights of the Sharpeville Massacre victims, expressed the following sentiment: "Our fallen heroes and heroines were discriminated against by the apartheid regime while still alive. The ANC government is not treating them differently in death."[58] The municipality concurred that the cemetery is a heritage site, but noted that if burials took place only in commissioned sites in Vanderbijlpark, there was going to be congestion at the gate and social distancing would not be maintained.[59] In terms of social life, Sharpeville, as with most South African townships, over the years began to develop its own unique identity through its social, cultural, political, and economic activities. Sizwe Makaba argues that as people were moved from Top Location to Sharpeville, the culture moved with them. However, Sharpeville's dominance

[56] The significance of this figure is that Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19), hit the shore of South Africa while this study was still being undertaken. Scenes like this were common as I was making field trips to the cemetery for verification processes to 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre victim's graves and nearby memorial.

[57] L. Dithagiso, Covid-19 burials at Phelindaba Cemetery anger community. *Sedibeng Ster*.04 August.2020. https://sedibengster.com/32046/covid-19-burials-at-phelandaba-cemetery-angers-community/. (Accessed on the 12.03.2022).

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

in soccer, boxing, and art, which rivalled that of Soweto, began to decline after the Sharpeville Massacre.[60]

2.3 PASS LAWS AND AFRICAN RESISTANCE: AN OVERVIEW

Before the 1950s, the rationale for pass laws was to encourage the flow of labour into white agriculture and industry and to allocate labour to geographical areas where it was needed. From the 1950s, the emphasis shifted to the relocation of Africans from areas classified as white and containing them within the Bantustan areas.[61] Historically, the use of passes in South Africa as a form of labour control applied only to men. However, when attempts were made to extend the system to African women in 1956, mass protests and resistance campaigns ensued.[62] Although the laws implemented by the NP to ensure white domination, supremacy and subjugation of African people applied to both men and women, women were not subjected to the pass laws until 1952.[63] In 1952, African women were for the first time brought under the influx control system. There were, however, localised and ineffective measures previously implemented to control the mobility and urbanisation of African women.[64]

In 1950, a leak to the press that the government was contemplating the Population Registration Act of 1950 legislation to include women in the pass laws – which would require men and women of all races to have some kind of identification card – triggered women's riots and demonstrations throughout the country. It was followed by the Native Laws Amendment Bill in 1952, requiring every African man, woman, and child to have special permits to be in an urban area for longer than seventy-two hours.[65] In 1952, the apartheid government passed the Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act. This Act eradicated many of the passes, substituting them with a single "reference book" encompassing the African's engagement contract, tax receipt, and other references of which proof was previously mandatory in the form of a separate pass. Prior to this

[60] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.201.
[61] Ibid.p.2.
[62] J.C.Wells, "Why Women Rebel: A Comparative Study of South African Women's Resistance in Bloemfontein (1913) and Johannesburg(1958)". *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol.10.No.1.(1983).p.55. Also see J.C.Wells, "The history of Black women's struggle against the pass laws in South Africa, 1900-1960". Unpublished doctoral thesis. Columbia University. New York City.(1982).
[63] E. Unterbalter, "South Africa". *Third World Quarterly*. Vol.5.No.4.(1983).p.887.
[64] J.Yawitch, *Tightening the noose: African women and influx control in South Africa 1950–1980.* Carnegie Conference Paper. Cape Town. (1984).No.82.p.2.
[65] For more, see J.T. Baker, "Human Rights in South Africa". *Howard Law Journal.* Vol.11.(1965).p.550-582.

Act, Africans were required to carry as many as 27 dissimilar identifying documents in connection with work, travel, and residence.[66]

In 1952, the ANC launched a defiance campaign, emanating from the Programme of Action, to secure the repeal of six unjust laws.[67] In 1951, the ANC invited national organisations of non-European origin to participate in a program of direct action against segregation laws. The Joint Planning Council consisted of SAIC and the Franchise Action Council volunteers, Nelson Mandela being its chief volunteer and Yusuf Cachalia its deputy. They were responsible for managing three stages of civil disobedience.[68]

In 1952, the Joint Planning Council sent a letter to Prime Minister D.F. Malan, calling for the direct representation of Africans in government and for the repeal of the pass laws, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, and an end to cattle culling in African rural reserves. The council threatened mass action in defiance of the laws and regulations.[69] The Malan government ignored the ultimatum and the executives of the ANC and SAIC announced on 31st May 1952 that the Defiance Campaign would begin on 26th June.[70] Saul Dubow argues that the date of the 26th was designated within ANC circles as 'Freedom Day', and it became the occasion for many more protest activities. It further marked the start of the ANC's efforts to challenge the apartheid government's domination of public commemoration.[71]

During the first phase of the campaign, volunteers courted arrest for breaking unjust laws, and this led, over a four-month period, to approximately 8,000 convictions in the courts. The campaign later lost its momentum and was called off.[72] Tom Lodge explains why the campaign was called off: in 1953, the criminal law amendment bill was passed, prescribing a maximum of three years prison term with a fine and whipping for offenses associated with the campaign. Volunteers, having been subjected to whipping in several areas, were discouraged, and the arrest – having reached the

[66] J.T. Baker, "Human Rights in South Africa". *Howard Law Journa*l.Vol.11.(1965).p.562
[67] I. Mekoa, "Liberation Political Discourses on the Land Question in South Africa and the Challenges of International Capitalist Discourses". *Journal of Public Administration*. Vol.53.No.2.(2018).p.363.
[68] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences.* Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.31.
[69] B. Pogrund, *Robert Sobukwe: How can man die better* (new ed). Jonathan Ball Publishers. Johannesburg & Cape Town.(1990).p.52.
[70] G. Vahed, "Gagged and trussed rather securely by the law: The 1952 Defiance Campaign in Natal". *Journal of Natal and Zulu History.*Vol.31.(2013).p.70.
[71] S. Dubow, *Apartheid: 1948-1994*. Oxford University Press.Oxford.(2014).p.41.
[72] B. Hirson, "The defiance campaign, 1952: Social struggle or party stratagem?". *Searchlight South Africa*. Vol.1.No.1.(1988).p.70.

120,000 mark – no longer seemed a practical option.[73] The Africanist faction within the ANC was scornful of the decision to end the campaign, maintaining that it was being influenced by communists and Indians hidden in the shadows.[74]

In 1955, the apartheid government announced plans to issue passes to African women in 1956. From then on, the African National Congress Women's League and the Federation of South African Women successfully supported an active campaign of public defiance of passes for women.[75] On 9 August 1956, over 20,000 women marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest against the oppressive pass laws and demand that they are abolished.[76] The march also embraced broader social issues. The text by 100,000 petitioners, which was delivered at the Prime Minister's office, stated: "We shall not rest until we have won for our children their fundamental rights of freedom, justice, and security."[77]

In the report of the National Anti-pass Planning Council to the Mass National Conference held in Johannesburg on 30th May 1959, Duma Nokwe noted: African people have expressed their rejection of the passes in various forms of struggle at different times; they have burnt them, organised strikes against them, passive resistance, protests, demonstrations, defiance campaigns, and refused to pay taxes. From 1913-1959, African men and women consistently struggled against the pass system.[78] As far back as the early nineteenth century, passes had formed the backdrop to political disturbances and became a main source of disgruntlement in the townships. Phillip Frankel cites Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu as identifying pass laws as the main source of discontent among Africans and the reason for the passive resistance campaigns of the 1950s, leading to the Sharpeville Massacre in the early 1960s.[79]

[73] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences.* Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.32.
[74] B. Pogrund, *Robert Sobukwe: How can man die better?* Jonathan Ball Publishers. Johannesburg & Cape Town.(1990).p.117.
[75] R. de Villiers, *The resistance to the extension of passes to African women: 1954-1960.* African Studies Seminar Paper. University of Witwatersrand.(1979).p.5. Also see Brooks.P.E, *Boycotts, Buses, and Passes: Black Women's Resistance in the U.S. South and South Africa.* University of Massachusetts Press. Massachusetts.(2008).
[76] K. Hiralal, "Mary and Annie resist: Gender and resistance in South Africa 1900s–1950s". *South Asian Diaspora.* Vol.10.No.2.(2018).p.135.
[77] C.L. Freeman, "Relays in Rebellion: The Power in Lilian Ngoyi and Fannie Lou Hamer". Unpublished master's dissertation, Georgia State University.Georgia.(2009).p.45.
[78] D. Nokwe, The report of the national anti-pass planning council to the mass national conference held at Johannesburg on 30th May 1959.http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/AD1137/AD1137-Eb1-5-001-jpeg.pdf.(Accessed on the 27.02.2022).
[79] P. Frankel, "The Politics of Passes: Control and Change in South Africa". *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Vo.17.No.2.(1979).p.205-206.

2.4 THE SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE AND ITS AFTERMATH

Jessica Forsee describes the Sharpeville Massacre of 21st January 1960 as "genocide masquerading."[80] However, the first great tragedy to strike South Africa that year was the Coalbrook mining disaster, where pillars holding the rocks in the Coalbrook coal mine of Clydesdale Colliery collapsed, accompanied by a blast. The shaft that sunk and collapsed in this mine in 1905[81] was less significant compared to this disaster, which remains the single largest mine disaster in South African history.[82] Alan Cobley argues that this disaster set the tone for the febrile atmosphere and tumultuous events of that year in South Africa. The causes of the disaster and its aftermath exemplified and dramatised the nature and direction of the apartheid state in the late 1950s and 1960s.[83]

By 2010, on its 50th anniversary, the disaster was not even commemorated. Dennis Schauffer argues that it largely remained (un)commemorated because trade unions were not willing to be involved with its observance because they (trade unions) did not exist at the time of the disaster. On the other hand, the Chamber of Mines and relevant government departments turned down the request by concerned local residents to commemorate the incident without providing reasons for their refusal.[84] Saul Dubow argues that what links the Sharpeville Massacre to the Coalbrook mine disaster is their geographical proximity. Dubow also notes that both incidents were structurally created accidents and products of a systemic failure in a society that placed little value on human life.[85]

Although the Sharpeville Massacre diverted attention from the Coalbrook disaster and continues to reverberate in historic memory as a symbol of popular struggle against colonial apartheid,[86] this thesis advances the argument that the study of any aspect of the Sharpeville Massacre is not complete without linking the two catastrophes. Nyakane Tsolo, the Sharpeville PAC leader who led the demonstration on the 21st of March 1960, was born in Coalbrook in 1939. His family was

[80] J. Forsee, "Genocide Masquerading: The Politics of the Sharpeville Massacre and Soweto Uprising". Honours dissertation. Georgia Southern University. Statesboro.(2019).p.4.
[81] J.N. van der Merwe, Beyond Coalbrook: What did we really learn? *The Journal of The Southern African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy.* Vol.106.(2006).p.859.
[82] A. Cobley, "Powering Apartheid: The Coalbrook Mine Disaster of 1960*". South African Historical Journal*. Vol.72.No.1.(2020).p.81.
[83] Ibid.p.81.
[84] D. Schauffer, *Clydesdale Colliery disaster. Five unanswered questions*. A paper presented at the Casa E-Leader Conference as a keynote address on 5 June 2018 at the Warsaw School of Economics. Poland. (2018).p.3.
[85] S. Dubow, *Apartheid: 1948-1994*. Oxford University Press.Oxford.(2014).p.74.
[86] Ibid.p.74.

among those forcefully moved from Coalbrook to Sharpeville, where he spent most of his youth days.[87]

In Sharpeville, the PAC, unlike the ANC, had a relatively strong presence and resounding support. Other areas where it had a huge following were Pretoria, the Cape Peninsula, and the Boland region. As demonstrated later in the chapter, the PAC emerged as the most dynamic organisation in Langa and Paarl, and it was there that PAC supporters first identified themselves as "Poqo" shortly after the Sharpeville Massacre. It should be stated, however, that in 1956 there was an ANC branch in Sharpeville with over 200 members, although it was largely inactive – only collecting membership subscriptions and taking members to ANC meetings in Johannesburg.[88] Having been formed in April 1959, PAC activists came to Sharpeville from Johannesburg and in May of the same year established a branch in Sharpeville led by Nyakane Tsolo as the branch secretary.[89] His brother, Mahlomola Job Nyakane, was the chairman. Other executive committee members included Susan Mohanoe, Johannes Monyake, Stefaans Lepee, Thomas More, L. Koale, and Thaddeus Ntoampe.[90]

In July 1959, despite tightened municipal controls, the PAC held its formal inaugural meeting and launch of the Sharpeville branch at the Anglican Church, not far from where the massacre would take place on the 21 of March 1960.[91] Although the recruitment drive for local membership started in earnest only at the beginning of 1960, some efforts had previously been made in churches, bus terminals, schools, the Sharpeville library, as well as at the local pass office situated across the road from the municipal beerhall and next to the hostels.[92] According to Saul Dubow, before the massacre, the Sharpeville branch had probably no more than 300 paid-up members.[93] Despite the low subscription numbers, the PAC appealed to the residents and was well received. There are reasons why many Sharpeville residents warmed up to the PAC. According to Matthew Chaskalson, forced removal from Top Location to Sharpeville was a source of disgruntlement

[87] Z.A.T. Makaba, "Reflections on Nyakane Tsolo – A forgotten political figure in the struggle annals of South African history". Unpublished honours dissertation. North-West University. Vanderbijlpark.(2019).p.19.
[88] M. Chaskalson, *The Road to Sharpeville*. African Studies Seminar Paper. University of Witwatersrand.(1986).p.31.
[89] For more on Nyakane Tsolo, see Z.A.T.Makaba, "Reflections on Nyakane Tsolo – A forgotten political figure in the struggle annals of South African history". Unpublished honours dissertation. North-West University. Vanderbijlpark.(2019).
[90] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity*: *Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.45.
[91] Z.A.T. Makaba, "Reflections on Nyakane Tsolo – A forgotten political figure in the struggle annals of South African history". Unpublished honours dissertation. North-West University. Vanderbijlpark.(2019).p.38.
[92] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre.* Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.45
[93] S. Dubow, *Apartheid: 1948-1994*. Oxford University Press.Oxford.(2014).p.74.

among residents. Social control, inadequate housing provision, unemployment among youth, and rise in municipal rents were also the source of frustration caused by and instituted by white-controlled local government.[94]

On 18th March 1960, Robert Sobukwe made an official announcement on the date of the Anti-Pass Campaign adopted at its 1959 conference. According to Claire Anne Lester, the Anti-Pass campaign was planned to be launched on the 21st of March 1960, and to last until 1963.[95] The conference resolutions made a generalised call for a dynamic programme to crush, once and for all, white domination. In a press conference, Sobukwe instructed the nationwide PAC leadership to ready themselves for 21st March as all Africans would be asked to march to the police stations without their passes and give themselves up for arrest. The PAC invited the ANC to join its campaign, but Duma Nokwe declined, not wishing to abandon months of planning their own incremental campaign for one that was far more hurriedly invented by the PAC.[96] Following the press conference, Sobukwe wrote a letter to the police commissioner in Cape Town, informing him about the impending demonstration and further asking him to instruct his men not to allow themselves to be provoked into violence.[97] The letter ended with these words: "…hoping you will cooperate to try to make this a most peaceful and disciplined campaign…."[98]

Following this announcement, the Sharpeville PAC distributed four leaflets.[99] The first leaflet – numbered five with the heading 'The Dawn Has Come: The Great Awakening Has Started'–was issued in early March. The second leaflet – numbered six with the heading 'Passes Must Go' – followed. The third pamphlet – numbered forty-seven, was titled 'Alerting the Nation'. On the 18th of March, the PAC issued the final leaflet numbered forty-nine. This leaflet listed the PAC's demands: total abolishment of all pass laws, the establishment of £35-per-month

[94] M. Chaskalson, '*The Road to Sharpeville'*. In Clingman.S, *Regions and Repertoires: Topics in South African Politics and Culture.* Ravan Press.Johannesburg.(1991).p.142.

[95] C.A.Lester,"Truth in the Time of Tumult: Tracing the Role of Official 'Truth-seeking' Commissions of Inquiry in South Africa, from Sharpeville to Marikana". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Cape Town. Cape Town.(2016).p.58.

[96] S.E.Couper, "Bound by Faith": A biographic and ecclesiastic examination (1898-1967) of Chief Albert Luthuli's stance on violence as a strategy to liberate South Africa". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Kwazulu-Natal. Durban.(2009).p.217-218.

[97] C. Gurney, "A Great Cause: The Origins of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. June 1959-March 1960. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol.26.No.1.(2000).p.127.

[98] S.Dubula, *The myth of PAC militancy*. South African Communist Party .No.23.1965.p.59.

[99] UNISA Archives, Commission of Enquiry into Sharpeville, 1960.p.25. In Mnguni. L.D, "Philip Kgosana's contribution to the fall of oppression in South Africa with special reference to the Langa uprising of 1960". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Pretoria.Pretoria.(2017).p.38-39.

minimum wage, freedom to demonstrate, and non-dismissal of demonstrators from work.[100] These leaflets were delivered to the post boxes of households. They also contained an instruction to stay away from work on the 21st of March.[101]

The pass campaign unfolded as planned. In some areas, Africans responded to the call and marched to the police stations in their respective areas to demand arrest for violating the law. In other areas, the police refused to make arrests: for example, in Lady Selborne Township in Pretoria, the police in charge of the police station, instead of arresting protesters, simply wrote down their names and sent them back home.[102]

On the 21 March 1960, Robert Sobukwe led the march of about 50 people in Soweto and was joined by at least 200 men to the Orlando police station to court arrest for flouting the law that demanded that every African carry the 'dompas' at all times and produce it on demand by police or any other agent of the apartheid system.[103] By so doing, he openly defied the laws and purposely made himself guilty under the terms of the Pass Law - being present in a region or an area not allowed as per his papers.[104]

[100] M. Benson, *South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright.* International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.London.(1985).p. 221.

[101] For more on detailed Sharpeville branch preparations for the 21st March 1960, see P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.67-107.

[102] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.108.

[103] B. Pogrund, *Robert Sobukwe: How Can Man Die Better*? Jonathan Ball Publishers. Johannesburg & Cape Town.(1990).p.125

[104] T.J. Lebakeng, "Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe: Acknowledging the Legacy of a Pan-Africanist Hero". *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies.* Vol.11.No.5.(2018).p.77.

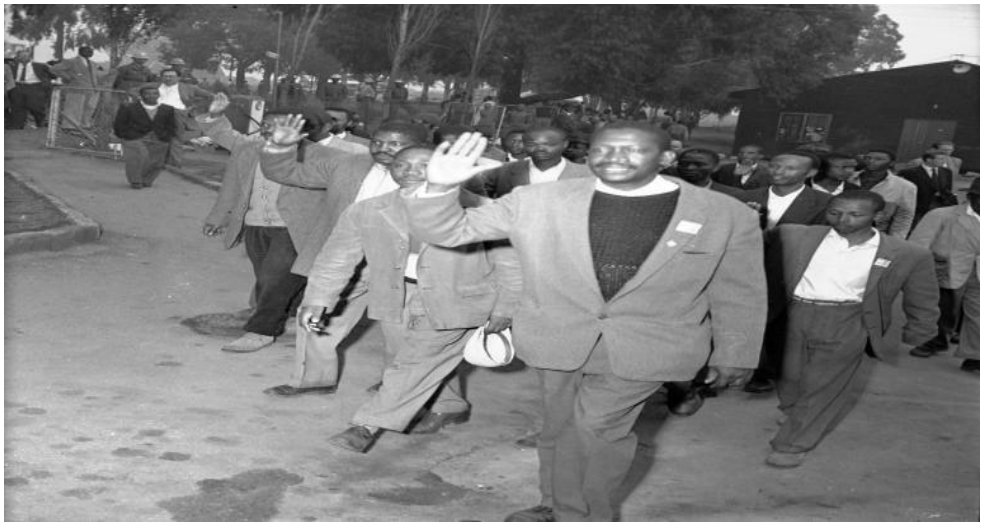

Figure 2.7. Robert Sobukwe and PAC members handing himself over to the Orlando Police Station as an act of defiance against carrying passes. (https://twitter.com/MayibuyeArchive).

The low turnout in Sobukwe's area is seen by Thami Ka Plaatjie as partly attributable to Josias Madzunya's loss of the position of national organiser during the PAC's founding conference in 1959. Following his embarrassing defeat, Madzunya dissociated himself from the PAC's 1960 anti-pass campaign and withdrew his huge followers from the Alexandra branch of the PAC where the small group of demonstrators was led by George Ndlovu.[105] Plaatjie points to poor mobilisation as another reason for the low turnout in Sobukwe's area even though it was a PAC stronghold.[106] Thembinkosi Sibusiso Khumalo points out that some protesters who were with Sobukwe saw ANC leaders, among them Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, mock Sobukwe, thereby demoralising the PAC protesters.[107]

As the day progressed, news of violent confrontations at Bophelong and Boipatong, where two people died after being shot by the police in Vanderbijlpark, began to circulate.[108] After the Orlando police station received news of the disturbances in the Vaal and death incidents in both townships, Sobukwe and his fellow demonstrators were arrested. Bernard Leeman contends that the police may deliberately have been waiting for news of carnage before arresting Sobukwe so as to

[105] T. Ka Plaatjie, "The PAC's Internal Underground Activities, 1960–1980". In South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, Unisa Press. Pretoria.(2006).Vol.2.p.672.
[106] T.S. Khumalo, "From UPoqo to APLA: The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and its armed struggle: 1960-1982".Unpublished master's dissertation.University of Pretoria.Pretoria.(2021).p.39.
[107] Ibid.p.39.
[108] B.D. Works, "Popular Opposition to Apartheid, 1950-1990". Unpublished doctoral thesis.University of California.Berkeley.(1988).p.124.

claim that deaths had resulted as a direct consequence of Sobukwe challenging the law.[109] By the time the Sharpeville massacre occurred, Sobukwe had been locked up in a police cell for several hours.[110]

When Sobukwe was brought before the court, he refused to plead, put up bail or offer a defense. Other PAC respondents followed his example and declined to take part in the legal process, pronouncing the court unlawful.[111] Sobukwe was sentenced to three years in prison, although he ultimately served three times his initial sentence as he was detained under a clause written into the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 – the "Sobukwe Clause"[112] – which prolonged his sentence. In Robben Island, where he was imprisoned, Sobukwe was under 24-hour guard in solitary confinement for six years. His prison term was renewed every year until he was released in 1969 and banished to Kimberley under stringent conditions which prevented him from participating in political activities.[113]

At Vanderbijlpark, police were confronted by an estimated 4,000 protesters from Boipatong and Bophelong.[114] According to Philip Frankel, a crowd of 15,000 Africans led by Zachius Botlhoko Molete besieged the police station in Evaton in the early hours of Monday morning, the 21st of March, thereby attracting heavy police presence in the Vaal Triangle.[115] In the Langa and Nyanga townships in the Cape Peninsula, under PAC regional secretary, Philip Ata Kgosana, a 23-year-old University of Cape Town student, alongside Clarence Makwetu, led approximately 10,000 men to Freedom Square in Langa, in one of the largest anti-apartheid demonstrations to ever take place in Cape Town.[116]

[109] B. Leeman, Mandela, *Sobukwe and Leballo, the South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress.*(2016).p.62. https://www.academia.edu/26707872/Mandela_Sobukwe_and_Leballo_the_South_African_Communist_party_and_the_Pan_Africanist_Congress. (Accessed on the 17.02.2022)

[110] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.108

[111] G. Klein, "The British Anti-Apartheid Movement and Political Prisoner Campaigns, 1973–1980". *Journal of Southern African Studies.* Vol.35.No.2.(2009).p.458.

[112] G. Hayes, "In search of the missing Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe". *Psychology in Society*. Vol.50.(2016).p.102.

[113] Reporter, *Sobukwe gave hope to the hopeless in struggle*. *Cape Times*.15 March 2019.p.4.

[114] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.168.

[115] Ibid.p.168.

[116] L.D. Mnguni, "Philip Kgosana's contribution to the fall of oppression in South Africa with special reference to the Langa uprising of 1960". Unpublished masters dissertation. University of Pretoria.Pretoria.(2017).p.44.

The crowd marched to the police station in Langa to be voluntarily arrested for not carrying their passes. However, they did not reach their destination as they were intercepted by the police.[117] The protesters were warned that such a march would be viewed as an attack on the police station and were persuaded to return home. In Nyanga, protesters who attempted to march to the police station in Philippi were arrested.[118] Reports of the killing in Sharpeville sparked a huge protest by at least 10,000 residents of New Flats in Langa. The police responded with aggressive baton charges, which resulted in the loss of lives.[119] There was also a protest in Durban where Abednego Ngcobo led a relatively small group of PAC followers to the central police station in Durban. He was, however, fined £5 the following day for failing to produce the 'dompas' on demand. In East London, despite fair preparations for the demonstration, only twelve protesters showed up for arrest, though more than twice the initial number were convicted for incitement.[120]

Astonishingly, Sharpeville, which was untouched by anti-apartheid demonstrations that occurred in surrounding towns throughout the 1950s, became the epicentre of the demonstrations.[121] Here, an estimated 5,000 to 7,000 Sharpeville residents, under the leadership of Nyakane Tsolo, descended on their local police station to voice their anger at the racial prejudice they were experiencing. They demanded to be arrested, without bail, defense or fine, for not carrying the derogatory passbooks.[122] One survivor of the massacre, Simon Mofokeng, noted that some residents had gone to the police station having the impression that a government official was going to make an important announcement regarding the passes. An announcement was made that at 14:00 hours the expected official would address the residents at the nearby sports field and that the crowd should make their way there.[123]

[117] T. Ntlemeza, "Demonstrations on 21 March 1960: A view from the Western Cape". *The Thinker*. Vol.50.(2013).p.44.

[118] D. Oakes, Anger that sparked 16km parliament march. *Independent Online*.08 June.2016. https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/news/anger-that-sparked-16km-parliament-march-2031739. (Accessed on the 17.02.2022).

[119] S. Field, *Oral History, Community, and Displacement: Imagining Memories in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan. New York. (2012).p.89.

[120] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.109.

[121] Karibu Staff, *Remembering the Sharpeville Massacre and its Political Significance*. (2003).p.1. https://karibu.org.za/remembering-the-sharpeville-massacre-and-its-political-significance/. (Accessed on the 27.04.2023).

[122] J.M. Ngoaketsi, "Historical Consciousness experienced by the community of Sharpeville. A case study". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Free State. Phuthaditjhaba.(2001).p.56.

[123] Interview with Simon Mofokeng. Sharpeville. 01 May 2022.

A few days before the demonstration date, members of the PAC branch at Sharpeville visited almost every house and the men's hostel in the township, mobilising support for the strike against passes.[124] On the morning of Monday 21st March, the PAC leaders started lining up campaigners in the streets. Local ANC leaders spoke out against the campaign, fearing it would get out of hand. Following the massacre and indiscriminate arrests, relations between the local PAC and the ANC worsened as the ANC leaders were arrested because of an event they were not part of.[125]

There was a tense atmosphere in Sharpeville throughout Saturday and Sunday nights.[126] The leadership had ensured that bus drivers who would transport workers to Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark were not on the schedule. Workers who arrived early at the bus terminals met PAC members who told them to go back home. Some of the frustrated workers reported to the police station with the hope that the station commanders would inform their employees about the prevailing situation so that their jobs would not be in jeopardy. PAC task force members were deployed to exit points out of the township and to cut telephone lines. Some of the workers who took secret routes to work through the veld met large groups of people descending on Sharpeville from Vereeniging.[127] By daybreak, the demonstrators from different parts of the township had converged at a pre-appointed open ground. This was after running clashes between residents and the police in various parts of the township.[128] In line with the instructions of the PAC leadership, the crowd proceeded to the local police station, singing freedom songs and chanting campaign slogans:

> "Izwe lethu" (Our land)
> "I Africa" (Africa)
> "Awaphele ampasi" (Down with passes);
> "Sobukwe Sikhokhele" (Lead us Sobukwe);
> "Forward to Independence,
> Tomorrow the United States of Africa".[129]

[124] D.M. Sibeko, *The Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960: Its historic significance in the struggle against apartheid*. United Nations. New York.(1976).p.6.
[125] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.165.
[126] M.G. Seabela, *A fight for equal rights ending in bloodshed: Remembering Sharpeville massacre and its aftermaths.* https:// creativefeel.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/remembering-sharpeville-massacre-and-its-aftermaths-revised.pdf.(Accessed on the 17.02.2022).
[127] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity*: *Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.84.
[128] Ibid.p.87.
[129] M.D. Sibeko, *The Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960: Its historic significance in the struggle against apartheid*. United Nations.New York.(1976).p.6.

Within the vicinity of the police station, the mood was celebratory, with no signs of anger or impending violence. According to Winnie Mandela, protesters did nothing except mill around and talk, as they awaited an announcement about pass laws.[130] The arrival of Saracens was further greeted with friendly African-style ululations, particularly from the women who constituted a large portion of the crowd.[131] Although the campaign was aimed only at men, women also joined out of curiosity, with some taunting the police passing by in Saracens by lifting their dresses and jeering at them.[132] The aircraft that from time to time swooped low over the crowd, according to Martha Dolly Mendisi, failed to intimidate the people as they marched to the police station. The crowd was unperturbed as the people thought there was going to be an announcement concerning passes.[133]

The police version of events presented at the Wessels Commission describes the protesters as hostile and rowdy, and they were also accused of cursing and hurling all forms of verbal abuse at the police and journalists. One journalist described the crowd on that day as the most vicious they had ever witnessed. Some police officers described the situation as terrifying and posing an imminent threat to their lives.[134] Guy Lamb argues that policemen on the scene were caught unprepared by the size of the crowd which led them to refuse to arrest demonstrators at first. They also felt overwhelmed and fearful and in their state of agitation opened fire.[135]

[130] A.M. du Preez-Bezdrob, *Winnie Mandela: A Life*. Penguin Random House. Johannesburg. (2011).p.84.
[131] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity*: *Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.89.
[132] S. Dubow, *Apartheid: 1938-1994*. Oxford University Press.Oxford.(2014).p.76.
[133] D.M. Sibeko, *The Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960: Its historic significance in the struggle against apartheid.* United Nations. New York.(1976).p.7.
[134] H. Taylor, *Life in the Time of Sharpeville - and wayward seeds of a new South Africa*. Kwela Books. Cape Town.(1995).p.18-19.
[135] G.Lamb, "Mass killings, and calculated measures: The impact of police massacres on police reform in South Africa". *SA crime quarterly*. No.63.(2018).p.9




Figures 2.8 & 2.9. The Tsolo brothers, Job Mahlomola Tsolo (PAC branch chairman) and Nyakane Tsolo (PAC branch secretary) in 1959-1960.(Image by Nyakane Tsolo Foundation).

Nyakane Tsolo and his executive branch members moved forward in line with the PAC's novel motto of 'Leaders in Front'. He asked the white policeman in command to let them through so that they could surrender themselves for refusing to carry passes. Initially, the police commander refused but, much later, they were let through into the police station. Shortly thereafter, without any warning to the protesters to disperse nor a warning volley,[136] police fired dum-dum bullets at the protesters.[137] According to Jennifer Clark, no one really knows why the shooting broke out as no order to fire had been given, but the shooting continued to decimate the residents.[138]

There are, however, different versions of what really happened, and available evidence seems to discount theories that the shooting was premeditated.[139] The version of events by the police was that officers were in desperate danger because the protesters began throwing stones at them, and were armed with "vicious weapons" which littered the police station area after they fled.[140] According to Emily Coakley, *The Guardian* provided the following report: As the police advanced, a barrage of stones, sticks, and bottles rained on them and the crowd from surrounding

[136] H. Taylor, Life in the Time of Sharpeville - and wayward seeds of a new South Africa. Kwela Books. Cape Town.(1995).p.18-19.

[137] H. Dousemetzis, *The Man Who Killed Apartheid: The Life of Dimitri Tsafendas*. Jacana Media. (Pty).Ltd.Johannesburg.(2018).p.117.

[138] J. Clark, *A dividing line in history': Sharpeville and the challenge to domestic jurisdiction*. In *Aborigines & Activism: Race, Aborigines & the Coming of the Sixties to Australia*. Pearson Deutschland GmbH.(2008).p.18.

[139] University of Michigan, *The Sharpeville Massacre, 1960.* The Divestment for Humanity. The Anti-apartheid Movement at the University of Michigan. https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/Sharpeville . (Accessed on the 21.02.2022).

[140] H. Tyler, B.G. Fourie, P.Duncan, & U. N. Security Council Resolution, "Sharpeville and After". *Africa Today.* Vol.7.No.3.(1960).p.5-6.

buildings…A fresh barrage of stones struck the policemen, some of whom picked them up and hurled them at the crowd. Africans yelled at the police, 'Cowards' and 'Kill the white men'.[141]

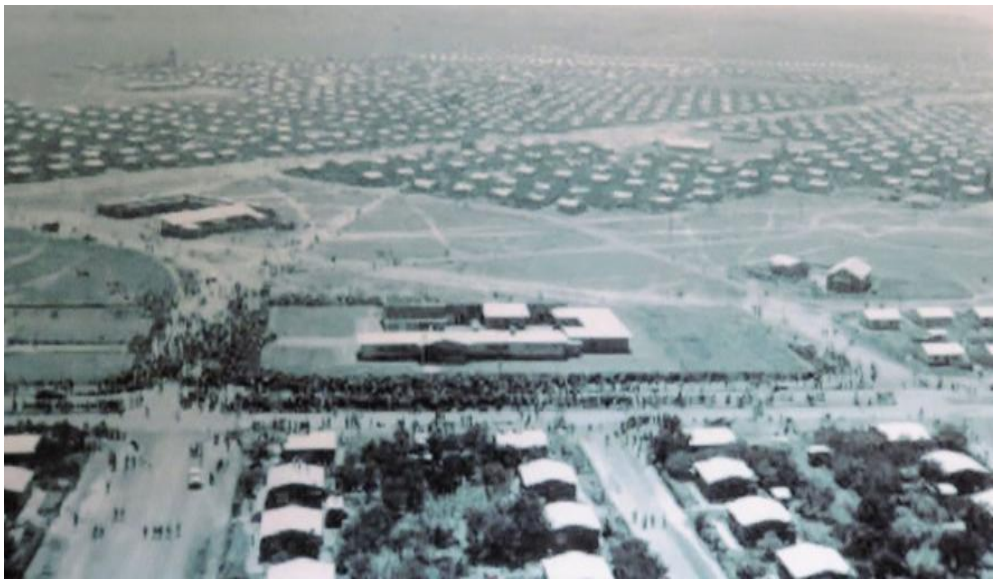

Figure 2.10. An aerial view of Sharpeville residents who gathered at the local police station making themselves available for arrest.(Image by ruralexploration.co.za).

Another version of events is that Colonel Spengler ordered Nyakane Tsolo[142] to instruct protesters to go back home but he (Tsolo) refused, telling Spengler, "We will not call them off until Sobukwe has spoken."[143] An altercation then ensued as Tsolo was arrested. The crowd surged forward to see what was happening and, at that point, Colonel Pienaar ordered police officers to load weapons. According to Phillip Frankel, by some coincidence, a petty criminal and Sharpeville resident called Geelbooi Mofokeng had been arrested and tortured the night before. On this day, he was among the protesters gathered and thought he saw one of his interrogators among the police officers. He then raised his gun, took aim, and fired but missed his target. In response, the police officer next to

[141] E. Coakley, 1960: South African Police Open Fire on Crowd in Sharpeville Massacre. *SweetSearch*. http://2day.sweetsearch.com/1960-south-african-police-open-fire-on-crowd-in-sharpeville-massacre/. (Accessed on the 21.02.2022).

[142] According to Z.A.T. Makaba, *Reflections on Nyakane Tsolo– A forgotten political figure in the struggle annals of South African history.* Unpublished honours dissertation. Northwest University. Vanderbijlpark.(2020).p.61. & T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.342. (Nyakane Tsolo jumped bail in 1961 and went into exile in Lesotho. He later received military training in Egypt. Between 1963 and 1973 he lived in East Germany. He was forced to secretly leave East Germany for the Netherlands where he worked for the PAC external mission until his return to South Africa in 1991.)

[143] T.G. Lodge, "Insurrectionism in South Africa: The Pan-Africanist Congress and the Poqo movement, 1959–1965". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of York. North Yorkshire.(1984).p.138.

Spengler shouted *'Skiet',* which was interpreted by the police as an order to open fire on the protesters.[144]

Geelbooi Mofokeng's name however appears in the death register of the South African police.[145] Surprisingly, on 16th and 17th May 1960, Geelbooi Mofokeng appeared before the Wessels Commission, which was appointed to investigate and report on the occurrences in the Districts of Vereeniging (namely at Sharpeville Location and Evaton) and Vanderbijlpark, province of the Transvaal, on 21st March 1960.[146] The police concocted a narrative that described him as a gangster who fired two shots during the demonstration. Mofokeng went on to sue for damages to the tune of £750.00 due to his unlawful arrest and imprisonment from March to June 1960. His claim was, however, rejected. Geelbooi Mofokeng from that day onwards became the man who did not die. According to William Worger:

> Geelbooi Mofokeng was so beloved by white South Africans as their excuse for the police shooting on 21 March 1960. And also the way either the police updated their story to "admit" to torturing Geelbooi - something which in the 1990s they knew they would never be prosecuted for, and it didn't happen to him anyway since he wasn't a gangster and in its made-up way made the concoction of Geelbooi as the first shooter even more convincing.[147]

In less than a minute, hundreds of bodies lay sprawling on the ground like debris.[148] Within this time, police had discharged well over 1,000 rounds. Phillip Frankel argues that there would have been more bodies if some of the machines had not jammed.[149] Similarly, Humphrey Taylor observes: "When the shooting started it did not stop until there was no moving thing in the huge open space in front of the police."[150]

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[144] S. Wheatley, *The Idea of International Human Rights Law*. Oxford University Press. Oxford. (2019).p.82-83.

[145] See, P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.246.

[146] For more on Geelbooi Mofokeng, see Geelbooi Mofokeng: Wessels Commission evidence.Vol.20.p.1997-2003. https://www.bing.com/search?q=Wessels+Commission+evidence&form=ANNH01&refig=c48279fbbfe042f683bad9bb408171e6. (Accessed on the 21.02.2022).

[147] W. Worger, & N. Clark, "21st March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre New Revelations." Townships Heritage and Tourism Colloquium. Presentation. 20 October 2022.

[148] D.M. Sibeko, *The Sharpeville massacre of 21 March 1960: Its historic significance in the struggle against apartheid.* United Nations. New York.(1976).p.7.

[149] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.116.

[150] H. Taylor, *Life in the Time of Sharpeville--and wayward seeds of a new South Africa*. Kwela Books. Cape Town.(1995).p.18-19.

The sound of bullets, according to Andrew Van der Vlies, 'buzz[ed] like persistent flies around the head'.[151] The *Drum* magazine published an article showing a police constable reloading a handgun so that he could continue to shoot at the fleeing protesters.[152] The available literature is consistent with the official numbers of causalities. According to Joseph Ngoaketsi, Collence Chisita, and Koketso Mokwatlo, on that day 69 people were reported dead, and 186 were critically wounded.[153] Emily Sauter argues that the wounded were at least three times the number of people killed.[154] The fact that these numbers could be substantially higher is corroborated by both Tom Lodge and Harris Dousemetzis, who argue that as many as 24 people were buried secretly near Parys in the Free State province to avoid post-mortems.[155]

Some witnesses claimed that they saw the police putting guns and knives in the hands of the victims to create the impression that they were armed and violent. Others claimed that they heard the police mocking the wounded, even killing some of them.[156] Out of the recorded and publicised numbers, nineteen of those who perished were not Sharpeville residents.[157] Sixty-two years later, in 2022, Nancy Clark and William Worger presented ground-breaking archival findings that dispute these numbers. Their presentation overturned the long-touted police figure of 69 dead. They demonstrated and provided their audience with archival material based on claims lodged and police records held at the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa which indicated that the number of people who died on the spot was at least 82.[158]

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[151] A. van der Vlies, *Present Imperfect: Contemporary South African Writing*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2017).p.137.

[152] E. Sauter, "A Modern Miracle: South African National Identity and Transnational Discourses of Democracy". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Wisconsin Madison. Madison-Wisconsin (2016).p.49.

[153] J.M. Ngoaketsi, C.T. Chisita, & K. Mokwatlo, *Weaving the Historical Thread in Sharpeville: Memory Institutions as a Citadel of Cultural Heritage*. In Gunjal. B, Pradhan. D.K, Mishra. V.K, Misha. P, & Das. K, *Next Generation Libraries: Emerging Technologies, Community Engagement & Future Librarianship*. Ess.Ess.Publications. New Delhi.(2020).p.245.

[154] E. Sauter, "A Modern Miracle: South African National Identity and Transnational Discourses of Democracy". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Wisconsin Madison.(2016.).p.49.

[155] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.108. Also see H. Dousemetzis, *The Man Who Killed Apartheid: The Life of Dimitri Tsafendas.* Jacana Media.(Pty).Ltd.Johannesburg.(2018).p.117.

[156] M. McRae, *The Sharpeville Massacre.* Canadian Museum for Human Rights. https://humanrights.ca/story/the-sharpeville-massacre. (Accessed on the 18.02.2022.).

[157] Reporter, 19 outsiders we killed at Sharpeville. *Vereeniging Reporter*. 26 October.1960.

[158] D. Forbes, Police lies about Sharpeville Massacre overturned by new research. *Sunday Times*. 20 October 2022. https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times-daily/news/2022-10-20-police-lies-about-sharpeville-massacre-overturned-by-new-research/#:~:text=The%20official%20dead%20and%20injured,the%20community%20of%20Sharpeville%20itself. (Accessed on the 20.12.2022).

Many scholars confirm that before the shooting, residents were more festive than aggressive; however, the police managed to turn the joyful singing into wild screams, cries of the wounded, and the silence of the dead.[159] Phillip Frankel observes that during the silent moment that followed the shooting, black clouds gathered, followed by a roll of thunder.[160] Tom Lodge asserts that the rain that followed seemed, according to survivors' recollections, heaven-ordained, and it was the sole source of comfort at the time, momentarily lifting their despair and washing off the streets.[161]



Figure 2.11. Some of the weapons were collected by police after the shooting. Police claimed that these mainly walking sticks as seen from pictures before the shooting posed life threats to them.(Image by Blogspot.com).

In the eastern part of Sharpeville towards Vereeniging, there is a large pool of greenish water that often turned grey and violent during windy days. This body of water, called Leeuwkuilpan, was named Dlomo Dam by Sharpeville residents. According to Selloane Phetane, this silent pool of water remains undisturbed. It is only frequented by grazing herds of cattle that have been there

[159] N. Makky, "Song in the Anti-Apartheid and Reconciliation Movements in South Africa". Unpublished honours dissertation. Ohio State University.Ohio.(2007).p.8.

[160] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.114.

[161] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.106.

since its legendary days as a small pond.[162] It should be stated that environmental historians have long established that Sharpeville was established on Leeuwkuil Farm, which had a pan called Leeuwkuil pan. It can therefore be argued that when Top Location residents were moved to Sharpeville, there were people already living there. Among the most notable farm dwellers on the eastern side was the Ntate Raqhwabedi household which seemed to have lived for a very long time on the farm. Legend has it that they also had their loved ones' graves lined along their homestead. On the eastern side of the farm was the famous Ntate Dlomo who had his homestead and livestock on that portion of the farm.[163]

Legend has it that this wetland became a recipient of blood-soaked water from uptown, after the shooting on the afternoon of Monday 21st March 1960.[164] Sharpeville residents hold the belief that the rain was meant to cleanse the blood. Some even swear that the blood was washed down to the bottom of the dam, where the spirits of the victims rest. According to Albert Victor Munnik, some residents alleged, following the shooting, that the police discarded bodies in the Dlomo Dam below Sharpeville.[165] A renowned South African theologian and academic, Tinyiko Maluleke, opines that over this dam hover the spirits of the living-dead day and night.[166]

Since the shooting, the dam has been deemed a sacred landscape as it encapsulates the traumatic experiences of the people and offers collective and individual healing. It remains a memoryscape loaded with emotional resonance for Sharpeville residents. As the subsequent chapter demonstrates, it is here that grassroots and African indigenous forms of public memorialisation and commemorative ritual practices are deeply invested in the shaping of local identities. It is for this reason that the thesis endorses the argument by Steven Hoelscher and Derek Alderman that be it cultural memory, historical memory, popular memory, collective memory or social memory, social space provides the context for understanding modern identities.[167]

[162] Interview with Selloane Phetane.Sharpeville.29 May 2023.
[163] Ibid.
[164] N. Ntema, Sharpeville: That Kasi that caused all the trouble. https://truthtours.weebly.com/. (Accessed on the 20.02.2022).
[165] A.V.Munnik, "Discursive power and environmental justice in the new South Africa: The Steel Valley struggle against pollution.-1996–2006". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(2012).p.150.
[166] T. Maluleke, Sharpeville, and the map of our bloody country. *News24*. 27 March 2021. https://www.news24.com/news24/opinions/columnists/guestcolumn/tinyiko-maluleke-sharpeville-and-the-map-of-our-bloody-country-20210327. (Accessed on the 20.05.2023).
[167] S. Hoelscher, & D.H. Alderman, "Memory and Place: Geographies of a Critical Relationship". *Social and Cultural Geography*. Vol.5.No.3.(2004).p.348.

In establishing a link between a landscape – which, according to Sara McDowell, is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings[168] - and an identity, Slawomir Karpinski argues that a landscape, as a cultural construction of a group, serves generally the purpose of creating and maintaining the group identity. He further contends that a landscape is also a territory with a history which is to be remembered, while identity is certainly connected with the memory of the past.[169] To the community of Sharpeville, Dlomo Dam is a social space appropriated to honour the memories of the victims of the massacre. According to Karen Harris, commemoration has been, and still is, one of the many successful sculpting tools in the kit of identity carving.[170]

On the other hand, Richard Crownshaw argues that memorialisation is a ritual, an act or a process of remembering and commemorating historical losses as opposed to the celebration of historical events.[171] He further contends that in terms of topography, memorialisation imposes sites of memory on sites of historic activity, and that rituals associated with historical events are not complete without those who visit such sites, and in whom the memory is invoked.[172]

Dlomo dam, therefore, is associated with the collective and historical memory of mass death and it further bears the trauma of the 21 March 1960 massacre among Sharpeville residents and conscious visitors alike. On a personal level, it is a place that invokes a personal memory among some members of this community. According to Don Locke, personal memory is the memory we have of particular items—people, places, things, events, situations—that we have personally experienced.[173]

[168] S. McDowell, "Heritage, Memory, and Identity". In Graham. B, & Howard. P, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity.* Routledge. Oxfordshire.(2008).p.39.
[169] S. Kapralski, "Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations". *History and Memory*. Vol.13.No.2.p.35-36.
[170] K.L. Harris, "En route to 'Dignity Day': The South African Chinese and Historical Commemorations". *Historia*. Vol.55.No.2.(2010).p.147.
[171] R. Crownshaw, "History and Memorialisation". In Berger. S, & Niven. B, *Writing the History of Memory*. Bloomsbury Academic.London.(2014).p.219.
[172] Ibid.p.219.
[173] D. Locke, "Personal Memory". In Locke. D, *Memory Problems of Philosophy*. Palgrave. London.(1971).p.70.

For some community members, Dlomo Dam has been an occasional spot to commit the perfect suicide, and many people have drowned in this enigmatic large pool.[174] In a recent incident, thirty-eight-year-old Boitumelo Gopane, a local taxi driver, was allegedly hijacked by six young men and taken to Dlomo Dam where he was shot, strangled and burned before he was buried in a shallow grave.[175] The following year, 2017, local fishermen found the decomposing body of an unidentified man and alerted the police.[176] These incidents resulted in the dam being transformed into a location to memorialise individuals beyond the internationally renowned tragedy of 21 March 1960.

According to data released by Statistics South Africa in 2011, in Sharpeville 3,609 households out of a total of 8,374 households live in poverty.[177] In applying different methodologies to measure poverty in Sharpeville, Mmapula Brendah Sekatane concludes that when comparing two sets of data on the levels of poverty in Sharpeville, the poverty rate measured by the Slabbert method was three times higher than the rate measured by the Statistics South Africa method (43.1% compared to 13.7% respectively).[178] Johan Tempelhoff argues that since the establishment of Sharpeville, residents had been primarily focused on employment opportunities associated with urban commercial and industrial enterprise.[179] Therefore, Tempelhoff contends, the dam serves the community by providing local fishermen with a means of income.[180]

[174] Interview with Lineth Mantsho. Sharpeville. 28 February 2023.
[175] L. Chaha, Hijacked taxi driver found buried at Dlomo Dam. *Sedibeng Ster*. 10 November. 2016. https://sedibengster.com/8872/hijacked-taxi-driver-found-buried-at-dlomo-dam/.(Accessed on the 28.08.2023).
[176] M. Mathebula, Naked body found in Dlomo Dam. *Sedibeng Ster*. 22 June 2017. https://sedibengster.com/11483/naked-body-found-dlomo-dam//. (Accessed on the 28.08.2023).
[177] W.C J. Grobler, "Perceptions of Poverty: A Study of Food Secure and Food Insecure Households in an Urban Area in South Africa". *Procedia Economics and Finance*.Vol.35.(2016).p.226.
[178] M.B. Sekatane, "An Application of Different Methodologies for Measuring Poverty in Sharpeville Township". *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences.* Vol.4.No.14.(2013).p.67.
[179] J.W.N. Tempelhoff, M. Ginster, S. Mahabir, N. Mthembu, H. Jaka, A. Kruger, & L. Nkomo. "Special Case Study on Wastewater Management Perspectives from below on Emfuleni's Wastewater Woes: In Search of Resolving a Wicked Problem". *African Journal of Public Sector Development and Governance*. Vol.2.Iss.2.(2019).p.160.
[180] J.W.N. Tempelhoff, M. Ginster, S. Mahabir, N. Mthembu, H. Jaka, A. Kruger, & L. Nkomo, "The Anthropocene and the Hydrosphere: A Case Study of Sanitation Governance in Emfuleni Local Municipality.(2018-19)". CuDyWat Report 2/2019.(2019).41.

Drawing from Stephanie Arel, this thesis advances the argument that Dlomo Dam can be regarded as a space of social practice. According to Arel, a site of social practice is a physical location infested with trauma, representing real-life events and possessing symbolic meaning. It is a site for active, engaged social activity, including communal gatherings, anniversary commemorations and memorialisation ceremonies.[181]

The origin of the dam and the narrative behind this legend remains contested among the residents of Sharpeville. Vaal Triangle environmental historians, government officials and water management scientists and researchers have offered diverse, and sometimes contradictory, perspectives on the origin of the dam. Others have put emphasis on its cultural significance as a heritage site and how the identity of the Sharpeville community is constructed around it. Tom Lodge writes:

> On the eastern borders of Sharpeville, on the way out along the road that leads to Vereeniging, there is a lake formed by the reservoir that has accumulated behind the Leeuwkuil Dam. The dam is fringed with willow trees and bull rushes, and it is surrounded by gentle parkland. In a harsh landscape of decaying heavy industry, the lake and its serene surroundings are startlingly beautiful.[182]

According to Sharpeville residents, the dam's origin can be traced back to the 1930s when it was a small pond. In an interview with the Benchmarks Foundation Monitoring School Project researchers, Oupa Mokoena, a local fisherman, had this to say about the dam:

> Dlomo Dam started as a small spring that an old man, Dlomo, fashioned into a drinking space for his cattle. As the years went by, the people of Sharpeville saw the cattle's waterhole expand in size over time. The local people thought this was because a water snake had moved into the waterhole, or that maybe, Dlomo had put the snake there to assure a never-ending supply of water.[183]

Local environmental historians such as Johann Tempelhoff and Thabang Richard Mofokeng concur that Sharpeville was built on the Leeukuil farms to the west of Vereeniging and near Leeuwkuil Dam in 1942. In 1955 the Leeuwkuil dam became operational as a wastewater treatment system and sewerage infrastructure.[184] Researchers working for Benchmark Foundation were informed by

[181] S. Arel, "The Power of Place: Trauma Recovery and Memorialization". *Stellenbosch Theological Journal.*Vol.4.No.2.(2018).p.16.

[182] T.Lodge, "Sharpeville and memory. Violence, memory, and Commemoration". Perspectives from Southern, East and Central Africa. Birbeck College, 09 December 2011.(2011).p.26.

[183] M. Mabaso, M. Mcelu, S. Tyani, & M. Diutlwileng, "Sharpeville Lake Research project on environmental awareness of beautiful and mysterious lake". *Action Voices.* Benchmarks Foundation.(2012).p.25.

[184] J.W.N.Tempelhof, "Emfuleni's wastewater crisis, 2018-2021: The history of a Vaal sub-catchment problem" *New Contree*.Vol.86.(2021).p.36.

municipality officials working at the Leeukuil wastewater treatment site, adjacent to the Sharpeville Lake, as Dlomo Dam or Leeuwkuil Dam is also called, that it is a stormwater basin built over a natural spring, therefore the dam water is the mixture of underground water and stormwaters which collects water around Sharpeville.[185]

The wounded were taken to different hospitals, including Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, Johannesburg. According to Harris Dousemetzis, the police followed the wounded to the hospitals where they were admitted, dragged them out of their beds, irrespective of their circumstances, and took them to Boksburg Prison in handcuffs, where they were stripped naked, hosed down, and ordered to dress up again in their bloodied clothes.[186] Following the shooting, the police and the army cordoned off Sharpeville in search of residents suspected to be ringleaders. The operation resulted in the arrest of several hundred suspects.[187]

On the 22nd of March, Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd told the South African Parliament that the riots could in no way be described as a reaction against the government's apartheid policy. He stated that the Sharpeville Massacre had nothing to do with passes; that it was the result of a communist conspiracy, having no links with poverty and low wages.[188] He indicated that Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister's 'Winds of Change Blowing through Africa' speech on 3rd February 1960 to the South African Parliament[189] was partly to blame for stirring up black people.[190] He further stated that his first duty was to thank the South African police for handling the situation in such an exemplary manner.[191] He announced that 132 members of the PAC, including Robert Sobukwe, were being held in Johannesburg and would be charged with sedition.[192]

[185] M. Mabaso, M. Mcelu, S. Tyani, & M. Diutlwileng, Vaal Group Reports Sharpeville Lake Research project on environmental awareness of beautiful and mysterious lake. In *Action Voices.* Benchmarks Foundation.(2012).p.25.
[186] H. Dousemetzis, *The man who killed apartheid: The life of Dimitri Tsafendas.* Jacana Media. (Pty).Ltd. Johannesburg.(2018).p.117.
[187] Ibid.p.109.
[188] Ibid.p.118.
[189] For more on 'Winds of Change', see T. Royle, *Winds of Change: The End of Empire in Africa*. John Murray Press.(1996). & L.J.Butler, & S. Stockwell, *The Wind of Change, Harold Macmillan and British Decolonization.* Macmillan Publishers Limited. Hampshire.(2013).
[190] H. Dousemetzis, *The man who killed apartheid: The life of Dimitri Tsafendas*. Jacada Media. (Pty).Ltd. Johannesburg.(2018).p.118.
[191] Ibid.p.118.
[192] South African History Online. *Yusuf Dadoo Timeline: 1960–1969.* https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/yusuf-dadoo-timeline-1960-1969. (Accessed on the 17.02.2022).

On 27th March, as a precautionary measure designed to reduce tensions, passes were temporarily suspended throughout the country. By 7th April, the strikes had been contained and the pass laws were back in full force.[193] On 9th April 1960, the Prime Minister, while recovering from an attempted assassination in hospital, told Eric Louw, his foreign minister, that recent events gave him no reason to reverse his policies, and the pass laws were restored.[194] The international response to the incident was vehement. Even some of the South African government's most reliable allies felt as if they had no choice but to reproach the apartheid regime.[195]

The Sharpeville Massacre, exposed both by images and reports published in South Africa and abroad, sparked public outrage and prompted the global community to diplomatically and economically isolate South Africa.[196] According to Arianna Lissoni, the shooting has since become inscribed in both the country's collective memory and its historiography as a watershed as it fundamentally altered the course of South Africa's history.[197]

The apartheid state further faced internal revolt as, a few weeks thereafter, PAC sympathisers set fire to government buildings. This was arguably one of the first acts of sabotage in the new era.[198] The killings led to a major economic crisis in South Africa as the Johannesburg Stock Exchange index plummeted and foreign investors lost confidence in South Africa. Also, the country's reserves fell to a record low, putting enormous pressure on the currency. Johnson argues that it was the most severe financial crisis since the onset of the Great Depression in 1932.[199]

After the Sharpeville crisis, followed by a confused period during which African politicians adjusted to new conditions of illegality, a variety of insurgent organisations emerged. In 1961, the ANC and the SACP set up "Umkhonto we Sizwe" (MK) as their armed wing. The MK

[193] B.B. Maaba, *The PAC'S war against the state: 1960-1963*. In SADET, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*.Vol.1.[1960-1970].Unisa Press. Pretoria.(2004).p.239.

[194] C. Nicholson, "Nothing Really Gets Better: Reflections on the Twenty-Five Years between Sharpeville and Uitenhage". *Human Rights Quarterly*. Vol.3.No.3.(1986).p.512.

[195] J.S. Ahlman, Road to Ghana: Nkrumah, Southern Africa and the Eclipse of a Decolonizing Africa. *Kronos.* Vol.37.No.1.(2011).p.31.

[196] P.A. Horta, "Portrait and documentary photography in post-apartheid South Africa: (hi)stories of past and present". Unpublished doctoral thesis.University of London. London.(2011).p.66.

[197] A.Lissoni, "Sharpeville: An apartheid massacre and its consequences". *African Affairs*.Vol.111.Iss. 445.(2012).p.686–687.

[198] P. S. Landau, "The ANC, MK, and 'The Turn to Violence' (1960–1962)". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.64.No.3.(2012).p.546.

[199] R.W. Johnson, *The Recovery from Sharpeville and the South African Economic Miracle*. In Johnson.R.W.*How Long Will South Africa Survive?* Palgrave Macmillan.London.(1977).p.26.

engaged in acts of sabotage on public installations but was careful to avoid civilian casualties. By contrast, the PAC's Poqo was less restrained.[200] This military wing of the PAC, right from its establishment, engaged in armed attacks on policemen, representatives of traditional authorities in the rural reserves, perceived PAC dissidents and white civilians.[201] According to Sibeko, the Poqo played an important role in the immortalisation of Sharpeville.[202]

On the 8th of April, the apartheid regime passed legislation called the Unlawful Organizations Act No 34 of 1960 that gave effect to the banning of African nationalist movements, including the ANC.[203] By implication, any kind of activity associated with these liberation movements became unmentionable in the press and ceased to exist in internal public debates. The nationalist movements further became demonised images that the apartheid government used to frighten white voters into supporting and legitimising tougher security laws[204], as these organisations were declared a serious threat to the safety of the public.[205] According to Arianna Lissoni, the banning of liberation movements following the Sharpeville Massacre marked the beginning of the gradual shift of the arena of struggle from inside South Africa to outside its borders. The Rivonia raid and trial of 1963 to 1964 further marked the completion of this relocation process as well as the arrival of yet another – and this time rather sizeable – a wave of political exiles.[206] On 31st May 1961, South Africa declared its exit from the Commonwealth of Nations to become a republic.[207]

[200] D. Gupta, *The limits of radicalisation: Escalation and restrain in the South African liberation movement*. In Demetriou. C, & Malthaner. S, *Dynamics of Political Violence: A Process-Oriented Perspective on Radicalization and the Escalation of Political Conflict.* Routledge.London.(2016).p.139.

[201] L. Mashike, & M. Makalobe, "Reintegration into Civilian Life: The Case of Former MK and APLA Combatants". *Track Two.* Vol.12.No.1 & 2.(2003).p.11.

[202] United Nations Centre against Apartheid, & D.M. Sibeko, "The Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960: Its historic significance in the struggle against apartheid". United Nations. New York.(1976).p.8

[203] L. Mashike, "You are a time bomb…" Ex-combatants in post-conflict South Africa". *Society in Transition.* Vol.35.No.1.(2004).p.89.

[204] A. Sparks, *The Mind of South Africa*. William Heinemann.(Ltd).London.(1990).p.243.

[205] J.P. Hendricks, "From moderation to militancy: A study of African leadership and political reactions in South Africa, 1936-1960*"*. Unpublished doctoral thesis.University of Michigan. Ann Arbor.(1983).p.270.

[206] A. Lissoni, "The South African liberation movements in exile.c. 1945-1970".Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of London. London.(2008).p.77.

[207] M.F. Belvedere, "Beyond xenophobia: Contested identities and the politics of refugees post-apartheid South Africa". Unpublished doctoral thesis.University of Minnesota.Twin Cites.(2005).p.40.

On the international scene, the massacre sent shockwaves around the world. The international response to the incident was vehement. Even some of the most reliable allies of the South African government had no choice but to reproach the apartheid regime.[208] The *Leominster Daily Enterprise*, an American newspaper, carried a front-page column on 21st March 1960 with the heading, '30 Negroes slain during fierce riot'.[209] *The New York Times* of 22nd March 1960 carried a two-column heading which read, '50 killed in South Africa as police fire on rioters'.[210]

Likewise, the American newspaper, the *Des Moines Register* of 28th March 1960, regarded the Sharpeville Massacre to be as historic as the Boston Massacre of 1770 which foreshadowed the American Revolutionary War of 1775. This revolution foreshadowed the Bloody Sunday Massacre. On 22nd January 1905, radical priest Georgy Apollonovich Gapon marched with a group of workers to the Czar's Winter Palace in St. Petersburg to present a petition on behalf of the country's workers. The imperial forces opened fire on the demonstrators, killing and wounding hundreds.[211] The common denominator of all these massacres is that police opened fire on unarmed demonstrators.[212] Following the killings, a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) correspondent reported that "the police seem to have completely underestimated the African hatred of their pass books".[213] The correspondent further described the Sharpeville Massacre as producing more bloodshed than he had ever seen before in South Africa, describing the massacre as being "like a Western front battlefield in the First World War".[214]

The Boycott Movement formed in 1959 by South African supporters of the Congress Movement, transformed itself into the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), with the aim of internationalising the boycott campaign following the Sharpeville Massacre.[215] According to Håkan Thörn, the Sharpeville Massacre became an important symbol in the context of the AAM, and for three decades Sharpeville Day became an event commemorated all over the world through public actions,

[208] J.S. Ahlman, Road to Ghana: Nkrumah, Southern Africa and the Eclipse of a Decolonizing Africa. *Kronos.* Vol.37. No.1.(2011).p.31.
[209] T. Hughes, *Rare and early newspapers*.1960. https://www.rarenewspapers.com/view/676648.(Accessed on the 17.12.2022.).
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid.
[212] Anon, The Sharpeville Massacre. *The Des Moines Register.* 28 March 1960.
[213] H. Smith, "Apartheid, Sharpeville and 'Impartiality': The Reporting of South Africa on BBC Television 1948–1961". *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*. Vol.13.No.3.(1993).p.259.
[214] Ibid.p.59.
[215] C. Gurney, "A Great Cause': The Origins of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. June 1959-March 1960". *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol.26.No.1.(2000).p.143.

such as demonstrations, up until 1994.[216] Newell Stultz argues that the Sharpeville Massacre produced an international moral shock regarding apartheid and South Africa.[217] According to Enuga Sreenivasulu Reddy, South Africa's racial policies were on the agenda of the UN from its very first session in 1946 until the inauguration of South Africa's non-racial democratic dispensation in 1994.[218] On 26th October 1966, the UN General Assembly declared 21st March – a date coinciding with the anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre – *International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination*, to be observed annually.[219]

2.5 MEMORIALISATION AND COMMEMORATIONS IN THE 1960s

The political repression, following the Sharpeville Massacre, spurred rapid economic growth.[220] The repressive measures rebuilt confidence in the security of investments and the stability of the state. As a result, international investment and the immigration of people of European descent fuelled an impressive economic boom during this period.[221] On the other hand, Ian Jeffrey regards the 1960s as a period of political silence – a time of unprecedented silence and defeat. However, Steven Friedman is of the view that silences imposed by authoritarian regimes are often deceptive. Friedman argues that although the 1960s is often regarded as the 'silent sixties' and heyday of white power whereby apartheid was insulated from threat, the Rivonia trial in 1964 was greeted by demonstrations, thereby truncating the silence of that period. The emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was a product of the silent sixties.[222] Regardless of this silence, the Sharpeville Massacre has been commemorated in several perceptible ways.

In the immediate aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre, specifically the period of the 1960s, there was no national commemoration within the country. When they happened to take place, they were fragmented among different actors, such as churches, students, and labour, and remained multivocal. While the residents of Sharpeville were in terrible shock and trying to figure out what had happened, across the country, there was a week-long memorialisation process characterised by

[216] H. Thörn, *Anti-Apartheid and the Emergence of a Global Civil Society*. Palgrave Macmillan. London.(2006).p.128.
[217] N.M. Stultz, "Evolution of the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Regime". *Human Rights Quarterly*. Vol.13.No.1(1991).p.6.
[218] E.S. Reddy, *The United Nations and the struggle for liberation in South Africa*. In SADET, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa. International solidarity*. Unisa Press. Pretoria.Vol.3.part II. (2008).p.41.
[219] D. Collett, "International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination". *British Council*. (2018).p.2.
[220] J. Fedderke, & C. Simkins, "Economic growth in South Africa". *Economic History of Developing Regions*. Vol.27.No.1.(2012).179.
[221] S. Terreblance, & N. Nattrass, *A periodization of the political economy from 1910*. Oxford University Press. Cape Town.(1990).p.14-15.
[222] See, S. Friedman, "The Sounds of Silence: Structural Change and Collective Action in the Fight against Apartheid". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.69.No.2.(2017).p.236–250.

mass gatherings, surrenders for arrest, and the public burning of passbooks. Demonstrations were initially limited to the Johannesburg area but soon spread to Cape Town, Durban, and Port Elizabeth.[223]

Dikgang Moseneke reflects in his book, *My Own Liberator* (2016), on how as a school-going child he saw the morning papers of 22nd March 1960 which carried pictures of corpses lying in a street with the panic-striking headlines 'A massacre in Sharpeville' and 'PAC protestors shot in cold blood'. Moseneke further reflects on how chilling fear and anxiety gripped their class of twelve- and thirteen-year-olds, even as their headmaster asked them to pray for the people of Sharpeville, Langa, and Nyanga. He also notes: 'My parents did not say a word to me about Sharpeville Massacre, yet a pall of pain and mourning came over the otherwise lively and jovial home. Both seemed to soak up the grief in silence … A few weeks went by, and calm seemed to return.'[224]

While a discussion of the commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre outside the borders of South Africa falls outside the scope of this thesis, suffice it to say that in various places overseas, including the city of London in the United Kingdom, acts of memorialisation and commemoration began with spontaneous outpourings of pain, anguish, and fury in the immediate aftermath of the massacre. Hundreds of people attended a meeting hastily convened by the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM). Once news reached large sections of the global community on 22nd March, the day after the shooting, 400 people stood in memorialisation silence outside South Africa House, and for the next six days, demonstrators kept up the protest.[225]

On the 27th, the AAM held a 15,000-man commemorative rally in Trafalgar Square. The group produced distinctive black-and-white memorial badges, thousands of which were sold in and around the square, and called for a one-day strike in solidarity with demonstrators in South Africa.[226] Some demonstrators wore black armbands[227] which, according to Adi Wimmer, have a positive effect on the living beyond their function of honouring the dead, and by which the

[223] K. Hopkins, "Assessing the World's Response to Apartheid: A Historical Account of International Law and its Part in the South African Transformation". *University of Miami International and Comparative Law Review.*Vol.10 Iss.2.(2001).p.247.
[224] D. Moseneke, *My Own Liberator: A Memoir*. Picador Africa. Johannesburg.(2016).p.52.
[225] T.Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*.Oxford University Press.Oxford.(2011).p.237.
[226] C. Gurney, "A Great Cause': The Origins of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, June 1959-March 1960". *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol.26.No.1.(2000).p.143.
[227] A. Lissoni, *The South African liberation movements in exile, c. 1945-1970.*Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of London. London.(2008).p.80.

bereaved draw sustenance and strength from the support of the community.[228] Furthermore, the act of wearing black armbands holds additional power – not merely as a quaint memory or a captivating event in history, but as an active and dynamic part of a collective historical imagination grounded as much in the present as it is in the past.[229]

With the killings at Sharpeville and Langa on the 21st of March 1960, non-violent mass action ceased, as the method was ultimately seen by both the ANC and the PAC as 'demonstrably no longer feasible'.[230] On the 26th, Chief Albert Luthuli, the ANC president, publicly burned his passbook in solidarity with the victims of the Sharpeville-Langa massacre in Pretoria where he was a defendant at the treason trial and encouraged other ANC leaders to do the same.[231]

Luthuli was arrested for his action and sentenced to one year in prison with the option of £100-fine, which was paid by his friends,[232] as he was too ill to go to prison. His sentence was suspended and he returned to house arrest in Groutville, whilst being represented by Nelson Mandela.[233] However, according to Rusty Bernstein, the evidence in court proved that he, in fact, never burned his pass.[234] Other leaders of the ANC, among them Nelson Mandela and Duma Nokwe, burned their passes in a public demonstration witnessed by the press, and they called for everyone else to do the same.[235] It should be pointed out that Robert Sobukwe's instructions were that passes be left at home; yet, according to Samuel Ntepe's eyewitness account, some people burned their passes at the bus terminal at the entrance of Sharpeville on the morning of 21 March 1960.[236]

Samuel Ntepe's recollections are sufficiently precise to be persuasive. He definitely saw Sharpeville residents burning and tearing their passes – in contradiction to what the PAC leadership had instructed the demonstrators to do. Sharpeville residents – among them, Stefans Leppe, the

[228] A. Wimmer, "Why we need black armbands". *Journal of Australian Studies*. Vol.26.No.75.(2002).p.14.
[229] C. Batts, "In good conscience: Andy Flower, Henry Olonga and the death of democracy in Zimbabwe". *Sport in Society*. Vol.13.No.1.(2010).p.45.
[230] D. Davis, & R. Fine, "Political Strategies and the State: Some Historical Observations". *Journal of Southern African Studies.* Vol.12.No.1.(1985).p.28
[231] Nelson Mandela Foundation, *Foundation remembers Sharpeville massacre victims*. 19 March 2010.https://www.nelsonmandela.org/news/entry/foundation-remembers-sharpeville-massacre-victims.(Accessed on the 20.08.2022).
[232] M. Morris, *Every Step of the Way: The Journey to Freedom in South Africa*. Human Sciences Research Council Press.Cape Town.(2004).p.6.
[233] M. Card, A *Better Freedom: Finding Life as Slaves of Christ.* InterVarsity Press.Madison.(2011).p.59.
[234] R. Bernstein, *Memory against forgetting: Memoir of a time in South African politics 1938-1964*. Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(2018).p171.
[235] Ibid.p.171.
[236] Interview with Samuel Ntepe. Sharpeville. (27 August 2021).

PAC local leader – did tear and burn their passes, but not on the 21st of March. During the Wessels Commission hearings, Sergeant Grobler, the police station commander of Sharpeville, told the commission that there were isolated incidents where passes were publicly torn and burnt in the afternoon of the 18th of March.[237]



Figure 2.13. Scene of defiance: demonstrators burning passes (Image by University of Missouri's Center for Digital Globe).

According to Carolyn Nystrom and Mark Noll, the 28th of March 1960 marked the national memorialisation day, as Albert Luthuli had made a call for the day to be collectively observed in honour of the fallen victims of the Sharpeville Massacre. Luthuli expressed the gravity of the massacre during his call to the global community: The guns of Sharpeville echoed across the world,

[237] P.J. Wessels, Report of the Commission appointed to investigate and report on the occurrences in the Districts of Vereeniging (namely at Sharpeville Location and Evaton) and Vanderbijlpark, province of the Transvaal, on 21st March 1960. 30 May 2013.p.45. https://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/9783. (Accessed on the 18.12.2022). Also, see Abraham Spengler testimony, Commission 1227ff; Pienaar testimony on Spengler's 'peculiar position' in the police force and his 'chief occupations', Court 979; Willem Willers testimony, Court 2576-2579; Wynand Wessels testimony, Commission 626-628; Mmotong testimony, Court 1255, 1262, 1297, 1299, 1300-1303; Ntsame testimony, Court 1841-1844, 1848-1849; Julius Pokwane testimony, Court 1745-1747. Ntsame explicitly recalled being ordered to arrest Monyake and Ntoampe, testimony, Court, 18481849. Willers and Wessels and Muller, like their boss Spengler, would always deny that they had ever ordered anyone arrested; those identified as leaders would only be caught or seized ('gevang'). Sometimes though they would slip and acknowledge the use of to arrest ('gearresteer'). There was some confusion between the witnesses as to who was arrested first, but Monyake was processed first at the charge office and thereafter became accused #1 in the subsequent trial of Sharpeville residents.

and nowhere except among totalitarians was there any doubt of the true nature of what had occurred.[238]

On behalf of the ANC, Luthuli on 28th March called on South Africans to respond to the Sharpeville-Langa Massacre with a stay-at-home day of collective memorialisation and mourning.[239] His call for collective memorialisation was supported by about 90 percent of residents of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, and Port Elizabeth.[240] Avril Maddrell posits that grief may be shared and even generate or reinforce a sense of the collective, as evidenced by a community's response to disaster and tragedy,[241] such as the Sharpeville Massacre. Rob Lambert argues that Africans, particularly the working class across the country, extended the one-day mourning and called for a prolonged strike, mass marches and rioting which became the peak of resistance that was not to occur again until the 16th June 1976 Soweto students' uprising.[242]

According to Jacob Manenzhe, the call by Albert Luthuli for a day of national memorialisation served to prove that the ANC, though not custodians of the 21st March campaign, succeeded in using the incident as a political platform for mobilising sympathisers for their political gain.[243] On this day, police teargassed and baton-charged the gathering at the Grand Parade in Cape Town. On this day (28 March 1960), over 50,000 people, constituting 90% of Africans in Cape Town and its vicinity,[244] attended the funerary memorialisation process of those killed in Langa. Here, unlike in Sharpeville, coffins of the three slain demonstrators were borne high on the shoulders of a phalanx of silent, grim-faced Africans.[245] The speakers emphasised that Africans bore no hatred towards other races but wished to be treated as equals.[246]

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[238] M.A. Noll, & C. Nystrom, *Clouds of Witnesses: Christian Voices from Africa and Asia*. InterVarsity Press. Madison.(2011).p.59.
[239] Ibid.p.59.
[240] P. Maylam, "*A tragic turning point: Remembering Sharpeville fifty years on"*. Talk given at the Faculty of Humanities, Rhodes University, 23 March 2010 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre.(2010).p.5.
[241] A. Maddrell, "Mapping grief: A conceptual framework for understanding the spatial dimensions of bereavement, mourning, and remembrance". *Social & Cultural Geography*. Vol.17.No.2.(2016).p.173.
[242] R. Lambert, "Black Resistance in South Africa, 1950-1961: An Assessment of the Political Strike Campaigns". Collected Seminar Papers. *Institute of Commonwealth Studies*. Vol.26.(1981).p.117.
[243] J. Manenzhe, "The politicisation of funerals in South Africa during the 20th century (1900–1994)".Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Pretoria. Pretoria.(2007).p.29.
[244] R. Vigne, "The autobiography of struggle". *Journal of Contemporary African Studies.* Vol.14.No.2.*(*1966).p.269.
[245] R.Rive, *Emergency. A novel*. David Philip Publishers.Cape Town.(1993).p.18.
[246] Y. Muthien, *The making of modern: Site and resistance in South Africa: 1939-1965*. Ashgate Publishing Company. Farnham.(1994).p.156.

On 29th March, police authorities forced residents who were mainly across the Cape to go back to work. The White community panicked, gun shops sold out their stock within a day, and embassies were inundated with inquiries about emigration. From 21st March to 19th April, African policemen were killed, and from 1961 to 1962 there were sporadic unrests in the Transkei, Sekhukhuniland, Cape Town, Warmbaths, Port Elizabeth, and other parts of the northern Transvaal, and Zululand.[247] According to Ambrose Reeves, during this period over 2,000 Africans were detained across the country, with seventy-seven of them being Sharpeville residents.[248]

On 30th March 1960, nine days after the massacre, the first funerary rites, including burial, took place in Sharpeville, followed by a second one on the 2nd of April. According to Jessica Auchter, these rites are mechanisms of the memorialisation process.[249] Interestingly, during the second funerary memorialisation process, the Vereeniging Town Council brought coffins to an open field near Sediba Primary School in the centre of the township. As discussed further in chapter three, thirteen years later on 21st March 1973, this school would serve as the host of the first-ever commemoration held in Sharpeville by the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) family of organisations.[250]

[247] C. Nicholson, Nothing really gets better: Reflections on the twenty-five years between Sharpeville and Uitenhage. *Human Rights Quarterly*. Vol.8.No.3.(1985).p.512.

[248] A. Reeves, Sharpeville Massacre - A watershed in South Africa. http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/sharpeville-massacre-watershed-south-africa-reverend-ambrose-reeves. (Accessed on the 25.03.2022).

[249] J. Auchter, "Burial, Reburial, and the Securing of Memory". *Interdisciplinary Political Studies*. Vol.6.No.1.(2020).p.114.

[250] N. Motsau, Lest we forget: "Blackman what is your epitaph? Blackman where is your cenotaph?". *Sedibeng Ster*.15 March.2018.https://sedibengster.com/13866/lest-we-forget/.(Accessed on the 25.03.2022).



Figure 2.14. An open field where coffins were brought for funerary rites. The school nearby is Sediba primary school, where Nyakane Tsolo attended his elementary and primary classes and where the first commemoration was held in 1973. (Image by Terence Spencer/Popperfoto via Getty Images).

Ann Ciola argues that it was the first mass funeral staged by the resistance movements in South Africa to memorialise and commemorate the victims of the 21st March 1960 anti-pass demonstrations.[251] During both funerary memorialisation, the apartheid regime through the Vereeniging Town Council took over the process as a means of pursuing its own stories and legitimising its actions. The regime took over the management of the dead bodies as a means of securing itself and its identity. Although Diana Kontsevaia argues that mass killings are a rare and deeply disturbing phenomena, however, her assertion cannot be applied to the South African context, as massacres were a common experience under the colonial apartheid regime. Communities do not deal with mass deaths by following normal mortuary memorialisation rituals. Kontsevaia further argues that in cases of natural deaths, memorialisation practices facilitate collective memory but also aid collective forgetting as the dead become de-individualised. However, in cases such as massacres or mass killings, commemorative practices often spur memory-making instead of forgetting.[252]

[251] A.M. Ciola, "Identity, and community solidarity: Counter-spectacle, power, and resistance in the mass funeral of the "Gugulethu seven, March 15, 1986". Unpublished doctoral thesis. State University of New York. Binghamton.(2006).p.144.

[252] D.B. Kontsevaia, "Mass Graves and the Politics of Reconciliation: Construction of Memorial Sites after the Srebrenica Massacre". *The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology.* Vol.21.No.1.(2013).p.15-17.

Jessica Auchter contends that, on the other hand, after a traumatic event or crisis (such as political violence) that poses a challenge to ontological security, the state often steps in to manage trauma via the mechanism of memorialisation, primarily because of the threat posed to social cohesion, and that political elites often seek to impose order as a way of dealing with trauma.[253] More than 5,000 people were at the cemetery on that day. Peter Magubane managed to capture the coffins of the victims, which were surrounded by mourners. As Enwezor notes, "The events of that day produced the picture of the funeral as one of the central iconographic emblems of the anti-apartheid struggle". Images of Sharpeville were circulated across the world and the outrage they incited contributed to the formation of the transnational anti-apartheid movement and galvanised resistance against the brutality of the apartheid state which was to continue for the next thirty years.[254]

According to Philip Frankel and Tom Lodge, the authorities ordered the funerary memorialisation rites and rituals to be performed by only religious leaders, who were to also preside over the committal and burial. No political harangues or invocations were allowed due to the deep-seated fear on the part of the apartheid regime that the dignity of the mourners would be again manipulated for malicious purposes by both the PAC and the ANC.[255] The media was also prevented from covering the burial rites, with roadblocks mounted at the main entrances to the township. According to Tom Lodge, there was, however, a British television crew that managed to film the funerary memorialisation process even though the government did not want any public record of it. As mentioned earlier, no political speeches were allowed, except for a lonely PAC banner held up at the graveside. No PAC banner was to be seen hoisted freely within the country until the early 1990s due to the passing of the Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960 that banned liberation movements, including the PAC and the ANC.[256]

[253] Ibid.p.117.

[254] Kylie Thomas, "History of Photography in Apartheid South Africa". *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*.(2021).p.10-12.

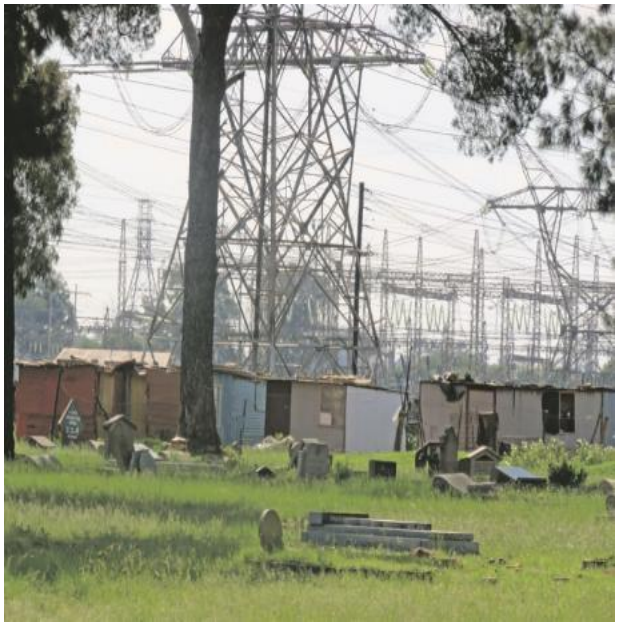
[254] M.D. Mendisi, "Political songs". Unpublished master's dissertation. Rand Afrikaans University. Johannesburg.(1988).p.11.

[255] See, T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.109. & P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity*: *Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.164-167.

[256] L. Mashike, "You are a time bomb…Ex-combatants in post-conflict South Africa". *Society in Transition*.Vol.35. No.1.(2004).p.89.

Only fifty-six people were buried as the Vereeniging Town Council refused the burial of victims without permits. Some of the recent migrants returned to their place of origin in rural areas.[257] Thabang Molibedi writes that among the 69 killed on that day, six of the victims were visitors to the Ncala family and were buried in Kestell in the Free State.[258] Phillip Frankel also observes that the reality of poverty among the Sharpeville residents was exposed during this funerary memorialisation process as only eleven of the deceased enjoyed commemorative tombstones, while the rest were buried in unmarked graves. Frankel further observes that there were twenty-one tombstones whose names did not correspond with the Vereeniging Town Council death register.[259]

According to Thami ka Plaatjie, some of the victims of the massacre, who either did not have residence permits or died later or far from the killing scene, were buried privately and anonymously by their own relatives at Hlala Kwabafileyo (meaning "stay among the dead") on the outskirts of Sharpeville.[260]





Figures 2.15. & 2.16. *Hlala kwabafileyo* means "to live with the dead". The graves are surrounded by shacks, and some people have built their dwellings on top of them. (Images by Zamokuhle Mdluli).

This landscape remains to this day a non-memorialized site. Frankel further observed that the Vereeniging Town Council death register only dealt with the immediate casualties and did not take

[257] P.Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity*: *Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.151.
[258] T. Molibeli, *Sharpeville: Echoes of my past. History compilation.* Sharpeville.(2000).p.3
[259] Ibid.p.151.
[260] Interview with Thami ka Plaatjie. Johannesburg. 17 September.2022.

into account those who perished as a result of the shootings in the succeeding days, weeks, or even months.[261] The police and soldiers cordoned off the entire cemetery, which was a memorial site with barbed wire, armoured cars, and an "Iron Curtain" of guns.[262]

To avoid police detection, Jürgen Schadeberg chartered a plane to photograph the mass funeral, taking images of mourners watching as flatbed trucks carried the coffins of the victims across a field in the Phelindaba Cemetery.[263] When asked the reason why he decided to take the pictures from a plane, he said that it was the only way "you can see all the graves, the holes in the ground, so you could appreciate the high number of people that had died in this tragic incident".[264] The images of the funeral proceedings were taken by Peter Magubane, a *Drum Magazine* photographer. Reflecting on the memorialisation process, Tim Knights writes:

> The picture haunts me to this day. A line of open graves cut out of the red clay stretches as far as I can see. Next to each grave lies an identical wooden coffin. An enormous crowd of black mourners weeps sings hymns and chants black power slogans.[265]

Peter Magubane, on the other hand, recalls how he took iconic photos that ended up exposing the ruthlessness of the apartheid system. He recalls:

> When they arrested Sobukwe, I made my way to Sharpeville. I got to Sharpeville 10 minutes or so after the shootings. I had never seen so many dead people, I was totally shocked. Never in my life had I seen such a sight. For a few moments I stood still, I could not move. When I started moving, I took pictures with a wide-angle camera lens from a distance and no close-ups. It was harsh and horrifying, what I saw and witnessed that day. This was an innocent protest. The police just opened fire. They killed and injured so many people. It's a very hard day to remember for me, and one of the biggest lessons I learned in the art of conflict photography.[266]

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[261] P.Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity*: *Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.151.
[262] Ibid.p.151.
[263] K. Thomas, 'Jürgen Schadeberg: Chronicler of life across apartheid's divides', *The Conversation*. 01 September.2020. https://theconversation.com/jurgen-schadeberg-chronicler-of-life-across-apartheids-divides-145390. (Accessed on the 23.12.2022).
[264] I.E.C.Esteso, "Jürgen Schadeberg's work during the fifties and sixties and his teaching role in Drum". Unpublished Bachelor of Arts dissertation. Oulu University of Applied Sciences. Oulu.(2015).p.31.
[265] T. Knight, "Sharpeville 1960: A Journalist Remembers". *The Journalist.*18. March 2015. http://www.thejournalist.org.za/spotlight/sharpeville-1960-a-journalist-remembers/.*(*Accessed on the 26.03.2022).
[266] S. Cooper, SA Human Rights Day: It is time to resurrect the idea of the Patriotic Front. *Independent Online.* 20 March 2022. https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/opinion/sa-human-rights-day-it-is-time-to-resurrect-the-idea-of-the-patriotic-front-4ee5c9d8-c4fd-44f8-969e-7886874a9c1f. (Accessed on the 23.03.2022).

Also on this day (30th March 1960), the apartheid regime declared a state of emergency, thereby granting itself wide-ranging powers to quell dissent.[267] On this day alone, police arrested over 2,000 people countrywide. On the 31st of August, the state of emergency was lifted yet 10,500 people remained in police custody.[268] By 2nd April, both Sharpeville and Langa townships were under police siege. It took the police four days of continuous brutality to halt the strike. They used sticks, batons, guns, and Saracens' armoured cars to comb the townships and force the men back to work.[269] From 11th April to 16th June 1960, the Wessels Commission was in session to investigate and report on the occurrences in the districts of Vereeniging (namely Sharpeville Location and Evaton) and Vanderbijlpark, Province of the Transvaal, on 21st March 1960.[270] According to Brian Martin, the commission whitewashed the massacre, as Sharpeville residents who testified were pressurised through police intimidation. Likewise, some residents were unwilling to appear before the commission for fear of reprisals.

There were also efforts by the Vereeniging Town Council and the government by extension, to ensure that the memory of Sharpeville disappeared as quickly as possible. Firstly, in the short term, it reinforced the propaganda that the Sharpeville residents were not innocent victims or survivors with whom the world had begun to identify. Secondly, there had been a plan in the long term to wipe Sharpeville off the political map by eliminating it physically.[271] Within weeks, the Vereeniging Town Council made arrangements for the elimination of Sharpeville and the re-distribution of its residents to a newly established area called Sebokeng, which had originally been designed as a site for this relocation before the massacre. Matthew Chaskalson notes that in subsequent meetings the subject of the shootings was avoided completely.[272]

[267] R.L. Brown, "A Native of Nowhere: The Life of South African Journalist Nat Nakasa, 1937-1965". *Kronos.* Vol.37.(2011).p.46.

[268] H. Summers, Black South Africans resist pass laws and mount general strike Sharpeville Massacre 1960. *The Global Nonviolent Action Database.* 29.04.2013. https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/black-south-africans-resist-pass-laws-and-mount-general-strike-sharpeville-massacre-1960. (Accessed on the 26.02.2022).

[269] N. Van Driel, "The journey to Wankie: A biography of James April".Unpublished honours dissertation. University of the Western Cape. Cape Town.(1990).p.20.

[270] C.A. Lester, "Truth in the Time of Tumult: Tracing the Role of Official 'Truth-seeking' Commissions of Inquiry in South Africa, from Sharpeville to Marikana". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Cape Town. Cape Town.(2016).p.56.

[271] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity*: *Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.201.

[272] M. Chaskalson, *The Road to Sharpeville*. African Studies Seminar Paper. University of Witwatersrand.(1986).p.31



Figure 2.17. Mass burial service of 34 victims of the Sharpeville massacre attended by more than five thousand mourners. The identical coffins are laid out in a long row, except one which is painted white and is carrying the body of a child. The funeral is conducted by Reverend. Z.M. Voyi of the Anglican Church in whose church the Sharpeville PAC branch was launched (Image by Baileys African History archive-icp).

According to Philip Frankel, Sebokeng was a new township that the people of Sharpeville were to be taken to and hopefully forgotten.[273] The complete destruction of Sharpeville did not materialise due to the widespread condemnation which greeted the policy across the political spectrum, as well as the associated financial costs. The Vereeniging Town Council further attempted to obliterate the public visibility of the massacre by Africanising Sharpeville, suggesting name changes such as *'Skoti Phola'* which garnered some support; however, the majority of people continued to refer to the area as Sharpeville.[274] However, there were some residents who moved to Sebokeng Zones 11 and 13, particularly those who were on the waiting list for houses, as well as young couples. These residents, interestingly, went along with their identity as the area where most of them resided in Sebokeng is commonly known as *'Sharpeville Line'*.

[273] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.202.
[274] Ibid.p.202.

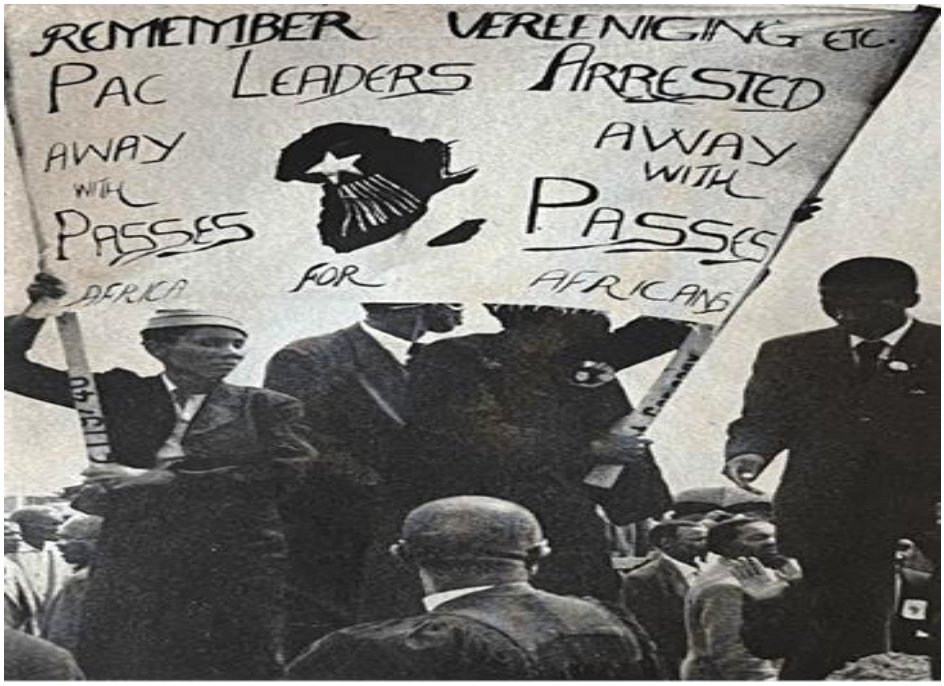

Figure 2.18. The lonesome PAC flag at the burial of the Sharpeville Massacre victims on the 30th March 1960.[275] (Image by Peter Magubane).

Following the shooting, Ian Jeffrey notes that 'there were some people who were going to the graveyard to clean the graves'.[276] This notion of 'visitation' encompasses venerated places such as graves and it indicates that there were ongoing rituals (prayers and supplications to the dead, and intercession on behalf of oneself or others) performed by relatives or descendants of the victims as part of the perpetual mourning of the loss of loved ones. According to Halbwachs, social memories can be perpetuated only when people operate as part of a group, such as family members,[277] and Jay Winter maintains that these groups are often very small, and in their actions as social agents of remembrance, they can create memories which connect the personal to the social: for example, the individual with the nation.[278]

[275] The PAC flag was last hoisted open during this funerary rite which was memorialisation in its own right. It was however hoisted once again after thirty years in 1990 after the unbanning of liberation movements redesigned but retained its DNA.

[276] I. Jeffrey, "Cultural trends and community formation in a South African township: Sharpeville, 1943-1985". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(1991).p.179.

[277] M. Halbwachs, *On collective memory*. University of Chicago Press.Chicago.(1992).In Winter. C, "Commemoration of the Great War on the Somme: Exploring personal connections". *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*. (2012).Vol.10.No.3.p.250.

[278] J. Winter, *Remembering war: The Great War between memory and history in the Twentieth century*. Yale University Press. New Haven. (2006). In Winter. C, Commemoration of the Great War on the Somme: Exploring personal connections. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*. Vol.10.No.3.(2012).p.250.

In this way, family history collides with national history. On the other hand, Ondrej Beranek and Pavel Tupek observe that gravesites are occasioned by personal life crises, and a person observing them typically asks the deceased person for intercession with God on their behalf.[279] Connor Graham, Michael Arnold, Tamara Kohn, and Martin Gibbs argue that for centuries, gravesites and sites of atrocities have been utilised for memorialisation,[280] and the memorialisation of deceased ones seems to be an integral part of human nature that can be traced back to the dawn of civilisation.[281]

In February 1961, the PAC announced plans to stage a commemorative demonstration on 21st March. Brochures were widely distributed in Langa and Nyanga townships in Cape Town. Residents were told to stock up on food and prepare themselves for the action on the 21st of March. In Johannesburg and Vereeniging, stickers appeared everywhere, calling upon Africans to observe the first anniversary of the Sharpeville-Langa shootings as the day of struggle.[282] According to Nelson Mandela, the PAC's call for the first-anniversary observance of the Sharpeville Massacre failed long before the much-heralded day.

On the 21st of March 1961, there was not a single person who responded, whether in Vereeniging, Cape Town, or Johannesburg. Its failure was not even newsworthy enough to be reported on by the local or international press. Mandela noted that, following the massacre, Africans within the country treated the PAC with utter contempt.[283] However, contrary to Mandela's assertion, Matthew Nkoana argues that the Sharpeville events raised the level of political consciousness to an all-time high. In the immediate post-Sharpeville years, the PAC grew by leaps and bounds, and revolutionary tension became razor-sharp by 1963 – the year of the deadline for a showdown.[284]

It is worth stating that during this decade, a year after the Sharpeville killings, South Africa declared itself a republic after a Whites-only referendum, and on the 15th of March 1961, a few days before the first anniversary of the massacre, withdrew its application for South Africa's

[279] O. Beranek, & P. Tupek, "From Visiting Graves to Their Destruction: The Question of Ziyara through the Eyes of Salafis. *Crown Center for Middle East Studies*." Crown Paper 1.(2009).p.8.
[280] C. Graham, M. Arnold, T. Kohn & M. Gibbs, Gravesites and websites: A comparison of memorialisation. *Visual Studies*. Vol.30.No.1.(2015).p.37.
[281] K. Veale, "Online memorialisation: The web as a collective memorial landscape for remembering the dead". *The Fibreculture Journal*.Iss.3.(2004).p.1.
[282] African National Congress, General Strike - Statement By Nelson Mandela On Behalf Of The National Action Council Following The Stay-At-Home In May 1961. 3 June 1961.https://www.anc1912.org.za/all-in-african-conference-general-strike/. (Accessed on the 17.03.2022).
[283] Ibid.
[284] M. Nkoana, "The advent of revolution". *The New African*. Vol.7.No.1.(1968).p.35.

continued membership of the Commonwealth of Nations.[285] According to Eleanor Janet Bron-Swart, these developments were all shaped by the preceding Sharpeville massacre of 1960.[286] According to Sibeko, since 1961, the days leading up to the anniversary of the massacre and following it have been characterised by heavy police surveillance in the Vaal Triangle and Sharpeville. These areas are usually ringed off by heavily armed police, with aircraft hovering over the township itself. Anyone entering or leaving the township was required to show an official date permit.[287]

On the 21st of March 1962, the second commemorative meeting was held in Langa-Cape Town. A policeman was killed, and five others were injured, with some escaping as their vehicle was set ablaze. The incident happened as the police attempted to disrupt the 2nd anniversary of the Sharpeville-Langa massacre.[288] However, scholars such as Ian Jeffry observe that by 1962, while Sharpeville Day was being commemorated elsewhere, Sharpeville itself remained quiet.[289] On the 19th of March 1962, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the Natal Indian Congress, and the Congress of Democrats circulated an invitation to the Durban community regarding the Sharpeville commemoration meeting to be held at 95 Price Edward Street, behind the Methodist Church. These organisations pleaded with the community to attend in their thousands, to pay tribute to the Sharpeville martyrs, to demand an end to pass laws, and to fight for a better South Africa. The contents of the invitation read: 21st March 1960 was tragic in the history of our struggle because on this day 69 demonstrators were brutally killed by police bullets whilst demonstrating against the hated pass system. This must not happen again.[290]

The proposed commemoration never materialised. A commemorative meeting was instead held at the Young Men's Christian Association hall as the Durban magistrate had banned open-space gatherings under the Riotous Assembly Act.[291] There were, however, political slogans like

[285] For more on departure of South Africa from the British Commonwealth of Nations, see F. Hayes, "South Africa's departure from the Commonwealth, 1960-1961". *The International History Review*. Vol.2.No.3.(1980).p.453-484.
[286] E.J. Bron-Swart, 'With divided mind and unsure steps': South Africa from referendum to republic, August 1960–May 196". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Free State. Bloemfontein.(2021).p.2.
[287] D.M. Sibeko, *The Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960: Its historic significance in the struggle against apartheid*. United Nations.New York.(1976).p.1.
[288] H. Muriel, *A survey of race relations in South Africa*. South African Institute of Race Relations. Johannesburg.(1962).p.14.
[289] I. Jeffrey, "Cultural trends and community formation in a South African township: Sharpeville, 1943-1985". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(1991).p.179.
[290] National Archives of South Africa, *Sharpeville commemoration. March 21st, 1962.* SAP.15.12/62.5/26/62.
[291] Staff Reporter, In memory of Sharpeville. *Rand Daily Mail.*22 March 1962.

'Apartheid Caused Sharpeville', 'Nat's Arm for Sharpeville', and 'Sharpeville: Shame of South Africa' painted in black on all the railway bridges in Central Johannesburg.[292] Even though the 1960s is regarded as a decade characterised by substantial fear and little active resistance, underneath the surface of what appeared to be a silencing of the opposition, discussions for future resistance were taking place in the universities.[293] At the University of Witwatersrand, for instance, the commemorative exhibition – entitled 'Ban-the Bomb Campaign' and showing scenes of the Sharpeville-Langa Massacre and the Cato Manor riots – by the newly formed Human Rights Society, an affiliate of, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) was removed by university authorities on the grounds that it was 'objectionable and offensive'.[294]

According to Clare McKay, executive members of NUSAS were often also members of their SRC structures which had evolved into vast administrative machines within universities where NUSAS had a strong presence.[295] Its leaders during this decade included Ernie Wentzel, who was detained when the apartheid government launched a clampdown between 1960 and 1964.[296] Other leaders were Ian Robinson who was banned by the apartheid government in 1966 under the Suppression of Communism Act. This followed NUSAS's invitation of Senator Robert Kennedy to South Africa to deliver a lecture on freedom.[297] In his address as the president of NUSAS in 1968, John Daniel clarified the relationship between NUSAS and the Human Rights Society, telling his audience that although the Human Rights Society was a nationwide body just as NUSAS was a national students union, the society was nevertheless an integral part of NUSAS.[298]

In 1963, just like the two previous years, the Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark police patrolled the area continuously for 26 hours and set up roadblocks at the entrances. During this year, despite police reports that there would be an outbreak of violence in the Vereeniging area on the third anniversary of the massacre, the township of Sharpeville was quiet throughout the day.[299] In this

[292] Own Correspondence, Slogans on bridges. *Rand Daily Mail*.21 March 1962.
[293] M. Nantege, "Students' right to demonstrate at South African universities". Unpublished master's dissertation.University of Pretoria.Pretoria.(2019).p.20.
[294] Staff Reporter, Wits bans bomb pictures. *Rand Daily Mail*.31 March 1962.
[295] C. McKay, "A history of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), 1956-1970". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of South Africa.Pretoria.(2015).p.410.
[296] Nusas, 57 years of Nusas- Have we learned our lessons? Report.p.2. https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/cnf19811100.026.022.000.pdf. (Accessed on the 22.05.2023).
[297] P. Vale. "John Daniel (1944–2014)—His Life and Politics". *Politikon*.Vol.41.No.3.(2014).p.486.
[298] J. Daniel, Address by the then president of the national union, John Daniel in early 1963 on the role and future of NUSAS.p.9. https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/spe19680500.026.022.000.pdf. (Accessed on the 12.07.2023).
[299] Staff Reporter, All is quiet on the anniversary. *Rand Daily Mail*.22 March 1963.

year, 23 PAC leaders from the Western Cape, Eastern Cape Natal, Zululand, and the Reef left for Maseru, together with the women's branch of the BCP, to commemorate the third anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. The event had in attendance about 500 people.[300]

The *Radical Review* of 1964 reported:

> Future historians may record that in 1964 there was no commemoration of Sharpeville in the Republic - the nearest was in Francistown, Bechuanaland, among PAC and other refugees in transit. The best historians may note that fear and repression were the reasons, not faithlessness with the Sharpeville dead… When it is over, Sharpeville will be commemorated again, not only for those who died and were maimed but as the beginning of the road to a new South Africa based on non-racial democratic freedom. The time of writing will be regretted, if remembered, as the base of the trough, the time that Sharpeville was not commemorated.[301]

A *Rand Mail* reporter visited Sharpeville on the 21st of March 1964. During this visit, the reporter observed that, while commemorations were in full swing in overseas places such as London, there were no such activities marking the fifth anniversary of the massacre in Sharpeville. Due to repressive measures by the apartheid government of this period, and the surveillance of Sharpeville by the police, demonstrations could not hold. Malitha Tsolo recalls the constant police surveillance after the massacre:

> …This house was in constant surveillance by the police within the township and in my house specifically. There was a policeman who resides next to my house and every time the police will come and harass my husband and me in the middle of the night. They will be coming in search everywhere in this house and asked us where Nyakane is. We told them that we don't know, and they would say we will know where he is. They at times pointed guns at ours and asked us about Nyakane's whereabouts….[302]

The 21st of March fell on a Sunday in 1964; as a result, local churches were filled with congregants as churches provided a cushion to the community for the trauma they experienced a few years ago. However, no mention of the massacre was made during the sermons. Peter Parker and Joyce Mokhesi-Parker note that memorial services for the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre were from 1961 to 1963 held by Father Rudolph O'Flynn, a fearless Catholic until he was deported for the same reason. His successors were, however, pliant, reckoning that it was better to be present and

[300] Ibid.
[301] Editorial, The time they forgot Sharpeville. *The New African.*03 April 1964
[302] Interview with Tsoana Nhlapo.Sharpeville.18 March 2019.

cowed than to fight for justice and risk deportation.[303] Parker and Mokhesi-Parker further maintain that following Father O'Flynn's extradition, no other priest has had the courage to do more than remember the Sharpeville Massacre in a general church service.[304]

There were, however, signs of memorialisation by family members on this day, as wreaths and pebbles were laid on the graves at the Phelindaba Cemetery where the victims are buried.[305] The 5th-year anniversary was also marked by the emergence of different forms of remembering and forgetting in the context of how residents had dealt with the past few years since the massacre. Speaking from a position of victimhood, defeat, and despair, Samuel Kodisang, a Sharpeville resident and former Orange-Vaal Administration Board councillor, in an interview with the *Rand Daily Mail* of 22nd March, stated:

> The plain fact is that the people of Sharpeville want to forget that terrible incident in its history. They want to forget because no good purpose will be served by dwelling on the past. We are not and do not wish to be associated with the people in London who are reported will take wreaths to South Africa House. We, the people who suffered will have nothing to do with the [commemorations] demonstrations. We want to forget the unhappy past and build for the future.[306]

Responding to Kodisang's statement, Maketo writes:

> I am sure it is the moral right of a nation to remember its heroes and all incidents which have drawn the attention of the world. We have days of the covenant, formerly "Dingaan's Day". This happened long ago and yet nothing has made the Afrikaner forget this day. We are certain that the people of London are doing the right thing to keep reminding the world of Sharpeville, an unhappy tragedy that happened to us in a country that is supposed to be democratic, western, and civilised.[307]

Therefore, I advance Kodisang's argument regarding how the residents of Sharpeville felt at that time about commemorative gatherings. This is what Friedrich Nietzsche terms 'active forgetting', which has nothing to do with memories fading away but is a positive and active force, a capacity that an individual needs to live healthily, and happily and create a new future. According to Nietzsche, active forgetting enables selective remembering; it defuses and neutralises past

[303] P. Parker, & J. Mokhesi-Parker, *In the Shadow of Sharpeville: Apartheid and Criminal Justice*. New York University Press. Washington Square. New York.(1998).p.26.
[304] Ibid.p.26.
[305] Staff Reporter, *The Star*. 20 March 1965.
[306] Staff Reporter, Sharpeville - the town that wants to forget. *Rand Daily Mail*.22 March 1965.
[307] R. Maketo, We should remember. *Rand Daily Mail*.20 April 1965.

experiences that are not beneficial to present and future life. Nietzsche argues that it is possible to live almost without memory; however, it is altogether impossible to live without forgetting.[308]

At the University of Witwatersrand, the Human Rights Society clashed with the university authorities over the inclusion of pictures of the Sharpeville massacre in the commemorative exhibition on the campus that opened on the 22nd of March. The authorities ordered the society to remove the pictures because they were considered 'objectionable and offensive'; however, the society refused as they had negotiated with the SRC, and permission had been granted to stage the exhibition.[309] The *Rand Daily* of 25th March 1965 reported that the university authorities inspected the exhibition on the 22nd of March and found the Sharpeville pictures to be 'morbid and distasteful'. On the 23rd, the Sharpeville pictures were removed by the university authorities – a move the society was not displeased about because, for them, it was a victory in their struggle against censorship.[310]

In 1968, the University of Witwatersrand's Human Rights Society once again marked the eighth anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre with an exhibition. A rowdy scene erupted as some conservative SRC members wanted the pictures removed from the display. They took down a banner that read: 'Remember Sharpeville'.[311] The following day, the Sharpeville photos were back on display, alongside a counter-exhibition of whites killed and wounded in the early Congo revolution. These conservative students group accused the Human Rights Society of 'totalitarian liberalism'.

According to Larry Portis, totalitarian liberalism is a doctrine of social and political consensus that expounds the idea of an open society and pluralism in such a way that absurdly, critical thought is regarded as dissident and fearful,[312] had discredited the university image. [313] At a special meeting aimed at discussing the incident, the university confirmed that the University Council supported the

[308] F. Nietzsche, *Untimely meditations.* Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.(1997).In Aydin. C, "How to Forget the Unforgettable? On Collective Trauma, Cultural Identity, and Mnemotechnologies". *Identity.* Vol.17.No.3.(2017).p.125.
[309] Staff Reporter, Exhibition will show 'outlawed pictures'. *Rand Daily Mail.*22 March 1965.
[310] Staff Reporter, Outlawed pictures removed from Wits. *Rand Daily Mail*.25 March 1965.
[311] Political Reporter, Sharpeville photos spark student row. *Rand Daily Mail*.22 March 1968.
[312] L. Portis, "On the rise and decline of totalitarian liberalism". *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*.Vol.12. No.3.(1988).p.20.
[313] Political Reporter, Sharpeville pictures: All quiet. *Rand Daily Mail*. 23 March 1968.

removal of the Sharpeville exhibition and that the students who removed the exhibition had acted 'in the best interest of the university'. [314]

In 1968, Steve Biko propounded the philosophy of Black Consciousness (BC). It created among blacks a new awareness of the need to break away from the coalition with white liberals. In advocating that the Sharpeville Massacre should be recalled for the present-day youth so that the story would not be forgotten, Sam Moodley writes that the Black Consciousness Movement in 1969 began to popularise the annual commemoration of the Sharpeville uprising as Heroes Day.[315] The year 1969 marked the release of Robert Sobukwe from prison and his banishment to Kimberley.[316] In 1969, African students who were members of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the University Christian Movement (UCM) established the South African Student Organisation (SASO) at the University of the North in Turfloop.

As the subsequent chapters demonstrate, SASO had brushes with the South African police after declaring 21st March 'Liberation Day' and commemorating the Sharpeville Massacre in the 1970s.[317] Right from its inception, SASO mobilised both students and non-students through its publications circulated on campuses and elsewhere. Besides mass meetings, the group held demonstrations and protest marches on campuses and in the townships, often hosted jointly with the Black People Convention (BPC). They made it a priority to organise symbolic commemorations of significant events such as the Sharpeville Massacre.[318] The BPC further urged NUSAS to abandon its opportunistic, publicity-seeking protests and to develop a long-term programme that would include observances of nationally significant events such as the Sharpeville Massacre, which through the provision of informative literature, would serve to politically educate students.[319]

[314] Staff Reporter, Student acted for the best. *Rand Daily Mail*. 25 March 1968.
[315] S. Moodley, Saluting fallen heroes: Those who died at Sharpeville deserve to be remembered. *Sunday Tribune*. 21 March 2010.
[316] N.L.Ramoupi, "Between Mandela and his LLB Degree was Racism and Apartheid at Wits University". *The Thinker*. Vol.68.(2016).p.76.
[317] S. Badat, *Black Student Politics, Higher Education and Apartheid: From SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990*. Routledge Falmer. New York & London.(1999).p.131.
[318] Ibid.p.131.
[319] C.E.A. Mckay, "A history of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), 1956-1970". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of South Africa.Pretoria.(2015).p.445.

2.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter examined observances of the Sharpeville Massacre from 1960 to 1969 and the formation of the Black Consciousness Movement. As part of the background to the study on the memorialisation and commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre, it discussed the establishment of Sharpeville township in 1942, some 18 years before the killings took place. It highlighted that the majority of the Sharpeville residents who witnessed the 21 March Sharpeville uprising were from Top Location within the vicinity of Vereeniging. Top Location was a vibrant, multiracial but typically informal settlement on the outskirts of Vereeniging. The chapter highlighted that the acceleration of the establishment of Sharpeville was first due to the 1937 Vereeniging riots that left two police officers dead. Secondly, the public health scare in Top Location, following the high mortality rate among children due to malnutrition, pneumonia and tuberculosis caused by poor hygiene among residents and other environmental health hazards, motivated the establishment of the new township and the eradication of the old location.

The chapter observed that Sharpeville was established largely as a dormitory residential area, twelve kilometres away from the Vereeniging Central Business District with a vast zone of uninhabited land separating the white residential area and the Black township of Sharpeville. As a model township, Sharpeville was established as a racial construct inspired by the apartheid regime's segregationist policy mandated under the Group Areas Act of 1950 which specified where racial groups were allowed to live in urban areas. The chapter further discussed the fluidity of the name 'Sharpeville' as a physical place, a memory space and a historical event. The township was formally named Vereeniging City Council African Township. The name Sharpeville referred to the post office nearby, as well as to the 21 March 1960 killing. It was chosen by the news agencies reporting the killings that became known as the 21st March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre.

In terms of its layout, the chapter described Sharpeville as a series of homogenous houses whose similar forms and shapes became pervasive across the township's landscape. It was planned in a way that made it easy for the police to carry out patrols quickly and effectively, hence post-massacre, the police easily barricaded all entrances and raided the purported instigators of the demonstration. The chapter also discussed the Leeuwkuil Pan which is part of the topography of Sharpeville known to Sharpeville residents as Dlomo Dam. It reflected on the belief among some

residents that this dam collected the blood that got washed by the rain after the shootings, which came as the only divine source of comfort to them following the massacre.

The chapter also discussed the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe when the massacre took place. It explored the vibrant and energetic leadership of Nyakane Tsolo which contributed immensely to the positive reception of the Sharpeville residents to the PAC's call. It briefly discussed how PAC members in Sharpeville prepared themselves for that day and highlighted the events of the day and how the mood of the residents changed from conviviality to anguish when the police opened fire on them. It demonstrated how this incident marked a turning point in the contemporary history of South Africa, marked by the adoption of the armed struggle which lasted for three decades.

In terms of the memorialisation process, the chapter demonstrated that the authorities took over the process by denying relatives and next of kin the right to conduct funerary rites as per their own customs and traditions. However, some other forms of the memorialisation process, such as grave visitations and ceremonies dedicated to the dead, continued to take place at the family level – in what can be described as individual, as opposed to collective, memorialisation. In terms of commemorating this gruesome event, the chapter highlighted that the fall-out from the events in Sharpeville on 21 March 1960 was felt not only within South Africa. Following the killings on the day, Sharpeville became the locus where international opposition to the apartheid government was consolidated.[320] The massacre dramatically transformed the Boycott Movement into the Anti-Apartheid Movement, an international civil society movement that commemorated Sharpeville Day and used its anniversary to put pressure on overseas governments to isolate the apartheid government. As far back as 1966, the United Nations General Assembly resolution proclaimed 21 March as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. It is commemorated annually in solidarity with the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre.[321]

[320] M. Goetz, The Sharpeville Massacre, 1960. Divestment for Humanity. The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Michigan. https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/sharpeville. (Accessed on the 25.05.2023).

[321] A. Azoulay, *Message from Ms, Director-General of UNESCO, on the occasion of International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 21 March 2020. DG/ME/ID/2020/13*. UNESCO. Director-General.(2017).https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373012_eng. (Accessed on the 25.05.2023).

This chapter demonstrated that despite the repressive conditions in the country during this decade, the commemoration of Sharpeville took place in many forms, including church services, commemorative meetings and exhibitions by students. It highlighted that NUSAS's affiliate, the Human Rights Society, was at the forefront of ensuring that the memory of the massacre was kept alive despite harsh repression by the apartheid regime.

CHAPTER THREE

COMMEMORATIONS AND OTHER OBSERVANCES BY THE NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS AND THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT: 1970-1979

"…the massacre at Sharpeville created a novel situation in the country. In spite of the amateurishness and opportunism of their leaders, the PAC rank and file displayed great courage and fortitude in their demonstrations at Sharpeville and Langa. In just one day, they had moved to the frontlines of the struggle, and Robert Sobukwe, the PAC leader, was being hailed inside and outside the country as the saviour of the liberation movement…."[322]

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter examined the memorialisation processes and commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre during the 1960s, a period described by several authors as graveyard silence. It discussed the political landscape that existed in the country before the 1960s, the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress' branch in Sharpeville and the hasty strategies the branch adopted in its preparation for the nationwide Positive Action Campaign. The events of 21 March, which scholars refer to as the Sharpeville uprising, as well as diverse forms of observances, were highlighted. This chapter analyses changes and continuity in the memorialisation process and commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre during the 1970s.

It advances the argument that this day continued to be observed despite the repression and authoritarianism that followed the partial physical removal of residents of Sharpeville to Sebokeng during this decade as a way of wiping out any memory associated with the Sharpeville Massacre. Sebokeng is an African township established in 1965 as a result of the recommendation of the Mentz Commission[323] in 1954 that a central Black residential area be established in the Vaal Region.[324] From 1965, large-scale development under the Sebokeng Management Board was initiated with a view to ensuring the relocation of Sharpeville residents to Sebokeng without the

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[322] N.R. Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela.* Macdonald Purnell.(Pty).Ltd. Randburg.(1994).p.385.

[323] The Mentz Commission was established in 1952 to oversee the enforcement of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act. For more, see D.Y.Curry, *Social Justice at Apartheid's Dawn: African Women Intellectuals and the Quest to Save the Nation*. Palgrave Macmillan.Cham.(2022).p.177

[324] M.P. Mohapi, "Towards an appropriate model of the local church in the Vaal Triangle". Unpublished doctoral thesis. North-West University.Vanderbijlpark.(2008).p.123.

participation of the affected residents. The resettlement plan was to be completed in the 1980s, following which there would be no Sharpeville township left to remember.[325] During this year, a municipal official who managed Sharpeville was quoted as having said: "…the memory of the Sharpeville shooting is a long way dying one in South Africa, but the memory, if not the effects of it, is fading here. It is the rest of the world that does not allow South Africa to forget."[326]

This chapter analyses commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre, however low-key, by the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the South African Students Organisation (SASO), an affiliate of the Black Consciousness Movement, and communities outside the confines of university campuses. Due to the political vacuum created by the banning of liberation movements after the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, the political activists who did not go into exile joined several liberal multiracial organisations which had taken up the role of speaking on behalf of the African majority. Graham Duncan and Antony Egan argue that within the country, the only voices of opposition came from white-dominated organisations and progressive sections of the churches, notably the Catholic and Anglican student federations.[327]

A significant number of scholars, mainly historians, have taken issue with the notion that the 1960s South Africa was marked by political silence. So much was happening beyond the gaze of the apartheid state. Observances of the Sharpeville Massacre during this decade took place within a political context that saw, as mentioned earlier, the mass exodus of black students from NUSAS, a white-led student movement within white universities. They withdrew their membership of NUSAS and formed SASO, eclaring NUSAS incapable of representing black aspirations. Within a period of two years, SASO had established branches in all black university campuses.

In 1977, newspapers such as *The World* and *The Weekend World* were banned following the 1976 Soweto Students Uprising. A ban on major Black Consciousness Movement affiliates, among them SASO, the Black Community Programmes, the South African Students Movement (SASM), and the Black People's Convention (BPC), also followed. Other organisations, such as affiliates of the National Association of Youth Organisations, including the Medupe Writers' Association, the

[325] Ibid.p.123.
[326] Anon, Blacks to move from Sharpeville. *The New York Times*. 22. March 1970. https://www.nytimes.com/1970/03/22/archives/blacks-to-move-from-sharpeville-south-african-map-to-lose-name-in.html. (Accessed on the 15.01.2023).
[327] G. A. Duncan, & A. Egan, "The Ecumenical Struggle in South Africa: The Role of Ecumenical Movements and Liberation Organisations from 1966". *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae.* Vol.45.No.1.(2019).p.5.

Zimele Trust Fund, the Black Women's Federation, the Union of Black Journalists, and the Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa were not spared either.[328]

This, however, did not dampen the spirit of resistance. In 1979, the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) was formed, thereby giving the liberation struggle a fresh impetus. The formation of AZASO coincided with the revival of mass movements aligned with the Congress Alliance tradition. By adopting the Freedom Charter, AZASO was further demonstrating the extent of interaction with and influence of the ANC on the student movement.[329]

The student resistance campaign, of which the 21 March was deployed as a platform during this decade, centered around demonstrations against the forcible removal of Africans from urban areas, construction of ethnically divided homelands for Africans, prohibition of groups and persons, as well as larger political mobilisation. Dissatisfaction also centered on the blatantly ideologically-driven course contents, the inferior status accorded to qualifications obtained from black institutions, the composition of university councils, the quality of residential life and general university resources, relatively high tuition fees, institutional access policies and the practice of academic exclusions.[330] The 1970s saw a significant increase in the incidence of collective action as the Soweto Students' Uprising of 1976 marked the beginning of a decade of unrest that spilled into the following decade. During this decade, commemorations of historic events, including the Sharpeville Massacre, took the form of one-off mass meetings and focus weeks which included meetings, seminars, photo displays, videos, films and publications such as pamphlets.

This chapter analyses the commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre in the mid-1960s and early 1970s in defiance of the apartheid government during this period. Mongane Wally Serote notes that in the late 1960s, BCM leaders such as Stephen Biko and Barney Pityana were at the forefront of opposition to the apartheid regime, while the early 1970s witnessed the peak of their activities

[328] M. Halim, "The Westbury Community Archive: Claiming the Past, Defining the Present towards a Better Future". *"Education as Change.* Vol.22.No.2.(2018).p.6.

[329] D. Maimela, *The role of the student movement in the making of democratic South Africa*. In Ngcaweni.B, *The Future We Chose: Emerging Perspectives on the Centenary of the ANC.* Africa Institute of South Africa. Pretoria.(2014).p.117.

[330] G. Cele, & C. Koen, "Student Politics in South Africa: An Overview of Key Developments". *Cahiers de la recherche sur l'éducation et les savoirs*.(2003). https://journals.openedition.org/cres/1517. (Accessed on the 18.01.2023).

throughout South Africa.[331] During this period, SASO rose to prominence together with the South African Students Movement (SASM).[332] During this decade, Sharpeville was commemorated every year and because there were no organised activities on campus, these events could not take place in an organised fashion, but they were commemorated nonetheless.[333] In order to increase attendance on this day, SASO incorporated political programmes into church services and social events such as concerts and poetry sessions.

3.2 OBSERVANCE OF THE SHARPEVILLE MEMORY BY NUSAS IN THE 1970s

The liberal students affiliated to NUSAS at Wits University remained politically active around the issue of Sharpeville commemoration, despite a conservative university council and its strict enforcement of racial segregation at the institution until the late 1970s.[334] The year 1970 marked 10 years since the Sharpeville Massacre, and the week around 21 March was declared Africa Week by the United Nations, which continued to observe this day in solidarity with the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre Within the country, there were speakers and symposiums on most campuses, with no signs of protest.[335]

In 1970, Kenneth Johann Costa, organized a spectacular one-person poster demonstration on Jan Smuts Avenue in commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre.[336] He did so in the early hours when the volume of traffic was usually high. His aim was to revive the memory of Sharpeville in the passing motorists and pedestrians. Interestingly, while some drivers wound down their car windows to scream abuses and condemn his antics, others hooted in support of his action.[337] Inside racially segregated buses transporting domestic black workers, commuters enthusiastically leaned out of their windows and gave the thumbs up while shouting, *Mayibuye iAfrika* (Come back

[331] M.W. Serote, "Post-Sharpeville poetry: A poet's view". *Third World Quarterly*. Vol.10.No.4.(1988).p.1603.
[332] N.J. Diseko, "The Origins and Development of the South African Student's Movement (SASM): 1968-1976". *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol.18.No.1.(1991).p.41.
[333] Interview by M. Ntsodi with Yusuf Vawda. Director of Law Clinic at UDW. Oral History Project." Voices of Resistance".02 October 2002.p.27. https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/gandhi-luthuli-documentation-centre/oral-history-project-interview-yusuf-vawda. (Accessed on the 20.01.2023).
[334] S.A. Greyling, *Rhodes University during the segregation and apartheid eras, 1933 to 1990*. Unpublished master's dissertation. Rhodes University.Makhanda.(2007).p.52.
[335] Anon. A Brief History of Student Action in South Africa.(1971).p.7. https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/cir19710000.026.022.000.pdf. (Accessed on the 20.01.2023).
[336] Ken Costa is currently with Alvarium Investments, a global wealth management company, and has been an investment banker for 40 years, serving as chairman of Europe, the Middle East, and Africa for UBS Investment Bank and vice chairman of the group's investment banking business globally.
[337] G. Moss, *The new radicals: A generational memoir of the 1970s*. Jacada Media. Johannesburg. (Pty).Ltd. Auckland Park. (2021).p.7.

Afrika).[338] Within the campus, NUSAS mounted a dramatic representation of the massacre. Its members took white polystyrene boards which they cut into the shape of a tombstone and inserted sturdy wires at the bottom of each to enable their erection. They further used silkscreen printing in front of the tablets which were engraved with the following black lettering:

R.I.P.
Killed on
March 21, 1960
At Sharpeville. [339]



Figure 3.1. A makeshift memorial commemorating the Sharpeville Massacre at the library lawns of the University of Witwatersrand in 1972.(Image by Glen Moss.2021).

Glen Moss recalls that the morning of 21 March 1972 further witnessed the conversion of the library lawns of the University of Witwatersrand into a cemetery for a powerful exposition on the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre. This exhibition was accompanied by photographs and leaflets depicting the history of Sharpeville and elucidating why it was important to reminiscence on the events that occurred in Sharpeville twelve years earlier.[340] The leaflets carried the following information:

[338] Ibid.p.77.
[339] Ibid.p.77.
[340] Ibid.p.77.

> Violence in South Africa has become a way of life. Besides the violence of guns and tanks, there is violence of laws that splits families, violence of the Pass Laws, the violence of starved children in the homelands, violence of forced removals….We are attempting to find a symbol for this institutionalised violence that we have all grown to accept - so that we may be reminded of it, so that we may recognize it, so that we may reject it - and then remove all traces of it from our daily lives.[341]

In 1973, the University of Witwatersrand SRC, in conjunction with NUSAS members, held the 13th anniversary commemoration of the massacre. It was characterised by a demonstration during peak hours at Jan Smuts Avenue, the road that separates the university from the Braamfontein neighborhood on the eastern side. Four NUSAS members dressed in white-sheeted clothes just the Ku Klux Klan, a white supremacist organization in the United States of America. The NUSAS members erected mock gallows from which swung a black paper man bearing the phrase "Victim of apartheid." This drew the attention of passing motorists.[342]

At the library lawns inside the campus, NUSAS exhibited Black figures hanging by string nooses from trees – both activities being symbolic reminders of the Sharpeville Massacre. Addressing white students at the library lawns, SRC president at the time, Jenny Cunningham, said:

> For all their liberal words they could not dissociate themselves from the guilt of Sharpeville unless they gave up privileges and joined the Blacks. Until you use your skills to help the Blacks you are as guilty as those who fired the shots at Sharpeville or as guilty as your fathers who pay starvation wages. If you want a future you must help the Blacks. You must realize that you have to give up trying to protect your enjoyable condition of living. You have a straight choice between joining the Whites establishments or joining the Blacks. If you ignore the polarities that exist in South Africa you are fools. Since Sharpeville, this country has been divided between Blacks and Whites.[343]

Glen Moss, a former SRC member, and NUSAS executive at the University of Witwatersrand, warned students during this commemoration event that the apartheid police were working towards another Sharpeville through the National Party and its instruments of power which had made violence an everyday occurrence in South Africa.[344] In giving evidence in his defense at the SASO and BCP terrorism trial, Aubrey Maitshe Mokoape told the court that Blacks in South Africa

[341] Ibid.p.78.
[342] Staff Reporter, Rally hang a Black effigy. *Rand Daily Mail*. 22 March 1973.
[343] Ibid.
[344] Ibid.

regarded the apartheid police as political enemies rather than personal enemies. He further told the court that this attitude was adopted because the police enforced extremely harsh and cruel laws on Blacks and worked for the white superstructure which was against the interest of movements like the BCM.[345]

Stephen Ellis concurs that many inquiries, including the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), regard the Sharpeville Massacre as the true beginning of hostilities and polarities among South Africa's racial groups. Ellis further maintains that, following the Sharpeville Massacre and with the formation Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) the apartheid government became convinced that it was facing a war of some sort. In the 1970s, the National Party government under President Pieter Willem Botha defined this war as a 'total onslaught'.[346] Paul Moorcraft describes "total onslaught"[347] as a complex inter-and intra-state war that raged across Southern Africa during the Cold War period".[348]

During this decade, the military was a significant actor within the central decision-making structures of the apartheid government and contributed greatly in support of the apartheid-based civil power. Several changes occurred within the security intelligence apparatus. It provided a "comprehensive plan to utilize all the means available to the state according to an integrated pattern in order to achieve the national aims within the framework of specific apartheid policies"[349] The South African army and police officers became known as 'securocrats' due to their belief that security structures could be used as a means of engendering political change, and they devised a counter-insurgency doctrine aimed at mobilising every branch of the state in a campaign to defeat the total onslaught.[350]

[345] J. Mojapelo, Police are political enemies, court told. *Rand Daily Mail*.11 March 1976.
[346] S. Ellis, "The historical significance of South Africa's third force". *Journal of Southern African Studies.* Vol.24.No.2.(1998).p.264.
[347] For more on *'Total Onslaught'* see P. Moorcraft, *Total Onslaught: War and Revolution in Southern Africa Since 1945*. Pen & Sword Books. Yorkshire - Philadelphia.(2018).
[348] P. Moorcraft, "Total onslaught: War and revolution in Southern Africa since 1945". (2018). In T. Wilkins, *Total Onslaught: War and Revolution in Southern Africa since 1945. Book Review*. *Politikon.*Vol.47.No.3.(2020).p.385.
[349] N. Paltiel, "Apartheid South Africa's' Total Strategy: A Policy Analysis". *De Re Militari*. https://drmjournal.org/2021/07/25/apartheid-south-africastotal-strategy-a-policy-analysis/.(Accessed on the 23.07.2023).
[350] Ibid.p.264.

The apartheid police and the army indeed created other forms of Sharpeville, such as the 1976 Soweto Students' Uprising, the Uitenhage Massacre in 1985, the Bisho Massacre in 1992, the 1992 Boipatong Massacre, and many other periodic political massacres, including the massacre of the entire Lifiedi family in Sharpeville for which no one has been charged.[351] During this decade and the ones which followed up till 1994, the apartheid police ensured that sustained brutality was a central feature of the 'black South African experience'.[352]

During this year [1973], the student body at Wits University also invited Benjamin Pogrund as a guest speaker to mark the 13th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. In his address to the students, Pogrund pointed out that the entire character of political activity and oppositional politics had dramatically changed within a remarkably short space of time. He reflected on how in the 1960s opposition to apartheid was expressed through liberation movements such as the PAC and the ANC. This liberation movements operated even from within the establishments of the Bantustans.Oppostion to apartheid was further expressed by black leaders who were an integral part of the apartheid government establishment. He mentioned that one aspect of change that could be observed from the 1960s was the way African leaders working from the platform of the Bantustans not only spoke forcefully and aggressively but also commanded respect on a level unknown thirteen years ago.

Pogrund further mentioned that while the prime minister of the time was not prepared to give in to Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi because of the pressure from his government and voters, at least he was prepared to listen to Buthelezi, which was something that had not been seen in the past thirteen years.[353] To mark the 14th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1974, NUSAS and the SRC at the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) screened a slide show throughout the morning. A small coffin with sixty-nine candles was placed in the student cafeteria as a reminder of the incident. The slides depicted the police firing into the crowd of fleeing Sharpeville residents in 1960, thus providing the viewers with an eyewitness account of the shooting.[354]

[351] Department of State, Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1992. Washington. (1993).p.242
[352] D. Bruce, "New Wine from an Old Cask? The South African Police Service and the Process of Transformation." Paper presented at John Jay College of Criminal Justice.New York.9 May 2002. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.(2002).p.1.
[353] Own Correspondence, 13 years of change. *Rand Daily Mail.* 22 March 1973.
[354] Staff Reporter, Students recall 69 deaths. *Rand Daily Mail*.22 March 1974.

At the University of Cape Town, the NUSAS-aligned Students Representative Council (SRC) held the 14th anniversary commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre. There was a graveyard scene just like the one created at the University of Witwatersrand, with newspaper clippings of the Sharpeville incident on the lawn outside the art centre, and a mass commemorative meeting was held at the rugby field on Sunday. The SRC spokesperson told media reporters that the commemoration was not an attempt to revive past bitterness, but to point out how opposition to the government in South Africa had been stifled over the years.[355] It should be noted that not all students supported or attended the commemorations. According to Heike Becker, drawing from Julian Brown's *The Road to Soweto: Resistance and the Uprising of 16 June 1976* (London: James Currey, 2016), student activism on campuses took different forms and was driven by different groups of students.[356] Subsequent chapters demonstrate, by providing examples, how conservative students were treated by those who took part in the commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre. There were instances of violent physical attacks on conservative students.

3.3. COMMEMORATIONS BY THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

As mentioned in the two previous chapters, following the Sharpeville Massacre, the apartheid regime managed to suppress black resistance, using force, arrests, legislative limitations and an effective police information system. Most leaders of the liberation movements were imprisoned or banned, while others went into exile, thereby escaping detention and taking the remnants of their organisations with them. With the restoration of law and order, business confidence returned and by the mid-1960s the South African economy was booming. For the whites, there was tranquility and their privileges appeared secure, while for black South Africans, political activity and hopes of achieving their aspirations were at a low ebb.[357] Mizana, Walters and Groener contend that during the 1960s, the South African economy expanded more swiftly than that of any other capitalist country except Japan – averaging an annual growth rate of between six and eight percent. However, this boom gave way to a depression in the early 1970s.[358]

[355] Own Correspondent, Sharpeville commemoration. *Rand Daily Mail*.21 March 1974.
[356] H. Becker, "South African student protests, 1968 to 2016 Dissent, disruption, decolonization". *International Socialist Review.* Iss.111.(2018). https://isreview.org/issue/111/south-african-student-protests-1968-2016/. (Accessed on 24.07.2023).
[357] D. Hirschmann, "The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa". *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Vol.28.No.1.(1990).p.3.
[358] M. Mizana, S. Walters, & Z. Groener, *The Struggle for Democracy: A Study of Community Organisations in Greater Cape Town from the 1960s to 1988*.Centre for Adult and Continuing Education. University of the Western Cape. Bellville.(1989).p.23.

The move by the apartheid government to force both the PAC and the ANC underground did not dampen the spirit of liberation that had taken over the oppressed masses of South Africa. The emergence of the BCM in South Africa was in response to the political vacuum that prevailed after the silencing of political organisations and the imprisonment of political activists in the 1960s after Sharpeville Massacre.[359] This movement had been gaining impetus beginning from the late 1960s, and it was preparing the ground for the establishment of the South African Students Organisation in 1969. Furthermore, Graham Duncan and Anthony Egan argue that the emergence of Black Consciousness (BC) and Black Theology (BT) must be viewed in the context of the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, the subsequent banning of the ANC and the PAC, and the imprisonment of their leaders.[360]

According to Barney Pityana, one of the founding members of the South African Student Organisation, the inspiration for the formation of the movement can be traced to African religious movements and prophets and the attempt by Africans to reclaim their land. Adam and Moodley argue that, theoretically, Black Consciousness was largely spurred by the writings of Léopold Sédar Senghor, Aimé Césaire, Albert Memmi, Frantz Fanon, Eldridge Cleaver, Stokely Carmichael and Paulo Freire. These writers articulated the disgrace as well as the dignity of the colonised and the power of the powerless.[361] When the movement emerged in the late sixties, its increasing success and growing prominence were attributed for the most part to the efforts, charisma and influence of Steve Biko.[362]

[359] M.M. Mnguni, *The Role of Black Consciousness in the Experience of Being Black in South Africa: The Shaping of the Identity of Two Members of AZAPO*. Unpublished master's dissertation. Rhodes University. Grahamstown.(2000).p.18.

[360] G.A. Duncan, & A. Egan, "The Ecumenical Struggle in South Africa: The Role of Ecumenical Movements and Liberation Organisations from 1966". *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*. Vol.45 No.1.(2019).p.5.

[361] H. Adam, & K. Moodley, *The Opening of the Apartheid Mind-Options for the New South Africa*. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles. (1993).p.110.

[362] Steve Biko was a founding president of the militant South African Students' Organisation (SASO), an honorary president of the Black People's Convention (BPC), and an executive of Black Community Programmes. For more on Steve Biko, see but not limited to, S. Biko. *I Write What I Like*. Pan Macmillan SA. Johannesburg.(2017). M.W. Arnold, Steve Biko. *No fear was expressed. Quotes from Steve Biko*. Pan Books. London.(2007).

The BCM's primary aim was to liberate Blacks from psychological oppression. It was concerned with the development and promotion of black theology, communalism and community business enterprise, as well as the rejection of apartheid institutions.[363] Black Consciousness (BC) was largely a continuation of the struggle for national liberation in South Africa that had been waged by liberation movements such as the ANC, PAC and SACP.[364] The difference was the approach adopted, and the methods and tactics used. Otherwise, the vision was the same, namely the liberation of the oppressed black majority from white supremacy. It was a philosophy that was infused in young people in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning in the 1960s. Like the liberation movements that preceded it, BC was a response to slavery, colonialism and apartheid, as well as a repudiation of collaborators with the apartheid regime such as the 'homeland' leaders and white liberals.[365] Steve Biko gave the following explanation of Black Consciousness:

> (It) is an attitude of mind and a way of life, the most positive call to emanate from the black world for a long time. Its essence is the realization by the black man of the need to rally with his brothers around the cause of their oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It is based on a self-examination that has ultimately led them to believe that by seeking to run away from themselves and emulate the white man, they are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black.[366]

The year 1968 witnessed the formation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO).[367] The formation of this organisation was a result of long-standing confrontational politics between Black and White students that reached its zenith during the 1967 conference held at Rhodes University. At the conference, Black students felt sidelined, and they also endured the most of a government-imposed ruling that forbade accommodation or meals for Africans on campus. During that year, black students, including members of the University Christian Movement (UCM), broke away from NUSAS and formed the Black Consciousness-inspired South African Students Organisation

[363] M. Matiwana, S. Walters, & Z. Groener, "*The Struggle for Democracy: A Study of Community Organisations in Greater Cape Town from the 1960s to 1988"*. Centre for Adult and Continuing Education. University of the Western Cape. Bellville.(1989).p.24.

[364] R.T. Dolamo, "The legacy of Black Consciousness: Its continued relevance for democratic South Africa and its significance for theological education". *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*. Vol.73.No.3.(2017).p.1.

[365] Ibid.p.2.

[366] Ibid.p.2.

[367] For more on the South African Students Organisation (SASO), see M.S. Badat. *Black Student Politics, Higher Education, and Apartheid: From SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990.* Human Sciences Research Council.Pretoria.(1999).

(SASO),[368] under the leadership of Biko. At first, SASO operated under the umbrella of NUSAS, which it continued to recognise as the 'national organization' for students.[369] It is worth stating that SASO was launched by university students on the ghettoized campuses of so-called 'non-white' universities[370] – hence Baruch Hirson argues that the students who gained admission into these universities brought with them memories of Sharpeville and the march in Cape Town from Langa and Nyanga.[371]

In 1970, SASO severed all ties with its parent body, NUSAS, and endeavoured to extend the influence of its separatist philosophy – summed up in the slogan *'Black man, you are on your own'* – beyond the students and into the larger African community. According to Tony Voss, the formation of SASO in 1968 and its break-away from NUSAS was another milestone in the process of the radicalization of student politics. It was also a response to watershed events such as the banning of the ANC, the Sharpeville Massacre, the Soweto unrest, the liberation of bordering African countries and the Border War.[372] SASO held its inaugural conference in July 1969, declaring in its constitution thus:

> We, the Black students of institutions of higher learning in South Africa have unique problems and aspirations; it is necessary for Black students to consolidate their ranks if their aspirations are to be realised; there is a crying need in South Africa for Black students to reassert their pride and group identity; adopt this constitution in the belief that unity and positive re-awakening will result among the Black students of South Africa.[373]

[368] G.M. Fredrickson, *Power in the United States and Black Consciousness in South Africa: Connections and Comparisons*. In Greenstein. R, *Comparative Perspectives on South Africa*. Macmillan Press Ltd. Johannesburg. (1988).p.194.

[368] B. Hirson, *Year of fire, year of ash. The Soweto Revolt: Roots of a revolution*? Zed Books. Ltd. London.(1979).p.64-65.

[369] G.M. Fredrickson, *Power in the United States and Black Consciousness in South Africa: Connections and Comparisons*. In Greenstein. R, *Comparative Perspectives on South Africa*. Macmillan Press Ltd.Johannesburg.(1988).p.194.

[370] For more on student activism and culture in non-White, historically Black universities or tribal universities, see M.O. Nkomo, "Student culture in black South African universities: Some factors contributing to student activism, 1960-1980". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Massachusetts. Amherst.(2014). S.L.Vuma, "The role played by the University of the North student activism in the struggle against apartheid from 1968 to 1994". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Limpopo.Polokwane.(2018).

[371] B. Hirson, *Year of fire, year of ash. The Soweto Revolt: Roots of a revolution*? Zed Books.Ltd. London.(1979).p.64-65.

[372] T. Voss, "There is No Privileged Site of Politics". *African Studies Quarterly*. Vol.18.Iss.1.(2018).p.80.

[373] A. Kgokong, "The Black Peoples Convention". *Africa Today*. Vol.19.No.3.p.32-33.

On the other hand, the year 1969 witnessed the sweeping arrests of leading members of the ANC, among them Winnie Mandela, the wife of already-jailed Nelson Mandela. Also arrested were members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the ANC Women's League and the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), who were held in solitary confinement for seven months before they appeared in court. They were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act 1950 (Act 44 of 1950) – renamed the Internal Security Act in 1976. These leaders were charged with crimes purportedly committed from 1967 up till the date of detention. They were arrested on 21 charges which mostly pertained to membership of the African National Congress (ANC) and sabotage.[374]

According to Daniel Magaziner, beginning in 1971, SASO started organising campus commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre. Magaziner argues that these were emotional events full of rage and aimed at countering the apartheid government's own view of the massacre as having become a distant memory.[375] He further contends that SASO remembered the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre for their irrepressible dignity, undying courage and fervent belief in themselves. Furthermore, according to him, the Sharpeville dead were commemorated as heroes and martyrs.[376]

Joyce Mokhesi, a Sharpeville-born writer, recalls that in 1971 she attended an occasion where SASO members took young Sharpeville residents to the graveyard to clean the graves and listen to a speech by the poet Don Mattera as part of memorialisation process.[377] According to Mokhesi, SASO also organised for those who were massacred to be memorialised on the 18th of March.[378] Tom Lodge observes that from 1971 to 1972, a cluster of youth formations gained ground within Sharpeville – among them the Vaal Youth Club, the Sharpeville Cultural-Health Club, the Sharpeville Youth Club, and the Sharpeville Students Association.[379]

[374] South Africa: Trial by torture. http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/A3299/A3299-G1-1-14-001- jpeg.pdf. (Accessed on the 23.04.2021).
[375] D.R. Magaziner, *The law and the prophets: Black consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977*.Ohio University Press.Ohio.(2010).p.176.
[376] Ibid.p.176.
[377] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville and Memory. Violence, memory, and Commemoration: Perspectives from Southern, East and Central Africa*. Birbeck College.9th December 2011.p.5.https://www.gold.ac.uk/media/documents-by-section/departments/history/Lodge_Sharpeville-and-Memory_Nov2011.pdf.(Accessed on the 16.03.2021)
[378] P. Parker, & J. Mokhesi-Parker, *In the Shadow of Sharpeville: Apartheid and Criminal Justice*. Macmillan Press Ltd. London.(1988).p.25.
[379] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*.Oxford University Press.Oxford. (2011).p.286.

The year 1972 saw the formation of the Sharpeville Students' Association (SSA) by local students with the aim of promoting healthy co-existence and cooperation among students.[380] Franziska Rueedi argues that the most formidable of all the organisations within Sharpeville was the Sharpeville Youth Club, established in 1972 and formally launched in 1973. Some of its activities, Rueedi notes, involved keeping young people off the streets by organising cultural events. The club was also involved in the initial establishment of the offices of the Black People Convention in Vereeniging, as well as the formation of the National Youth Organisation.[381]

According to George Fredrickson, following deafening silence in the 1960s, the Black Consciousness Movement revived the revolutionary spirit; however, the fact that the Sharpeville shooting had led to massive repression and political dormancy, rather than spur a general uprising of Black South Africans, shook the belief of Blacks in revolutionary spontaneity. Fredrickson further argues that, according to BC adherents, the prevailing thought in post-Sharpeville South Africa was that Blacks were held in subjugation not merely by force but by their own sense of impotence and inferiority.[382]

In 1971, SASO held the first open Sharpeville Massacre commemoration in South Africa at the then University of Natal. It was from this point that the day was called "Heroes Day" and Sharpeville was commemorated non-stop in all the decades to follow.[383] During this event, the organisers pleaded with all BPC branches across the country to observe 21 March by wearing black attire or black armbands. The BPC further stated that the aim of the observance was for Black people to rededicate themselves to the struggle for justice rather than mourn. On this day, the central Durban branch of BCP, with representatives from several BCM affiliates, held a remarkably successful commemoration service attended by a large audience at Kajee Hall in the city centre.[384]

[380] B.A. Khoapa, *Black Review*. Black community programmes.Durban.(1973).p.183-184.
[381] F. Rueedi, '*They would remind you of 1960': The emergence of radical student politics in the Vaal Triangle 1972–1985*. In Heffernan. A, & Nieftagodien. N, *Students Must Rise: Youth Struggle in South Africa before and beyond Soweto '76*. Wits University Press.Johannesburg.(2016).p.139.
[382] G.M. Fredrickson, *Black Power in the United States and Black Consciousness in South Africa: Connections and Comparisons*. In Greenstein. R, *Comparative Perspectives on South Africa*. Macmillan Press Ltd. Hampshire.(1998).p.205.
[383] AZAPO Voice, *Remembering the Sharpeville massacre*.Vol.1.Iss.4.(2018).p.1.
[384] Ibid.p.75.

During this first commemoration, the attitude of BCM that gave rise to racial hostilities in South Africa was planted. During the commemoration, Randwedzi Harry Nengwekhulu, a contemporary of Steve Biko and a prominent figure in the formation of SASO and the BC Movement, described the whites as "people with violent attitudes" and a "strange people with their strange logic" while addressing SASO delegates at the event in 1971.[385] Nengwekhulu's radicalism became the subject of criticism among adult white liberals who were uncomfortable with his uncompromising style when approaching issues. He once declined an executive position offered him by NUSAS as part of its strategy to keep the University of the North as a member of NUSAS.[386] According to Mabel Raisibe Maimela, Nengwekhulu was more radical than Biko and Pityana.[387]

During this year [1971], BCM-aligned organisations held a meeting aimed at the formation of a national coordinating organisation. Also present were the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association (IAMA) and the Association for the Educational, The Union of Black Journalists (UBJ), Black Parents' Association (BPA), Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) and Cultural Advancement of the African People (AECAAP).[388] The meeting resulted in the formation of the Black People's Convention (BPC) in 1972, which was to play a leading role in the Sharpeville commemorations in future years. Alongside the BPC's formation was the establishment of the South African Students Movement (SASM). Some scholars, however, argue that SASM came into existence in 1968 and that its existence had nothing to do with the BCM which did not exist at that time.[389]

Interestingly, Franziska Rueedi notes that Nkutseou Matsau, a Sharpeville native, became an executive member of this student movement, alongside Vusi Tshabalala, another Sharpeville-born who became the president of SASM in 1975.[390] SASM first emerged as the African Students Movement (ASM) before it was later renamed SASM in 1972. It came to national prominence

[385] A. Millard, *Steve Biko: Black Consciousness in South Africa.* Penguin Random House. Johannesburg.(1978).p.185
[386] M.R. Maimela, "Black consciousness and white liberals in South Africa: Paradoxical anti-apartheid politics". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of South Africa.Pretoria.(1999).p.211-212.
[387] Ibid.p.211.
[388] R.C. Moleleki, "The contribution of the National Union of South African Students in South African Students politics: 1960-1975". Unpublished master's dissertation. Vista University.Bloemfontein.(2002).p.71.
[389] N.J. Diseko, "The South African Students' Movement (SASM): 1968-1976". *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol.18.No.1.(1992).p.43.
[390] F. Rueedi, *They would remind you of 1960': The emergence of radical student politics in the Vaal Triangle, 1972–1985*. In Heffernan A, & Nieftagodien. N, *Students Must Rise Youth struggle in South Africa before and beyond Soweto '76.* Cambridge University Press.Cambridge.(2018).p.139-140.

when its members organised boycotts against Bantu education, and especially against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of tuition, resulting in the June 1976 uprising.[391]

In September 1973, seven medical students were charged with inciting public violence, assault and theft, and for being in possession of a firearm without a license. They were further accused of assaulting three Security Branch officers who attended the Sharpeville commemoration meeting at Allen Taylor's residence at Natal University. The state alleged that the students assembled at the commemoration venue with the intent to disrupt forcibly the public peace or security and invaded the rights of other persons. During the trial, the officers told the court how they were forced to remove their trousers and searched, losing some of their belonging in the process. The accused pleaded not guilty to all the charges.[392] However, the Durban Regional Court acquitted three of the seven students of public violence at a Sharpeville commemoration meeting.[393]

The year 1972 further witnessed the death of Mthuli ka Shezi, BPC vice president and former president of the University of Zululand Students Representative Council. He was regarded as 'one of the BCM's first martyrs' after he was pushed onto a train track.[394] The year further saw Steve Biko, along with seven other SASO members, constrained to King William's Town under apartheid legislation. There, Biko set up an office of Black Community Programmes, organised health education programmes and addressed black workers' problems. There were also the Zimele Trust Fund and the Ginsberg Trust set up to assist political prisoners and their families and the black students, respectively.[395]

[391] Black People's Convention.(BPC). https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/black-peoples-convention-bpc. (Accessed on the 22.03.2021). For more on the origins of the Soweto Students Uprising of 1976 and the contestation regarding its connection with BCM, see A.K. Hlongwane, & S.M. Ndlovu, *Public History and Culture in South Africa Memorialisation and Liberation Heritage Sites in Johannesburg and the Township Space*. Palgrave MacMillan. Cham. Switzerland.2019. Also see SADET, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa. Soweto Uprising: New perspectives, commemorations, and memorialization.* Vol.7. Unisa Press. Pretoria.(2017).

[392] Own Correspondence, SB Men say they were assaulted. *Rand Daily Mail*. 28 September 1973.

[393] Staff Reporter, Student acquitted. *Rand Daily Mail.* 04 October 1973.

[394] L. A. Hadfield, "Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement". *Intellectual History, Political History. Southern Africa*. (2017).p.9.

[395] J. de Wet, "Steve Biko as existentialist communicator." *South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research.*Vol.39.(2013).p.294.



Figure 3.2. Nkutseou Matsau.[1953-2019] affectionately known as "Skaap "by Sharpeville residents and his BCM comrades. The chairperson of the Military Veterans Association of the Azanian National Liberation Army (AZANLA MVA) and member of the Central Committee of AZAPO.

In February 1973, BPC secretary-general, Sipho Buthelezi, wrote an open letter on the need for Black South Africans to set aside the 21 of March as the day for commemorating the Sharpeville Massacre. In a commemoration service held that year, a team of white journalists was refused entry into the commemoration service.[396] In the open letter, Buthelezi stressed the resolution of his executive committee by first reflecting on the incident which occurred on 21 March 1960. He further paid homage to the victims and survivors of the massacre. Some of the contents of his letter read thus:

> The BPC National Executive Committee deems it imperative for Black people to recall the disaster of Sharpeville in 1960 lest we forget the victims of the racist regime. Sharpeville Day will go down in the annals of history as one of our bitter experiences when Blacks (69) were shot dead, and two hundred others wounded by the officials of the racist regime in defiance of racism and oppression. All Black people are called upon to rededicate themselves rather than mourn the death of these Sons and Daughters of Africa. They must also remember that several Blacks suffered a loss of limbs and are presently cripples, some with no form of sustenance to this day. We realize this brutal act occurred on the 21st of March 1960 and think this day should be the date for this commemoration of Sharpeville. We, therefore, call on all branches of BPC and all Black organisations as well as

[396] Staff Reporter, Rally hang a Black effigy. *Rand Daily Mail*. 22 March 1973.

> all Black campuses to plan the observance of this day. Should you decide to involve members of the public who will be at work on this day we would suggest you utilise Saturday 24th March to this end. It is not our desire to suggest the nature this commemoration should take in view of your better acquaintance with the environmental setup in your area but, however, we strongly recommend as big involvement of the general Black public as possible. During the daytime on the 21st of March, we recommend that all Black people wear Black attire or Black armbands. This should be done openly without fear of any form of intimidation. If Whites openly celebrate our defeat at Blood River on the 16th of December we have all the right and obligation to observe and recall their brutality and what is an important event in the Black struggle for liberation. We appeal to all Black people to observe this day not only in remembrance of the Sharpeville Massacre but of other instances that occurred in our history where Black people died for their political convictions and zest for liberation.[397]

On 21 March 1973, the Sharpeville branch of the BPC and the Sharpeville Youth Club (SYC) organised and hosted the first-ever internal commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre at Sediba Primary school in Sharpeville. Ironically, this school was built close to the veld where the second funeral service for the victims of the 21 March 1960 shooting was held before the procession made its way to the Phelindaba Cemetery. During this commemoration, the guest speaker, Winnie Motlalepule Kgware, the first female BCP president elected at its first national conference held in 1972 in Hammanskraal[398] was accompanied by her deputy president, advocate Chris Mokoditoa, and Don Mattera the poet.[399] The Sharpeville Youth Club newsletter described Don Mattera as looking like a wounded tiger as he recited his poems. Following this commemoration, Mattera was put under house arrest.[400] During this commemoration, Puso Leonard Thali, a member of the Branch Executive Committee of BPC, also read his own poem. Its first stanza went as follows:

"Every day that rises and sets.
Leaves a mark on you Blackman.
Scars like stripes on wild rats…"
"Blackman, what is your epitaph?
Blackman, where is your cenotaph?"[401]

[397] S. Buthelezi, Open letter: Black People Convention.28.02.1973. https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/let19730228.032.009.283.pdf. (Accessed on the 10.04.2021).

[398] M. Bofelo, "*The Influences, and Representations of Biko and Black Consciousness in Poetry in Apartheid and Post-apartheid South Africa/Azania*" In Mnqxitama. A, Alexander A, & Gibson. N.C, *Biko lives: Contesting the legacies of Steve Biko.* Palgrave Macmillan. New York.(2008).p.192.

[399] N. Matsau, Lest we forget: Blackman what is your epitaph? Blackman, where is your cenotaph? March 15. 2018 https://sedibengster.com/13866/lest-we-forget/. (Accessed on the 16.05.2021).

[400] P. Parker, & J. Mokhesi-Parker, *In the Shadow of Sharpeville: Apartheid and Criminal Justice*. Macmillan Press Ltd. London.(1988).p.25.

[401] N. Matsau, Lest we forget: Blackman what is your epitaph? Blackman, where is your cenotaph?.15 March 2018 https://sedibengster.com/13866/lest-we-forget/. (Accessed.16.05.2021).

Following the commemorations that year, police arrested five young SASO activists from Sharpeville – among them C. Tseka, Moeti Matlare and Vusimzi Tshabalala – while Mantswe Ramokgoase was banned under the Suppression of Communist Act upon his release after serving a term for leaving the country to Lesotho without a passport. The ban confined him to his home at weekends and between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. during weekdays. He was further restricted to the magisterial district in Vereeniging, ordered to desist from attending any gathering and to report to the Sharpeville police station every Monday. Ramokgoase was banned from entering any Coloured or Indian areas around the Vaal triangle. He was also not allowed to enter any factory building or institution of learning.[402]

As for Nkutseou Matsau, he was sentenced under the Terrorism Act for the propagation of the poem "Kill, Kill" – considered by the apartheid regime to be perilous and likely to "engender feelings of hostility between black and white"[403] – as well as the newsletter produced at the commemoration rally to mark the 13th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. Matsau was also found guilty of participating in terrorist activities (the Sharpeville Massacre commemorations) with the intention of endangering the peace in South Africa. The judge also found him guilty of having devoted himself to the spread of the doctrine of Black Consciousness, Black Solidarity and Black Communalism, as well as attacking the educational system that provided for black people in South Africa.[404] The judge, however, did not find him guilty of the charge of inciting one or more persons to undergo military training with the intention of endangering law and order or furthering communism. He was also found not guilty of being a party to the conspiracy to attack the white inhabitants of Vereeniging.[405]

Matsau was sent to Robben Island where he served his jail term from 1973 to 1979 alongside Mosibudi Mangena and Sipho Buthelezi who were already serving a five-year jail term for allegedly conscripting students for military training. Matsau was the leader of the BPC's youth wing – the National Youth Organisation (NAYO) branch in Sharpeville.[406]

[402] Staff Reporter, Banning order for man freed from jail. *Rand Daily Mail*. 27 August 1975.
[403] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences.* Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.286.
[404] T. Mbanjwa, "Arrests and Detentions: Political Trials and Bannings". *Black Review.1975/5.* Black Community Programmes.(1975).p.77.
[405] Ibid.p.77.
[406] N. Qekema, "Farewell to loyal comrade Motsau".*Vukani*.04 July2019.



Figure 3.3. Sediba Primary School in Sharpeville, attended by Nyakane Tsolo as a child and venue of the first-ever 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre that took place on 21 March 1973.(Photo by Author).

Daniel Magaziner argues that the years from 1971 to 1976 were marked by the trial of Black Consciousness, both literally and figuratively, as activists recorded their Black consciousness convictions in court records and jockeyed for positions vis-à-vis the state and other opposition groups.[407] The most important development in student politics during this year (1972) was the hard-hitting political graduation speech by Onkgopotse Abraham Tiro that ignited a political uprising by black students throughout South Africa.[408] It turned out to be a critical review of Bantu education and its unfair policies of apartheid in Black universities specifically and Turfloop in particular. Tiro encouraged students to be active participants in the liberation struggle.[409] He began his controversial speech by citing the prime minister, B.J. Vorster, and signifying, rather

https://www.vukaninews.co.za/news/farewell-to-loyal-comrade-motsau-28650389.(Accessed on the 26.07.2020).

[407] D.R. Magaziner, *The law and the prophets: Black consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977*. Ohio University Press.Ohio.(2010).p.148.

[408] For more on Onkgopotse Abraham Tiro, see G. Tiro, *Parcel of Death: The Biography of Onkgopotse Abram Tiro*. Picador Africa.Johannesburg.(2019).

[409] S. Badat, *Black Student Politics: Higher Education and Apartheid from SASO to SANSCO: 1968-1990*. Routledge Falmer. New York & London.(1999).p.166-167.

hypocritically, that in South Africa no Black man had landed in trouble for fighting for what was legally his.[410] Tiro also notably said:

> There is virtually and actually nothing to thank the Bantu Education for. I have been asked to come and thank you, but there is nothing to thank you for because our parents are not even in the hall. Most of them are standing outside and other people basically the relatives of the lecturers who are predominantly white are here enjoying the activities of the graduation ceremony. The Bantu system is very poisonous, and we are not really impressed with it. The day of liberation is going to come and when that day comes not even the military might of this country is going to stop it.[411]

Three days later, Tiro was expelled and escorted out of the university campus. Lissoni argues that Tiro's expulsion was a historical turning point in student politics, as it inspired solidarity protests in the black campuses within the country and marked the beginning of the embrace of confrontational actions by SASO, which culminated in the celebration of the government-banned "Viva FRELIMO" rallies of 1974.[412] Tiro's dismissal was followed by mass demonstrations as an expression of black solidarity. The demonstrations were heated and violent and eventually led to the entire student body being expelled, with all SASO activities suspended. On 6 May 1972, only two days after Tiro's expulsion, the university was deserted.[413] Students who wanted to return to the campus were informed that they had to re-apply.[414] Beyond Turfloop, SASO organised sympathy protests at all the black universities, which led to SASO leaders being periodically banned across the country.[415] According to Bjarke Oxlund, Turfloop University was in the 1980s transformed into a virtual battleground of clashes between students and the South African Defence Force or the police.[416] The banning of the BCM in 1973, coupled with the death of Mthuli ka Shezi, and the Sharpeville Day observance made the subject of martyrdom a prominent discourse

[410] C. Kanyane, *Turfloop a Conscious Pariah: How University of the North Brought in the Age of Barack Obama Beyond Our Wildest Dreams.* Trafford Publishing. Victoria.(2010).p.42.

[411] A. Mokoena, *What led to Tiro's expulsion*? https://www.ul.ac.za/tiro/data/index.php?Entity=What led to Tiro's expulsion. (Accessed on the 17.06.2021).

[412] A. Lissoni, *Students organisation in Lehurutshe and the impact of Onkgopotse Abram Tiro*. In A. Heffernan, & N. Nieftagodien, *Students Must Rise Youth struggle in South Africa before and beyond Soweto '76.* Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(2016).p.34.

[413] For more, see B. Hirson, *Year of fire, year of ash. The Soweto Revolt: Roots of a revolution*?. Zed Books.Ltd. London.(1979).p.84-89.

[414] B.A. Khoapa, Education for Blacks - higher education. Black Community Programmes. *Black Review.* (1972).p.176.

[415] B. Oxlund, "Masculinities in student politics: Gendered discourses of struggle and liberation at the University of Limpopo". *Psychology in Society.*Vol.36.(2008).p.66.

[416] Ibid.p.66.

within BCM circles, with Sharpeville becoming a feeling.[417] The BCM 1973 annual Sharpeville Day commemoration programme states:

> It is the Blackest Black, true, black represented mourning and the activists wore it to remember the dead...to be dead at Sharpeville is yet to be alive [and] well-living Suffering which is synonymous to black liberation.[418]

Daniel Magaziner maintains that from this point there were many signs that indicated how the BC and Black Theology had turned. According to him, suffering and liberation were joined, and you could not have one without the other:

> The Sharpeville dead were heroes not just because they fell but because they fell with dignity, they were black not just because of the colour of their skin but because through Black consciousness and black awareness, they are not dead but alive. The Sharpeville dead were martyrs because they were transformed, by their death, into 'little Christ'.[419]

The political activities of the BCP were scuttled on several occasions by the arbitrary actions on the part of the apartheid justice department, coupled with police intimidation and harassment of members in 1974. On the 20th of March 1974, the magistrate of Durban District evoked some provisions of the Riotous Assemblies Act, Act No 17 of 1956, which banned the Heroes Day commemoration services from being held anywhere in Durban. Notice of this ban was further given to five local newspapers as well as the head office of the South African Broadcasting Corporation in Johannesburg. The notice read:

> I hereby in terms of Section. 2 (1) of the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 prohibit the said gathering at the said place and everywhere in the said district from the period beginning at 12:01 A.M. on March 30th and ending at 12.01 A.M. April 2nd.[420]

The magistrate said in the prohibition notice:

> I have reason to apprehend that the public peace would be seriously endangered by the gathering advertised as Heroes Day Sharpeville Commemoration Service,

[417] Ibid.p.66.
[418] D.R. Magaziner, *The law and the prophets: Black consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977*. Ohio University Press.Ohio.(2010).p.148.
[419] Ibid.p.148.
[420] Ibid.p.117.

> to be held in the hall of the Young Men's Christian Association, Beatrice Street Durban at 2:00 p.m. on March 30th, 1974.[421]

The ban drew condemnation from people around the country and within the academia. John Duggard, a professor at the University of Witwatersrand opined: "The use of the new powers confirmed the fear of those who believe that the new Riotous Assemblies Act was intended to put an end to freedom of assembly throughout South Africa".[422] Reacting to the interdiction of the Sharpeville commemoration in Durban in 1974, the BCP called on all those who had planned to attend the event to re-dedicate themselves to the steadfastness of the fortitude of the commemoration. The organisation also issued a statement that read: "…the unilateral banning of a commemoration service to remember all fallen heroes in the black struggle for freedom is only familiar…."[423]

In September 1974, SASO and the BPC, in clear disregard of the apartheid government's ban, organised two Pro-Frelimo rallies – on 24th September in Turfloop and on 20th October in Durban – in celebration of Mozambique's independence from Portugal in 1974. In a press conference, Muntu Myeza told journalists: "We are not aware of any bannings, even if we were, we could not care less. The will of the people shall not be suppressed by one white foreign minority regime."[424] In a rally held in Turfllloop, police used batons to disperse the crowd, while in Durban's Curries Fountain stadium, the police used dogs and truncheons to disperse the crowd of several thousand and raided SASO and BPC offices.[425] These two rallies were followed by a nationwide swoop on 200 BCM activists.[426]

Two weeks later, twenty-nine BCM leaders were arrested, and a major trial of the Black Consciousness Movement would see nine leaders who were members of the SASO, BPC, the People's Experimental Theatre (PET), the Theatre Council of Natal (TECON) and the Students'

[421] Sairr, Survey of Race Relations 1974. Prohibition of Gatherings. https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/cis/omalley/OMalleyWeb/03lv02424/04lv03224/05lv03259/06lv03260.htm. (Accessed on the 17.06.2021).
[422] D.R. Magaziner, *The law and the prophets: Black consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977*. Ohio University Press.Ohio.(2010).p.118.
[423] Ibid.p.118
[424] X. Mangcu, *Biko: A biography*. Tafelberg. Cape Town.(2012).p.192.
[425] T.G. Karis, & G.M. Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990, Vol. 5: Nadir and Resurgence, 1964-1979.* Jacana Media.(Pty).Ltd. Johannesburg.(2013).p.145.
[426] X. Mangcu, *Biko: A biography.* Tafelberg. Cape Town.(2012).p.193.

Representative Council of the University of the North (Turfloop SRC).[427] The trial became known as the "Black Consciousness Trial" or the "SASO/BPC Trial". It was one of the lengthiest political trials – it played out over the course of seventeen months – in South Africa at the time and attracted considerable media reporting.[428] In the same year in Orlando, Soweto, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) held a commemorative service which was addressed, with clenched fists raised in salute with shouts of 'Power!', by Lilian Ngoyi, a former member of the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL).[429]

According to Jeremy Helligar, the clenched fist has been strongly associated with social tumult throughout history. It is a representational gesture of strength and hope with the message 'We shall overcome'.[430] Jon Kelly describes it as a symbol of defiance and solidarity, commonly associated with both left-wing politics and the struggles of oppressed groups. It has become a signifier of individual as well as collective defiance – as witnessed when Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990.[431]

In her address, Ngoyi stated: "If I die, I'll die a happy person because I have already seen the rays of our new South Africa rising."[432] There is, however, a contrast between the clenched-fist gestures in the Sharpeville commemorations and the representational gestures of the PAC. Photo analysis of this gesture shows that the PAC clenched the fist with a thumb sticking out at the Sharpeville police station on the 21 of March 1960. On the other hand, photos of Robert Sobukwe during this day show an open palm instead of a clenched fist, which up to recent times has been associated with the PAC.[433]

[427] N. McDermont, "South Africa: The Black Consciousness Trial. For the Rule of Law*". The Review. International Commission of Jurists*.No.14.(1975).p.13.
[428] M. Lobban, "Black Consciousness on Trial: The BPC/SASO Trial, 1974-1976". *African Studies Seminar Paper*. University of the Witwatersrand.Johannesburg.(1990).p.1.
[429] Staff Reporter, *Rand Daily Mail*. 26 March 1974.
[430] J. Helligar, How the Clenched Fist Became a Black Power Symbol. *Reader's Digest.* 21 July 2021. https://www.rd.com/article/history-behind-the-clenched-first-and-the-symbol-for-black-power/.(Accessed on the 24.07.2022).
[431] J. Kelly, "Breivik: What's behind clenched-fist salutes?" BBC News Magazine. 17 April 2012. https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-17739105.(Accessed on the 24.07.2022).
[432] C.L. Freeman, "Relays in Rebellion: The Power in Lilian Ngoyi and Fannie Lou Hamer". Unpublished master's thesis. Georgia State University.Georgia.(2009).p.98.
[433] Own observation.

Interestingly, in 1974 the government of the Lebowa Bantustan observed the 14th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre through a commemoration ceremony. At the event, Molapantene Collins Ramusi, the Lebowa Minister of Interior Affairs and Economic Development, delivered the following speech:

> This incident will be difficult to forget. We in Lebowa have been asked by our wise Chief Minister, Mr. C.N.M. Phatudi to learn to forget the bad memories of the past. We are advised that history is full of mistakes, serious mistakes which are better forgotten than remembered. Sharpeville has been recalled throughout the world time and again. I have been asked in many parts of the world how far Sharpeville was from my home. These questions were asked at places where I did not expect the people to have known of Sharpeville. I began to realise that the Sharpeville incident has assumed international significance. Here in South Africa, we have never failed to observe and recall that tragic day. This will go down not only in the history of our time but from generation to generation to the end of time. Shooting incidents in any part of the civilised world will never be the way to stop people from demanding their rights. Let Sharpeville never occur again, for the people of KwaZulu want to be left alone; the people of Lebowa want to be left alone; the people of the Transkei want to be left alone; the people of Gazankulu want to be left alone; the people of Ciskei want to be left alone; the people of Vendaland want to be left alone; the people of Bophuthatswana want to be left alone so that Sharpeville must never occur again.[434]

In the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre, the question of influx control crystallised, resulting in the forced removal of thousands of Africans from urban areas to the reserves, homelands or Bantustans.[435] Vincent Khapoya argues that the basic philosophical underpinning of the Bantustan policy was that African people were inherently inferior to Europeans; therefore, they should be separated physically from Whites.[436]

The apartheid government artificially created separate African 'nations' each in its own homeland in the reserves based on the language and culture of a particular ethnic group, thereby confining the vast majority of Africans to the reserves and depriving them of their South African citizenship.[437] There were ten Bantustans which were created by the apartheid regime in South Africa, namely

[434] For more on the commemorative speech C.M. Ramusi. See, Black Sash,"Threshold of a New South Africa?" *The Black Sash*. August.1974.p.11.

[435] L. Evans, "South Africa's Bantustans and the Dynamics of 'Decolonisation': Reflections on Writing Histories of the Homelands". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.64.No.1.(2012).p.2-3.

[436] V.B.Khapoya, "Bantustans in South Africa: the role of the multinational corporations". *Journal of Eastern African Research and Development*. Vol.10.No.1.(1980).p.29.

[437] T. Zuma, "Apartheid's Master Plan in Ruins. Revolt in the Bantustans". In D.Tloome, *The African Communist*. Inkululeko Publications.London.No.122.(1990).p.21.

KwaZulu, Qwaqwa, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Venda, Ciskei, Transkei and Bophuthatswana. On 26 October 1976 the South African Government granted the Transkei independence. On 6 December 1977 Bophuthatswana became independent. Venda became a self-governing territory on 13 September 1979 and became known as the republic of Venda and the status of Ciskei Act 11 of 1981 granted Ciskei independence.[438] These territories, established by the Homeland Act of 1959 were, in most instances, governed by 'puppet regimes' which ruled by the despotism of tradition.[439]

However, it should be noted that there were some 'progressive' leaders in some of the Homelands. To some extent, these leaders attempted several times to use their positions to secure additional benefits for their people. Henry Richardson argues that progressive Bantustan leaders have oftentimes spoken out more or less forcefully in support of greater rights and relief from the oppressive effects of apartheid on all black South Africans, though not without some challenge to their authority by others, especially urban segments of black South Africa.[440] During the 14th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, the address by Molapantene Collins Ramusi, a member of the Lebowa Bantustan government to his audience reflected on the significance of the day and its global impact. He further indicated the continuity of commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre and how it would continue to be observed by future generations because of its significance. He, however, seemed to also endorse the Bantustan establishments.[441]

Biko also described the spirituality that was exhibited at SASO gatherings in his testimony about SASO memorials on Heroes Day and the Day of Compassion, using explicitly Christian imagery:

> Certainly, the way SASO conducted the numerous services in our campus it was mainly a sermon, and we called various distinguished ministers to conduct a service, and I have no doubt that the majority of people there were moved by the way the whole thing was handled. In a way they tended to relate it to a biblical sacrifice, you know, to say that these people died for us. Those commemorated on Heroes Day included the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, Ahmed

[438] S.F. Khunou, "Traditional Leadership and Independent Bantustans of South Africa: Some Milestones of Transformative Constitutionalism beyond Apartheid". *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal.*Vol.12.No.4.(2009).p.81-87.

[439] C.M. Rogerson, & J.M. Rogerson, "The Bantustans of Apartheid South Africa: Transitioning from Industry to Tourism". *Revista Română de Geografie Politică*.Year.xxv.No.1.(2023).p.2.

[440] H.J. Richardson, "Self-Determination, International Law and the South African Bantustan Policy". *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law.* Vol.17.No.185.(1978).p.189.

[441] L. Evans, "South Africa's Bantustans and the Dynamics of 'Decolonisation': Reflections on Writing Histories of the Homelands". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.64.No.1.(2012).p.2-3.

> Timol and those who had died in detention, Abraham Tiro, and others; with its religious overtones of sacrifice and selflessness, this day essentially enshrined a set of martyrs to the struggle against apartheid.[442]

To mark the 15th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1975, both SASO and the BCP organised services across the country. They also issued a statement calling on all Black people to attend the services: "yet another March 21 has come for the commemoration of our Heroes Day. This is the day when every Black man has to stand and think about those who have been victims of the struggle in this country.[443]

This year, Steve Biko attended the Heroes Day event at the Federal theological seminary in Umtata on the 24th of March – in clear violation of the ban placed on him. Permission to hold the commemoration service was granted on the basis that the event take the form of a church service based on the prevailing political situation. Graham Duncan observes that the commemoration was uneventful and conformed to the order of an ordinary church service.[444]

Following the service, SASO and BPC members distributed leaflets, published some years earlier and entitled *"On the way to Sharpeville"*. It was a predominantly historical survey of past events and an incisive critique of homeland policies. However, the government of Transkei was informed about the commemoration even though a segment of the student population was oblivious of the event. The government rebuked the Federal theological seminary students by telling them they had come to Umtata "not to learn, but to engender ill feeling between Blacks and whites in the Transkei" and "to incite people to change by revolution."[445] The chief minister, Kaiser Daliwonga Matanzima, told his cabinet:

> I'm satisfied that the meeting held at Ngangelizwe under the guise of religion was nothing else than a political meeting. It is chiefly as a result of this meeting that these students have come to Umtata with the specific purpose of disrupting peace and quiet in the Transkei.[446]

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[442] A. Heffernan, "A history of youth in Limpopo, 1967–2003". Unpublished doctoral thesis.University of Oxford.Oxford.(2014).p.131.
[443] Staff Reporter, 'Heroes Day' call. *Rand Daily Mail.*21 March 1975.
[444] G. Duncan, "*Steve Biko's religious consciousness and thought and its influence on theological education, with special reference to the federal theological seminary of Southern Africa*". Papers presented at the Forum for Religious Dialogue Symposium of the Research Institute for Theology and Religion. University of South Africa.Pretoria.(2008).p.20.
[445] Ibid.p.20
[446] Ibid.p.20.

The students responded by stating that they had no intention of offending the government or inciting a revolt.[447] George Fredrickson notes that the one place in the late 1960s and early 1970s where Blacks could express themselves with some freedom was within the churches or in associations that enjoyed religious sponsorship.[448]

In the ongoing SASO terrorism trial during this period, Harry Singh, a former BPC Durban branch executive, was crossed-examined at the Pretoria Supreme Court. He admitted that he had described Jan van Riebeeck – who, according to Leslie Witz, was a Dutch sailor who landed in the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 and was proclaimed the founder of the white settlement at the southern tip of Africa [449] – as "South Africa's first terrorist" during a speech at the Sharpeville commemoration meeting in 1973. Singh further told the court that he refused to plead guilty to charges of inciting racial hostility during his speech on Sharpeville commemoration day. He told the court that the South African courts were an extension of, and a tool of, the sadistic white racist regime and that it was a lie that he had used the court as a political platform to gain publicity for the BCP.[450] The charge of incitement of racial hostility during the Sharpeville commemoration meeting in Durban was also levelled against SASO's secretary, Harry Nengwenkulu, and former BCP President, Drake Koka.[451]

The year 1976 marked the sixteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. It also marked the year that the apartheid government enforced its previously disregarded requirements of the Bantu Education Act of 1974 that mandated Afrikaans to be used on an equivalent basis with English as a medium of teaching.[452] During this year, the commemoration of Sharpeville took place a few months before another turning point in the history of South Africa – the 1976 Soweto Students' Uprising. This was a pivotal moment in the struggle against apartheid.[453] Pat Hopkins and Helen

[447] Ibid.p.20.
[448] G.M. Fredrickson, *Black Power in the United States and Black Consciousness in South Africa: Connections and Comparisons.* In Greenstein.R, *Comparative Perspectives on South Africa*. Macmillan Press.Ltd. London.(1998).p.198.
[449] L. Witz, *Commemorations and conflicts in the production of South African national pasts: the 1952 Jan van Riebeek tercentenary festival*. Unpublished doctoral thesis.University of Cape Town. Cape Town.(1997).p.1.
[450] Staff Reporter, SASO witness taxed with WCC'slu'. *Rand Daily Mail*.3 September 1975.
[451] Staff Reporter, No police violence, Saso judge rules. *Rand Daily Mail*.24 September 1975.
[452] S.M. Ndlovu. *The Soweto Uprising: Counter-Memories of June 1976*. Picador Africa. London.(2017).p.17.
[453] For more on the Soweto Students Uprising, see but not limited to: S.M. Ndlovu. *The Soweto Uprising: Counter-Memories of June 1976*. Picador Africa.London.(2017). SADET, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa: Soweto Uprising: New perspectives, commemorations, and memorialisation*.Vol.7.Unisa Press.Pretoria.(2017). A.K. Hlongwane, & S.M. Ndlovu, *Public History and Culture in South Africa Memorialisation and Liberation Heritage Sites in Johannesburg and the Township Space*. *African Histories and Modernities*.Palgrave

Grange argue that the uprising was another turning point where South Africa did not turn as the Nationalist party was still firmly in power, albeit on the back foot. They further contend that this uprising, unlike the Sharpeville uprising which heralded the end of a phase in the struggle for liberation, marked the beginning of the final battle for freedom.[454]

Unlike the repression that followed the Sharpeville Massacre a decade ago, Soweto did not lead to a long period of political inactivity or apparent black resignation in the face of overwhelming white power. Soweto, in fact, is now recognised as a turning point in recent South African history. It conveyed to the world of the utter viciousness of the white regime, it energised and empowered the international anti-apartheid movement. Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi observes that the Soweto students' revolt sent shockwaves across the length and breadth of the country, and its tremors were felt in many townships and rural villages,[455] even though Sharpeville and the Vaal townships in general experienced only occasional ruptures.[456] According to Franziska Rueedi, during the Soweto uprising – which was commemorated as the 1976 Soweto Students' Uprising until 1994 before it was sanitised as Youth Day, a public holiday in the post-1994 democratic dispensation – the Vaal Triangle remained quiescent.[457]

In the aftermath of the Soweto uprising, there were sporadic school boycotts in the Vaal region, yet students remained unorganised. Franziska Rueedi contends that the lack of open confrontation during this period was in stark contrast to the protest that took place in this region which was at the forefront of the resistance politics of the 1980s that culminated in the Vaal uprising in 1984. Rueedi further argues that the lack of student activism in the area can be attributed to the impact of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. During this period, it was easy for people in this township to give others away to the apartheid security forces. According to Ntuthu Nomoyi and Willem Schurink,

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Macmillan.London.(2019). A.K. Hlongwane**,** "The Historical Development of the Commemoration of the June 16, 1976, Soweto Students' Uprisings: A study of re-representation, commemoration, and collective memory". Unpublished doctoral Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(2015). & A. Heffernan. & N. Nieftagodien, *Students Must Rise: Youth Struggle in South Africa Before and Beyond Soweto '76*. Wits University Press. Johannesburg.2016.

[454] P. Hopkins, & H. Grange, *The Rocky Rioter: Teargas show: The inside story of the 1976 Soweto uprising*. Cape Town: Zebra publishers. Cape Town.(2001).p.158-160.

[455] S.P. Lekgoathi, 'Youth politics and rural rebellion in Zebediela and other parts of the "Homeland of Lebowa, 1976-1977'. In Heffernan. A, & Noeftagodien. N, *Students must rise: Youth struggle in South Africa before and beyond Soweto '76.* Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(2016).p.109.

[456] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.284

[457] F. Rueedi, '"They would remind you of 1960': The emergence of radical student politics in the Vaal Triangle, 1972–1985", In Heffernan. A, & Noeftagodien. N, *Students must rise: Youth struggle in South Africa before and beyond Soweto '76.* Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(2016).p.138.

those who gave their own comrades in the townships to apartheid security forces were often branded *'Izimpimpi',* collaborators and liberation struggle traitors.[458] Franziska Rueedi argues that the fear of the apartheid machinery and repression had fashioned an atmosphere of fear and suspicion that hindered the formation of political networks and undermined political opposition.[459]

During its national congress held in Upington in January 1978, the Labour Party, a mainly coloured-composed political party, resolved that it would use the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre as its National Day of Prayer. The intention was to seek reconciliation between the races as it was also the day parliament was going to consider the future of the Coloured community in South Africa.[460] The Labour Party stated that at the venues of its commemoration services across the country, the memorialisation activity of ringing church bells at 3.p.m. would take place.[461]

According to Dirk Spennemann and Murray Parker, church bell-ringing creates a soundscape that is directly influenced by purposive human action. It imparts societal values attributed to the tradition and sacred embodiment of liturgical function and acts as a memory trigger of significant events from a person's individual history, such as births, deaths and marriages.[462] Lester Kurtz observes that there were a number of tactics used during the anti-apartheid struggle, such as the church bells that were rung and vigils that were held to commemorate the Sharpeville Massacre and Soweto Day.[463] In this year, one of the commemorative prayer meetings was held in the Coloured township of Eersterus, near Pretoria.

At this meeting, Reverend F.P. van Rooi told attendees, who were close to a hundred, that the horror of apartheid had made South Africa the skunk of the world and that the danger of apartheid was that it could lead to a struggle from which none of the race groups in South Africa would

[458] N.Nomoyi, & W.Schurink, *Ukunxityiswa kwempimpi itayari njengotshaba lomzabalazo: An exploratory study of insider account of necklacing in three Port Elizabeth townships*. In Bornman.E, Van Eeden.R, & Wentzel.M, *Violence in South Africa: A Variety of Perspectives*. Human Sciences Research Council Press. Pretoria.(1998).p.147.

[459] F. Rueedi, They would remind you of 1960': The emergence of radical student politics in the Vaal Triangle, 1972–1985. In Heffernan. A, & Noeftagodien.N, Students must rise: Youth struggle in South Africa before and beyond Soweto '76. Wits University Press.Johannesburg.(2016).p.138.

[460] Anon, Sharpeville day chosen. *Rand Daily Mail*.09 January 1976.

[461] M. Moroke, Sharpeville will be remembered. *Rand Daily Mail*.1976.

[462] D.H.R.Spennemann, & M.Parker, "To Ring or Not to Ring: What COVID-19 taught us about religious heritage soundscapes in the community". *Heritage.* Vol.5.(2022).p.1677.

[463] L.R.Kurtz, "The Anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa (1912-1992)". International Centre on Nonviolent Conflict. (2010).p.4.

emerge as the victor.[464] At St. John the Baptist Church in Riverlea, Johannesburg, Miley Richards, the then chairman of the Labour Party in the Transvaal region, said to the commemoration participants: "We can sit back and pray for freedom until we are blue in the face and freedom will never come. All groups have to work together"[465] Reverend J. Abrahams of the Seventh Day Adventist Church at Reigers Park in Boksburg[466] told his audience that Blacks needed to be thinkers and not reflectors of the white man's orders. According to Abrahams, "We compromise when we bow down to the dictates of the white man."[467]

Reverend Abdel Hendricks, President of the Methodist Church of South Africa, in a commemorative meeting held at St George's Church in Athlone, Cape Town, said: "Unless people learned to find one another in South Africa, all would perish as fools."[468] Following the Sharpeville commemoration organised by the Labour Party as a national day of prayer for reconciliation between the races, its national leader, Sonny Leon, blamed poor attendance of its countrywide events on police interference, which was common practice during this decade.[469] However, it should be noted that the BCP in a press conference discouraged the people of South Africa from attending and supporting a national day of prayer for reconciliation organised by a Coloured sectional organisation such as the Labour Party.[470]

On the eve of 21 March 1976, scores of SASO members, among them Mpotseng Jairus Kgokong, the BPC Executive Member, Beauty Mfenyana and Murphy Morobe were the first to be arrested at Park Station in Johannesburg for distributing invitations for the commemoration of 21st March Heroes Day.[471] In my conversation with Jairus Kgokong regarding these arrests, he had this to say:

> We went, a group of us, to the station on the 20th March 1976 to distribute the invitations for the upcoming commemoration. As we were distributing those pamphlets, police came, and we got arrested. I cannot say how many people were arrested that day, but we were in our numbers. Some even we were as some of us ran away and hid from the police. The arrest was broadcasted on many of Bantu Radio stations and published in *Rand Daily Mail* and

[464] Staff Reporter, Sharpeville and the 'skunk label'. *Rand Daily Mail*.22 March 1976.
[465] Ibid.
[466] H.Dousemetzis, *The Man Who Killed Apartheid: The Life of Dimitri Tsafendas*. Jacana Media. (Pty).Ltd.Johannesburg. (2018).p.117.
[467] Staff Reporter, Sharpeville and the 'skunk label'. *Rand Daily Mail*.22 March 1976.
[468] Ibid.
[469] Own Correspondence, Leon blames the police. *Rand Daily Mail.* 23 March 1976.
[470] Staff Reporter, Day of prayer will recall Sharpeville. *Rand Daily Mail.*20 March 1976.
[471] Staff Reporter, Surprise and even smiles as police swoop. *Rand Daily Mail*.20 March 1976.

Volksblaad. In this publication and at police stations we were branded 'terrorist'.[472]



Figure 3.4 Jairus Kgokong being arrested at Johannesburg Park Sation in 1976.(*Rand Daily Mail.* 20 March 1976)

On 21st March, despite the low turnout, the Labour Party organised the National Day of Prayer, and thousands of people gathered for Heroes Day at St Hilda's Anglican Church in Soweto. At this meeting, the names of the people who died in detention were read out, followed by the singing of freedom songs. Those in attendance vowed to "continue with the struggle for liberation."[473] In his address to the multitude of commemorators, George Wauchope, the chairperson of the BPC, Johannesburg branch, likened the struggle to a marathon race. He encouraged those in attendance to continue with the Olympic flame of liberation from where the Sharpeville heroes left off. He also pointed out that it was pointless to aimlessly remember the heroes of Sharpeville; instead, they should be remembered with the aim of continuing from where they left off.[474]

Deborah Mashoba of the Black Community Programmes told her audience: "We have the strengths that come from our ideals in freedom. We have history on our side. We shall never turn back; our struggle shall not cease." An executive member of the Anti-Collaborationists Front urged everyone present to dedicate themselves to making the year a year of change. He quoted an American president on the meaning of freedom while referring to the bogus independence of Transkei.[475]

[472] Conversation with Jairus Mpotseng Kgokong. Johannesburg. 24.07.2023.
[473] Staff Reporter, Surprise and even smiles as police swoop. *Rand Daily Mail*.20 March 1976.
[474] M. Ndlazi, Thousands meet in prayer day. *Rand Daily Mail*.22 March 1976.
[475] Ibid.

It is worth stating that his statement was based on the fact that the homeland of Transkei was born in 1963 as a separate territory for the Xhosa people, while certain towns and areas in which the whites lived within the territory remained under the control of Cape Province.[476] In 1976, Transkei became an 'independent republic' with a non-executive president as head of state.[477] Most black leaders in South Africa rejected the independence of Transkei from the republic, viewing it as the ultimate step in the apartheid policy. The international community rejected Transkeian independence, viewing it as a sham and the culmination of South African apartheid policy. The United Nations' General Assembly passed a similar resolution, calling upon all governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called independent Transkei and to refrain from having any contact with Transkei and other Bantustans.[478]

In December 1976, white South Africans celebrated the festive season, while black South Africans observed a period of mourning for those who died in confrontations with the South African police since 16 June, in what is referred to as 'Black Christmas'[479]. It was also during this period that SASO members who were convicted on two counts under the Terrorism Act were sentenced. Amongst them were Zithulele Cindi, Saths Cooper, Mosioua Lekota, Aubrey Mokoape, Strini Moodley, Muntu Myeza, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Nkwenke Nkomo and Gilbert Sedibe.[480] The trial began in January 1975 when twelve SASO and BPC leaders, detained since September 1974, made their first appearance at the Pretoria regional magistrate court on charges of terrorism. The marathon trial took two years.[481] Genevieve Simpson argues that it was this trial that gave the BCM the opportunity to express its ideology, subsequently placing the movement in the spotlight.[482]

During their trial, the accused made references to the commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre and its significance. Sath Cooper, one of the accused who faced four charges – including distributing pamphlets in Durban in 1972 and 1973, compiling the BCP newsletter, *Inkuleko*

[476] D.A. Heydt, "Nonrecognition of the Independence of Transkei". *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*.Vol.10.Iss.1.(1978).p.169-170.
[477] Ibid.p.176.
[478] Ibid.p.176.
[479] Own observation.
[480] Anon, Student resistance in South Africa: The SASO Nine Trial and Steve Biko. The Conversation**.** 16 April.2019. https://theconversation.com/student-resistance-in-south-africa-the-saso-nine-trial-and-steve-biko-115185. (Accessed on the 20.05.2021).
[481] For more on the SASO/BPC Trial, see https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/mem19750000.032.009.757.pdf. (Accessed on the 20.05.2021).
[482] G. Simpson, "The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968–1977". *The International Journal of African Historical Review.* Vol.44.No.2.(2012).p.155.

Yesizwe, and organising the Sharpeville commemoration meeting in 1973[483] – told the court that the annual commemoration of Sharpeville was equally the same as the Afrikaners Day of Covenant that commemorates their victory at the Battle of Blood River. Cooper, however, denied that the commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre by the BCM family of affiliates was about their confrontation with the apartheid authority; according to him, it was "the spirit of the people of the time which was commemorated".[484]

Nchaupe Aubrey Mokoape, responding to charge number six – which bordered on 'portray[ing] historical events in such a way as to cause, encourage or further feelings of hostility, resentment or hatred by the Blacks towards the Whites' – told the court that the people who died at Sharpeville were regarded as heroes because they died in an attempt to bring into focus the pernicious laws of apartheid South Africa. Mokoape also denied the accusation that he was inciting racial hostility when he said at the Sharpeville commemoration event that the "white man's hands dripped blood as the result of murdering Blacks."[485] Under cross-examination, Mokoape responded to the State's suggestion that SASO and the BPC used the Sharpeville commemorations and Frelimo rallies to incite violent revolution in South Africa. Mokoape admitted being present at the rallies (FRELIMO and Sharpeville commemorations) but denied using them to incite violence, stating: "The commemorations of Sharpeville were merely for the purpose of remembering those who fought for freedom and to show the white superstructure that we did not like this type of thing".[486] Mokoape also admitted that after the rally was banned, he scribbled on a piece of paper thus: "Another page in the history of the struggle for liberation in South Africa has been opened".[487]

Steve Biko, in testifying for his fellow comrades, and in his testimony about SASO's commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre and Day of Compassion, used Christian metaphors in an explicit way. He gave the following testimony:

> The way SASO conducted the various services in our campuses it was mainly a sermon. And we called various distinguished ministers to conduct a service, and I have no doubt that the majority of people there were moved by the way the whole

[483] D. Niddrie, Judge rules in SASO trial. *Rand Daily Mail*. 24 March 1976.
[484] Staff Reporter, Sharpeville 'like the day of Covenant' the terror trail told. *Rand Daily Mail*.30 April 1976.
[485] J. Mojapelo, Police are political enemies, Court told. *Rand Daily Mail.* 11 May 1976.
[486] Staff Reporter, Rallies were protests, SASO trial told. *The Rand Daily Mail*. 12 May 1976.
[487] Ibid.

> thing was handled. In a way they rendered to relate it to a biblical sacrifice, you know, to say that these people died for us.[488]

According to Anne Heffernan, Biko testified that those commemorated on Heroes Day included victims of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, Ahmed Timol, those who died in custody, Onkgopotse Tiro, and others. The day carried spiritual connotations of sacrifice and self-sacrifice, and it fundamentally cherished a set of sacrificial victims who struggled against apartheid.[489]

According to Tom Lodge, Judge Petrus Malan Cillié report (the Commission of Inquiry into the riots at Soweto and other places during and after June 1976) noted that the unrest around the area was less severe than in other affected areas within the country.[490] He noted that among the white officials, the black communities in the Vaal region enjoyed a reputation for political docility and orderly conduct. Vereeniging experienced only occasional ruptures of unrest. Altogether, the Cillié Commission of Inquiry noted seventy-five incidents in the Vereeniging magisterial district, most of them quite minor, including 24 attacks on schools, public buildings and councillors' homes. Of this total, only eight occurred in Sharpeville, including three school burnings and a riot when disgruntled spectators' monies were not refunded after the last-minute cancellation of a football fixture. On the other hand, Philip Frankel contends that the Soweto Students' Uprising encouraged a dramatic shift in the personal and wider historical process that was to usher in the mass mobilisation and township struggles of the 1980's – where Sharpeville was once again at the epicentre.[491]

The year 1977 marked the first anniversary of the Soweto Students' Uprising and, for this reason, the 17th anniversary commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre was also an occasion to honour the school children who died in the 1976 riots, those who died in detention and those who were still languishing in prisons.[492] In the early months of 1977, the BPC and SASO called for a week-long commemoration tagged 'Heroes Week', from 20th to 27th March, to keep the memory of the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre permanently alive. The two movements gave the following statement:

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[488] A. Heffernan, *Limpopo's legacy: Students politics & democracy in South Africa.* Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(2019).p.102.
[489] Ibid.p.102.
[490] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*.Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.284.
[491] P. Frankel, *An ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre.* Yale University Press. New Haven (2001).p.4.
[492] Staff Reporter, Victories were won. *Rand Daily Mail.* 21 March 1977.

> These days must be observed as days of self-examination by blacks where one should assess one's personal contribution to the struggle as compared with those made by all heroes and martyrs that we are commemorating. Where one should measure one's sacrifices on the quest for justice and the peace agent's blood that has been sacrificed in the strife for emancipation.[493]

During this week, commemoration services were held throughout the country, including Johannesburg, Durban and the Eastern Cape. On these occasions, the message was simple and clear to all the commemorators as they were saying:

> "Fathers, brothers, and sisters died fighting the enemy. They were saying that they will continue the fight for justice in the land from where these heroes left off. They were saying that they know that time is on the side of the black man and that final victory is certain."[494]

SASO's *News Bulletin* of June 1977 published a poem that was common during this year's celebration of Heroes Day:

> Listen
> "It will be said again today.
> That we are not here to mourn
> We are here not to 'mourn those' who have died.
> Those in exile
> Those detained.
> Those banned.
> Those imprisoned in Robben Island…….
>
> On contrary, whatever dirges
> We have had in mind shall be transformed into the war songs,
> battle hymns and victory cries of all our black heroes
> and heroines the ages through,
> and so, it is that we here shall be the medium which your mother shot in Sharpeville your brother hurting from the 9th floor in John Vorster
> Your sister mowed down in Soweto.
> You father reaching out from Robben Island will speak to you.
> you poor sad prisoners,
> spread-eagled on the torture racks of your broader South African prisons…

[493] A.K. Hlongwane, & S.M. Ndlovu, *Remembering Sharpeville Day and Fashioning Contested National Narrative: The Sharpeville Memorial Precinct and Langa Memorial.* In Hlongwane. A.K, & Ndlovu S.M, *Public History and Culture in South Africa. Memorialisation and Liberation heritage sites in Johannesburg and the Township Space.* Palgrave Macmillan.Cham.(2019).p.92.

[494] Staff Reporter, Victories were won. *Rand Daily Mail*. 21 March 1977.

stuck in the solitary confinement of your passivity,
fear and inaction listen well to the love and hate,
anger, - faith-hope and determination-resolution
for it is you-we on the outside who must henceforth carry
our history forward that is the greatest tribute.
we could ever hope to pay our martyrs and heroes. (ASHA)[495]

Niamh O'Donnell argues that poetry can communicate the effects of significant events on the lives of ordinary people, while simultaneously promoting a shared understanding of these events. He further contends that poetry, as commemoration, invites communities to turn to poetry as a mode of understanding and expression.[496] Therefore, the above-mentioned poem, as a form of commemoration, deepens the collective understanding of past events and explores a challenging period of history relating to killings committed by the colonial apartheid government. It is, thus, a memorial poem recited during commemoration events to remember those who lost their lives while opposing apartheid. Reciting emotional poems was one of the powerful ways to honour the fallen heroes and struggle martyrs - a tradition that was still being carried out, post-1994, during anniversary commemorations of historical events such as the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre, the 1976 Soweto Uprising, the 1985 Langa Massacre, the 1991 Sebokeng Massacre and the 1992 Boipatong Massacre.

On 21st March 1977, in Atteridgeville, Father Smangaliso Mkatshwa of the Catholic Bishops Conference told those attending the Heroes Day meeting that such a meeting was convened to mourn the Black heroes, particularly those who died in Sharpeville and those who lost their lives in the 1976 Soweto Students' Uprising. Father Mkatshwa stressed to this audience that every nation had its own heroes and that many people were scared to attend commemoration meetings as they think such meetings would be political. He assured that the gatherings were no more than prayer meetings and that, besides, black South Africans needed no communist to tell them that they were suffering under the apartheid government.[497] In concluding his speech, and referring to the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre, Father Mkatshwa said, "Those people died because they love us. They paid the supreme price so that South Africa could live in peace and love."[498]

[495] Editor, *SASO News Bulletin*. Vol.1.No.1 June 1977.p.1.
[496] N. O'Donnell, "Poetry as Commemoration". *Irish Poetry Reading Archive*. https://www.poetryascommemoration.ie/about/. (Accessed on the 24.07.2023).
[497] S. Kagame, We Know we are suffering. *Rand Daily Mail*.22 March 1977.
[498] Staff Reporter, Victories were won. *Rand Daily Mail*. 21 March 1977.

A commemoration service held at the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre in Soweto, and organised by SASO, was chaired by Manas Buthelezi,[499] a theologian who harnessed the BCM to adopt a politico-philosophical approach to issues and translated them into a theological language known as Black theology. Directly or indirectly, Buthelezi's philosophy was influenced by the June 16 1976 uprising.[500] According to Ali Khangela Hlongwane, during this era, anniversary commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre, and later the Soweto Students' Uprising, showed respect for leaders like Nthato Motlana, Naboath Ntshuntsha, Zeph Mothopeng, Winnie Mandela, Matlare and Manas Buthelezi, who spoke at such events on a number of occasions.[501] In his address to the crowd, Buthelezi told his audience that "heroes were not appointed or elected; they simply emerged from the dynamics of history".[502] He further said, "When I speak of the student as a hero, I have in mind a collective of young an individual whom each left an imprint on South African history since June 16, 1976. Even primary school pupils had been politicised in a radical way due to their experiences last year."[503]

Reflecting on the horrible events of the previous year and taking a swipe at the education system of the time, Buthelezi told his audience:

> Bantu education is already dead, although its corpse is still around with us. It is too much to expect to see an obituary note in the Government Gazette concerning the death and funeral exercises of Bantu education. The outcome of the fight against Bantu education is a certain victory, even though officially the system is still operating as if nothing happened.[504]

A SASO representative reflected on the memory of the Sharpeville Massacre and how the day could not be forgotten. He told the audience: "Many will say that this is one of the days they wish to forget. Many will call such days the days of great setbacks, but I will call them days to remember. Days when freedom was confirmed as reality. That is why I can smell it, I can feel it, I can now see it".[505]

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[499] For more on Manas Buthelezi, see J.K.Mashabela, "Dr Manas Buthelezi's contribution to Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa's struggle against apartheid in South Africa.(1970s-1990s)". Unpublished master's dissertation.University of South Africa.Pretoria.(2014)

[500] J.K. Mashabela, "Manas Buthelezi: The Church leader, liberation activist and scholar in the South African context". *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*.Vol.42.No.1.(2016).p.5.

[501] A.K. Hlongwane, "Commemoration, Memory and Monuments in the Contested Language of Black Liberation:The South African Experience". *The Journal of Pan African Studies*. Vol.2.No.4.(2008).p.146.

[502] Staff Reporter, Victories were won. *Rand Daily Mail*.21 March 1977.

[503] Staff Reporter, Manas honours those who died. *Rand Daily Mail.* 21 March 1977.

[504] Ibid.

[505] Ibid.

On 18th August 1977, Steve Biko was arrested for flouting the order restricting him to King Williams Town. This arrest was not the first; between 1976 and 1977 Biko was arrested several times for violating the ban. Upon his arrest, he was interrogated and severely tortured, then loaded naked onto the back of a truck from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria. He eventually died from a brain hemorrhage caused by the security police's torture while in their custody in Pretoria.[506] His death was widely publicised and it sparked both local and global outcry.[507] For a long time in South African historiography, Biko was consigned to the footnotes of liberation history.[508]

On the 3rd of March 1978, the Special Committee against Apartheid held a meeting to pay tribute to the late Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, who died of cancer on 26th February 1978 in Kimberley.[509] At this meeting, a former PAC executive member, Peter Molotsi, told his audience that "the death certificate indicated that he [Sobukwe] had died of cancer. We, however, have reason to believe that the cancer was induced".[510] In 1982, the PAC chairman in exile, John Pokela, reiterated Molotsi's words by stating that Sobukwe was malevolently eradicated by the Boers in a bid to weaken the PAC movement.[511] Upon the news of Sobukwe's death, Graaff Reinet, the birthplace of Sobukwe, woke up in shock to black power salutes and an endless dose of freedom songs from the highly politicised local youth. For two weeks, students kept a memorialisation vigil at the location, while on the hill nearby police set up camp to keep watch on them.[512]

[506] A. Habibi, Steve Biko: The Intellectual Roots of South African Black Consciousness. *Proceedings of the National Conference on Undergraduate Research (NCUR).* University of Kentucky. Lexington. 2014.p.774.
[507] M.V. Mzamane, B. Maaba, & N. Biko, *The Black Consciousness Movement*. In SADET, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa.* [1970-1980].Vol.2.Unisa press. Pretoria.(2007).p.149.
[508] A. Desai, & G. Vahed, "A fool's errand? Black Consciousness and the 1970s debate over the "Indian" in the Natal Indian Congress". *New Contree*. No.86.(2021).p.9
[509] United Nations Centre against Apartheid, Robert *Mangaliso Sobukwe (1924-1978): Tributes at a special meeting of the Special Committee Against Apartheid.* United Nations. New York.(1978).p.1.
[510] B. Pogrund, *Robert Sobukwe: How Can Man Die Better*? Jonathan Ball Publishers. Johannesburg & Cape Town.(1990).p.368.
[511] Ibid.p.368.
[512] Ibid.p.375.

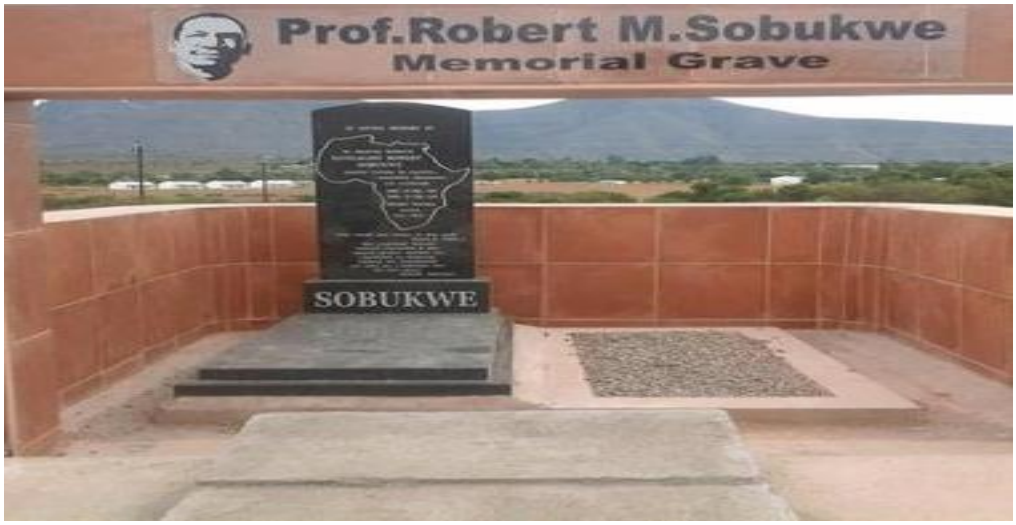

Figure 3.5. Memorial grave of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe in Graaff- Reinet, the man who led the Positive Action Campaign which ended in the Sharpeville Massacre on 21 March 1960. (Image by Graaff-Reinet Advitiser.05.12.2017.)

The police actions were reminiscent of what transpired during the burial of the victims of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. According to Philip Frankel, during the second funeral for thirty-five victims on the 2nd of April 1960, the police were stationed on a small hill about a kilometer away and they observed the proceedings through high-powered binoculars.[513] At his funeral, Helen Suzman[514] and Benjamin Pogrund, a very old friend of Sobukwe and author of his biography, *Robert Sobukwe: How Can Man Die Better* (1990), had been removed from the list of speakers.[515] There was, however, pandemonium caused by the presence of Gatsha Buthelezi during Sobukwe's funeral proceedings. The mourners did not want him at the funeral and demanded that he leave. As Buthelezi left the podium in tears and humiliation, some people spat in his face; others jeered or screamed curses at him, branding him a stooge and a sellout.[516] Later, Gatsha Buthelezi alleged that the plot to oust him from the Sobukwe funeral was hatched in Regina Mundi.[517]

[513] P. Frankel, *Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Johannesburg. Yale University Press. New Haven (2001).p.166.

[514] Helen Suzman was a South African anti-apartheid activist and politician who represented a succession of liberal and center-left opposition parties. For more on Helen Suzman, see R. Renwick, *Helen Suzman: Bright Star in a Dark Chamber: The Biography.* Biteback Publishing. Hull.(2014).

[515] P. Brown, "Reflections on Graaff-Reinet in Reality." *Journal of Liberal and Radical Opinion.* Vol.10.No.3.(1978).p.978.

[516] B. Pogrund, *Robert Sobukwe: How Can Man Die Better*? Jonathan Ball Publishers. Johannesburg & Cape Town.(1990).p.375.

[517] South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, "Desecration of Soweto's Regina Mundi". *SA Outlook*. 31 July 1978.p.100.

In 1998, twenty years after the death of Sobukwe, as an act of reconciliation, Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi was invited by Sobukwe's widowed wife, Zondeni Veronica, to speak at the commemoration of Robert Sobukwe's death.[518] At the commemoration, Buthelezi recalled how his life was threatened by some 'misguided youth', noting that he had always regretted missing the opportunity to deliver his condolences and tribute to a man whose life rang true to the meaning of his name.[519] On this occasion, he hailed Robert Sobukwe as a "man of wonders … one of Africa's greatest sons".[520] On the 21st of March 1978, amidst a strong police presence, more than 1,000 people attended the Heroes Day memorial service for the Sharpeville and Soweto dead.[521]

The beginning of 1979 witnessed the formation of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS)[522] by the former South African Students' Movement (SASM) activists. It became the first charterist student organisation to emerge in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto students uprising. During its formation, it was more inclined to the Black Consciousness philosophy but in 1981 it became more aligned with the charterist movements.[523] By changing its ideological orientation, COSAS became, according to Anne Heffernan, the first congress organisation in South Africa since the banning of the ANC.[524] This year further saw the formation of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) to further the principles of the BCM after the banning of all its integral components the previous year. During this year (1979), more than 2,000 people trooped to Regina Mundi in Soweto to commemorate Heroes Day in honour of the Sharpeville victims. The service was organised by several organisations, including the Writers Association of South Africa, the Soweto Action Committee, the South African Black Social Workers Association, the Soweto Committee of Ten, the Soweto Students League, the Soweto Teachers Action Committee, the Grassroots from Pretoria, and the South African Council of Churches.[525]

[518] For more on Robert Sobukwe's tribute, see N. Marquard, "Robert Sobukwe: A personal note". *Reality: Journal of Liberal and Radical Opinion.* Vol.10 No.3.(1978).p.8.
[519] B. Pogrund, Robert *Sobukwe: How Can Man Die Better*? Jonathan Ball Publishers. Johannesburg & Cape Town.(1990).p.395.
[520] Ibid.p.395.
[521] Own Correspondence, Heroes Day in Soweto. *Rand Daily Mail*.20 March 1978.
[522] For more on COSAS, see but not limited to A. Heffernan, *Limpopo's legacy: Students politics & democracy in South Africa.* Wits University Press.Johannesburg.(2019).
[523] C. Twala, "Student activism and contestation for political space at the former University of the North (QwaQwa branch), 1986-1996". *Journal for Contemporary History.* Vol.43.No.1.(2018).p.145-146.
[524] A. Heffernan, *Limpopo's legacy: Students politics & Democracy in South Africa.* Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(2019).p.152.
[525] Staff Reporter, 2000 remember…. *Rand Daily Mail*. 26 March 1976.

During the service, the police were in full force monitoring the activities, which were characterised by Black power slogans and freedom songs. Making the connection between the struggle songs during the Sharpeville commemoration and the 21st of March 1960, Nora Makky argues that when the groups were assembled, men, women and children started marching to the police station, chanting freedom songs and campaign slogans. Many who were present on that day recalled that they were singing and shouting; however, the mood on that day was more festive than aggressive. When the police opened fire on the non-violent crowd, the joyful singing, in less than two minutes, turned into the cries of the wounded and the silence of the dead.[526] Kgolane Alfred Rudolph Phala argues that during this period, freedom songs began to have a repetitive refrain, rhythmical and strong in words. According to Phala, the freedom fighters no longer merely stood and clapped hands, but there was the rhythmical stomping of the ground while some of the freedom songs were in fact about guns, death and freedom.[527]

Another commemoration service that was planned to take place in Sharpeville was cancelled. According to Reverend Moletsane of the Lekwa Black Ministers Fellowship, the service was postponed indefinitely. Reverend Khoza of the Sharpeville Methodist Church indicated that the cancellation of the service was because the local ministers were not consulted and the service had been arranged by priests at Sebokeng.[528] The month of April 1979 witnessed the release of Petrus Nkutsoeu Motsau from Robben Island, after spending five years there on charges of terrorism, following his role in organising the first-ever Sharpeville commemoration discussed earlier in this chapter. Upon his release in Bethlehem in the Free State, Matsau was banished to Phuthaditjhaba in the former Basotho homeland of Qwaqwa where he was offered a house.[529] While serving his banishment in Qwaqwa, Motsau was only allowed to be visited by his close relatives.[530]

The year 1979 further witnessed Turfloop University become a focal point of student-management fights.[531] The roots of this unrest can be traced to the expulsion of some students - amongst them Ngwako Ramathlodi - for organising a Sharpeville commemoration service, plans to host a beauty

[526] N. Makky, "Song in the Anti-Apartheid and Reconciliation Movements in South Africa". Unpublished honours dissertation. Ohio State University.Ohio.(2007).p.8.
[527] K.A.R. Phala, "The evolution of freedom songs". *The Thinker*. Vol.47.(2013).p.46.
[528] E. Nkabinde, Sharpeville service is off. *Rand Daily Mail.* 21 March 1979.
[529] M. Moroke, Sharpeville man freed from Robben Island. *Rand Daily Mail*. 27 April 1979.
[530] Staff Reporter, Banning orders for Motsau. *Rand Daily Mail.* 2 May 1979.
[531] For more on Students (SASO) activities at Turfloop University. See but not limited to S. Badat. *Black Student Politics: Higher Education and Apartheid from SASO to SANSCO. 1968-1990*.Routledge Falmer. New York & London.1999. & A. Heffernan, *Limpopo's legacy: Students politics & Democracy in South Africa.* Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(2019).

contest on June 16th (the day of the 3rd anniversary of the 1976 Soweto Students' Uprising), as well as the issue of the sovereignty of the SRC at the university.[532] Students boycotted classes and staged marches around the township.[533] During this volatile period, the police and troops of the South African Defense Force (SADF) were garrisoned on campus.[534]

During this year, the rector of Turfloop University, William Kgware, expelled Ngoako Ramathlodi, a third-year law student, for allegedly organising and participating in the Sharpeville commemoration.[535] According to the university's statement, Ramathlodi was expelled from the university because he had contravened his re-admission conditions by attending a Sharpeville commemoration meeting on 21 March.[536] On the 4th of November 1979, Tsiame Kenneth Mopedi, the chief minister of the Qwaqwa homeland, addressed a crowd of 2,000 Basotho people at the George Thabe Stadium in Sharpeville. The main aim of his address was to give a report on what his cabinet had done in the past four years, from 1974 to 1978. During his address, he reflected on the memory of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre by stating:

> When I speak of Sharpeville, I speak about the liberation of the black man. Nineteen years ago, blacks in Sharpeville campaigned vehemently against the passes and hundreds of lives were lost. The black people could no longer stand the pressure from the whites. Now, the liberation of the black man will continue in Sharpeville and blacks will never concede defeat as long as they fight for their freedom.[537]

[532] S. Badat, *Black Student Politics: Higher Education and Apartheid from SASO to SANSCO. 1968-1990*.Routledge Falmer. New York & London.(1999).p.210.
[533] M. Bot, "Black student resistance to segregated universities". *Indicator SA*.Vol.3.No.2.(1985).p.14.
[534] A. Heffernan, *Limpopo's legacy: Students politics & Democracy in South Africa.* Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(2019).p.152.
[535] Ibid.p.122.
[536] G. Dikotla, Turfloop firm on student expulsion. *Rand Daily Mail*. 4 May 1979.
[537] C. Dikotla, Sharpeville liberated us, says Mopedi. *Rand Daily Mail*. 5 November 1979. file:///C:/Users/ngoakmj/Desktop/rand%20daily%20mail/Rand_Daily_Mail_published_as_Rand Daily_Mail___November_5_1979.pdf. (Accessed on the 11.04.2023).

3.3 SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE COMMEMORATION AND CENSORSHIP

Different forms of media censorship have existed in South Africa since 1948, and most of the laws that were repealed post-1990 were the same ones that people had protested against from 1960 till after the Sharpeville Massacre. Before 1963, there were no specific censorship laws in South Africa.[538] The Publications and Entertainment Act of 1963 officially institutionalised publications control for the decades that followed and extended powers over imported and locally published publications.[539] Subsequently, the apartheid government created apparatuses that were denounced by prolific writers and activists such as Sipho Sepamla, a forerunner of the post-Sharpeville cultural regeneration that presaged BCM. Rachel Matteau argues that despite the repressive political climate, writers from various backgrounds created a body of anti-apartheid literature that would form part of South Africa's literary heritage.[540]

Under the Customs Act, Ambrose Reeves's book, *Shooting at Sharpeville: The Agony of South Africa* (1961), was embargoed on the pretext that it represented a danger to the apartheid regime. Under the Suppression of Communism Act, Bernard Sachs' book, *The Road from Sharpeville* (1961), which was internally published, was banned for propagating communism.[541] However, the publication returned to circulation after the Directorate of Publications considered an application for review by the South African Library in 1985 and found it not to be undesirable.[542] The ad hoc committee on publications gave several reasons for its decision: the author did not write the book from a Marxist perspective; the book's argument presented a political underpinning in 1961 and would have been unacceptable at that time; however, almost a quarter of a century later, these thoughts had become part of the political game and programmes of several political parties; and since the publication was outdated it was unlikely that it would have a negative impact on race relations in South Africa.[543]

[538] For more on censorship laws in South Africa, see A. Hepple, *Press under Apartheid*. International Defence and Aid Fund. London.(1974).
[539] R. Matteau, "Real, and imagined readers: Censorship, publishing and reading under apartheid". Unpublished doctoral thesis.University of Witwatersrand.Johannesburg.(2011).p.59.
[540] Ibid.p.54.
[541] Ibid.p.55.
[542] NARS, Application for Decision/ Review. The road to Sharpeville. P85/1/100.
[543] Ibid.

During this period, the key censorship law was the Publications Act of 1974, which was aimed at non-newspaper publications such as films, records, stage shows, artworks and amateur photography. The Publications Act superseded the Publications and Entertainment Act of 1963.[544] The most stringent provision of this law, carried over from the 1963 Act, was, according to Daniel Kunene, its power to ban not only current but also all future issues of periodicals that might be deemed undesirable or objectionable literature.[545] The Sharpeville commemoration pamphlet, *Sharpeville: lest we forget*, was distributed by the Cape Town Action League and Students of Young Azania, with the emblem of a black fist and the words "Smash Capitalism: Build Socialism". The banning of political organisations, the state of emergency, mass killings, detentions and the fate of the 'Upington 26', who were convicted of killing Jetta Sethwala, a policeman[546], were the reasons to recall the Sharpeville-Langa genocide of 1960.[547] This publication was considered to be instigative and likely to have the effect of encouraging revolutionary thoughts. It was also feared that it would have a wide readership among the masses and portend danger for the safety, security and maintenance of law and order within the republic. It was, therefore, considered objectionable according to the prescripts of the Publications Act.[548]

The pamphlet on the AZASO-NUSAS rally was banned. It advertised the commemoration of this day, with Allan Boesak and other speakers billed to give speeches at the University of Cape Town in 1974. The pamphlet provided an overview of the Sharpeville Massacre and carried a picture of mass graves on one side. The Publications Act of 1975, amended in 1978, allowed for a publication to be found "undesirable" if it brought any section of the South African community into ridicule or contempt, was harmful to inter-sectional relations or prejudiced the security, welfare, peace and good order of the state.[549] Dennis Brutus argues that this battery of laws silenced writers, declared publications illegal and made many books inaccessible, with the mere quotation of certain authors deemed a criminal act.[550]

[544] D.P. Kunene, "Ideas under Arrest: Censorship in South Africa".*Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*. Vol.3.No.1.(2014).p.222.
[545] Ibid.p.222.
[546] D. Beresford, *Truth is a strange fruit: A personal journey through the apartheid War*. Jacana Media.(Pty).Ltd. Johannesburg.(2011).p.19.
[547] NARS, Application for Decision/ Review. The road to Sharpeville. P85/1/100.
[548] NARS, Sharpeville: Lest we forget. P89/04/34.
[549] J.M. Coetzee, "Censorship in South Africa". *English in Africa*. Vol.17.No.1.(1990).p.1.
[550] D. Brutus, "Literature and Change in South Africa". *Research in African Literature.* Vol.24. No.3.1993.p.101.

By the mid-1960s, the apartheid regime had closed many loopholes in its statutes by banning all forms of mobilisation that would allow for mass protests and the existence of anti-apartheid organisations. By implication, this demanded a different approach to the struggle against apartheid by activists in various parts of the country. Marilia Fatima de Oliveira, Maria Perla Araújo Moraes and Andrea Martins Lameirão Mateus argue that during this decade (1970s) and the subsequent one (1980s), the political aim was to keep white people as oblivious and uninformed as possible about what was going on in the townships, the prisons and the torture cells.[551] The 1960s and 1970s saw an increase in the publication and circulation of works written about or by Blacks – which not only gave an account of their experiences in a racially segregated country but also constituted an objection to apartheid.[552] As mentioned in the previous chapter, censorship was applied by the University of Witwatersrand to the exhibition commemorating the Sharpeville Massacre in the early part of the 1960s.

In 1973, Derek Raymond Louw, an editor of the University of Witwatersrand's students' newsletter, *Wits Student,* was found guilty on two counts of contravening the Publications and Entertainment Act through the publication of undesirable content in the *Wits Student* of 23 March 1973. The state alleged that Louw had defamed members of the apartheid government by referring to them as "a corrupt pack of neo-Nazis", and the prime minister of the republic, Balthazar Johannes Voster (also known as John Voster), by calling him the "butcher of Sharpeville" and De Villiers Graff the "rock spiders".[553]

In another incident, members of the Lesotho afro-rock music band, Uhuru, were scheduled to perform in Sharpeville and Soweto during the month of March as part of their three-week tour of South Africa in 1975, but they were ordered to fly back to Lesotho on the earliest flight after being detained and questioned by security police at the police station in Sharpeville – the same place the shooting was carried out in 1960. Upon their arrival in Sharpeville, the musicians were detained for three hours and later served with orders from the chief magistrate of Johannesburg, to leave the

[551] M.F. de Oliveira, M.P.A. Moraes, & A.M.L.Mateus, "South African censorship: The production & liberation of waiting for the barbarians, by J.M. Coetzee". *Acta Scientiarum. Language and Culture*. Vol.41.(2019).p.2.
[552] B.C.Ndhlovu, "Reconnoitring Alternative Forms of Resistance to Apartheid South Africa.c.1966–1979 and beyond: A case of an Individual". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.69.No.2.(2017).p.182
[553] C. Steyn, Fines for student editor and cartoonist. *Rand Daily Mail*.14 August 1973.

country and never perform in South Africa again. The reasons provided were that their name, Uhuru, was highly political and their music could politically incite their listeners.[554]

Jonny Clegg and Michael Drewett argue that the most systematic and formalised attempt at censoring popular music in Africa took place in South Africa during the apartheid era. They observe that the apartheid government controlled the kind of music played on the airwaves through the censorship board and police surveillance and harassment of musicians. Popular music was routinely monitored and censored as part of the apartheid regime's attempt at maintaining its hegemony.[555]

In 1978, the Directorate of Publications published in the Government Gazette a notice indicating that it would be an offense to possess the *Wits Student* of 20 February 1978, as well as the "21 March 1960 commemorations" and "Terror in Namibia".[556] In 1979, a one-year jail sentence and five-year sentence were imposed on Joyce Mokhesi of the Sharpeville Catholic Church Young Christian Workers - which was affiliated to the banned Christian Institute - by the Vereeniging magistrate in 1978. She was found guilty of being in possession of banned and undesirable literature pertaining to the ANC, SASO and the Christian Institute when the police searched her home. However, the judgment was set aside by the Transvaal appeal court. The court found that the magistrate erred in convicting Mokhesi as she was not aware that she could not keep such literature.[557]

In 1985, a Sharpeville commemoration pamphlet, *Sharpeville Remember*, issued by Students of Young Azania at the University of Cape Town, was considered undesirable by the Directorate of Publications. According to Christopher Merrett, between 1976 and 1982, 80% of the submissions made to the Publications Control Board were referred by the police or customs officials, and only 20% of them by the public or publishers.[558]

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[554] Staff Reporter, End of the road for Uhuru. *Rand Daily Mail.*4 March 1975.
[555] J. Clegg, & M. Drewett, *Why don't you sing about the leaves and dreams? Reflections on music censorship in apartheid South Africa.* In Drewett. M, & Cloonan. M, *Popular Music in Africa*. Ashgate Publishing Limited. Hampshire.(2006).p.127.
[556] SAPA, Wits Student paper banned. *Rand Daily Mail*.9 June 1978.
[557] Staff Reporter, One year sentence set aside. *Rand Daily Mail*. 22 June 1979.
[558] C. Merrett, "Censorship: The challenge to South African universities". *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*.No.66.(1986).p.1.

3.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that memorialisation and commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre began in the 1960s and continued in the 1970s. It has also shown that NUSAS was at the forefront of the observance of this day in the 1960s and continued to do so even during the period of political quiescence. During this decade, NUSAS explored innovative ways of commemorating the day by staging demonstrations not only within the University of Witwatersrand but also on the streets during periods of high traffic volume in order to draw the attention of motorists to the significance of this day. Within the campus, NUSAS held low-key symbolic re-enactments of the killing through the use of hand-made coffins representing the dead and the conversion of the library lawns into symbolic graves. There were also candlelit ceremonies, speeches, films and documentaries about the massacre in an attempt to draw the university community's attention to the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960.

The chapter has also demonstrated that the emergence of the radical Black Consciousness ideology inspired a student movement in the form of SASO in the late 1960s. This marked a political resurrection among the Black community within the tertiary institutions. SASO was responsible for breaking the political silence within the Black community by commemorating the Sharpeville Massacre as Heroes Day in 1971 at the then black section of the University of Natal sports field in Wentworth.

After the inaugural event of 1971, SASO would go on to commemorate the Sharpeville every year without a break. Outside the universities, the Black People's Convention (BPC) was formed in 1972. The BPC adhered to the same Black Consciousness philosophy. The organisation also complemented SASO by focusing on the Black community. This movement escalated resistance on the part of the Black community, which was met with increased oppression such as arrests, censorship and banning orders. It was through the Black People's Convention that Sharpeville hosted the first-ever commemoration of the massacre on its shores as Heroes Day in 1973.

The chapter has also demonstrated how the Sharpeville Massacre commemoration was expanded to include political matters outside the country: for example, the rallies celebrating Frelimo's victory in Mozambique. Although only two rallies took place, they were regarded by the state as having fermented terrorist acts and incited racial hatred within the country – as evidenced during the SASO

trial where commemorations of Sharpeville became part of the indictment of its members. The chapter also examined the application of censorship in South Africa through the Suppression of Communism Act and Customs Act, among other censorship laws which strangled freedom of expression in South Africa. These laws were also used in an attempt to erase the memories of the Sharpeville Massacre through the prohibition of the distribution of print material relating first to the event itself and, later, the anniversary commemorations of the massacre to a wider readership and audience. Commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre by the newly formed BCM-aligned movement and the United Democratic Front (UDF) will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

SHARPEVILLE DAY COMMEMORATIONS BY BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS- ALIGNED ORGANISATIONS AND CONGRESS MOVEMENT-ALIGNED FORMATIONS: 1980-1989

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*"*Sons and Daughters of Africa, we are standing on the threshold of a historic era. We are about to witness momentous events. We are blazing a new trail and we invite you to be, with us, creators of history. Join us in the march to freedom. March with us to independence. To independence now. Tomorrow the United States of Africa. IZWE LETHU![1]

Robert Sobukwe

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The 1980s, like the two decades which preceded it, witnessed no improvement in South Africa's socio-political environment as the apartheid administration switched gears by subduing and crushing disturbances within the townships. Scholars observe that the cycle of persistent black protests by anti-apartheid groups and the repeated imposition of a state of emergency by the apartheid government were some of the most conspicuous elements of South Africa's riotous 1980s. According to Deborah Posel, since the 1980s South African history has been marked by violent clashes between the township people and the state security forces[2]. In a similar vein, Mark Bennett and Deborah Quin state that the political environment in South Africa, in many respects, resembled the violent cycles of the 1960s.[3] Throughout South Africa, townships transitioned from apparent calm to widespread opposition that became more rebellious, rowdy, and violent during this decade. This opposition stemmed from the conflicts which underlay township administration and growth, along with the revitalisation of national black politics and the delegitimisation of councillors.

According to Mbuyiseni Quintin Ndlozi, the period of the 1980s was a theatre of social movements centred primarily on rent and consumer boycotts, tricameral parliament election boycotts and demands for better wages and improved school conditions – with the school-going population

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[1] R. Sobukwe, *The State of the Nation* (1959). In Mandyoli.S.S, *Selected speeches of Robert Sobukwe and a mini biography*. https://ilizwe.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/speeches-of-r-m-sobukhwe.pdf. (Accessed on the 02. 07.2022).

[2] D. Posel, *Symbolizing violence: State and media discourse in TV coverage of township protest, 1985–7.* In Manganyi. N.C, & Du Toit. A, *Political violence and the struggle in South Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan.London.(1990).p.154.

[3] For more on state repression and violence in the 1980s, see J.A. Stemmet, "Apartheid Under Siege, 1984-1988: Actions and Reaction". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Free State. Bloemfontein.(2002).

undoubtedly central to the liberation politics of this decade [4] Human and socioeconomic losses in the mid-half of this decade exceeded those incurred during the 1952 Defiance Campaign, the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre, the 1976 Soweto Students Uprising and the first-half school boycotts.[5]

Scholars have also defined the 1980s as a period of organic crisis. The economic crisis that began around 1974 evolved into an organic crisis that could not be contained by suppression alone.[6] Roughly 60,000 black schoolchildren were absent from class at the start of the 1980s, and the school boycott and student unrest culminated in the closure of nearly 80 schools in South Africa – the bulk of which were in the Eastern Cape.[7] This decade saw a total of 70,000 soldiers entering the townships as early as 1985 and a national state of emergency being declared in June 1986.[8] According to Jessica Mary Breakey, both the Sharpeville Massacre and the Soweto students' revolt continue to hold great significance in South African history. Breakey contends that the 1980s were, however, the "time of the comrades".[9] According to Thula Simpson, the resistance was spearheaded by the section of the urban black population most commonly referred to by political commentators as 'youths', or within activist circles as 'comrades', 'amabutho' (warriors) or 'young lions'.[10]

Besides the revolutionary climate and state repression of the 1980s, the decade also marked the period when the name of Nelson Mandela emerged from the confines of prison cells.[11] In the middle of this decade, on 8 January 1985, Oliver Tambo urged all South Africans to make the apartheid system unworkable and the country unmanageable.[12] In July 1985, the apartheid government announced a state of emergency in South Africa. This was the second in the history of the country, the first being the aftermath of the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. The state of

[4] M.Q. Ndlozi, "Permanent juniority: Black youth politics in the Vaal under late colonisation". Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Witwatersrand.Johannesburg.(2017).p.65.
[5] M. Bennett, & D. Quin, Political conflict in South Africa: Data trends 1984-1988. *An Indicator Project*. Robprint. (Pty).Ltd. Durban.(1988).p.7.
[6] I. van Kesel, The UDF and the crisis in South Africa in the 1980s. Summary of a research proposal. South African History Online.AL2431.(Accessed.18.07.2022).
[7] G. Thatcher, Behind black school boycott in S. Africa: Dissatisfaction with apartheid. *The Christian Science Monitor*.3.1980. https://www.csmonitor.com/1980/1003/100343.html.(Accessed on the 26.07.2022).
[8] R.C. Cottrell, "South Africa: A state of apartheid. Chelsea House Publishers. Broomall.(2005).p.122.
[9] J.M. Breakey, Writing from inside the fire: Reflections on the fire-centered politics of the 2015/16 South African student movements". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(2017).p.24.
[10] T. Simpson, "Umkhonto we Sizwe, We are Waiting for You: The ANC and the Township Uprising, September 1984–September 1985". *South African Historical Journal.* Vol.16.No.1.(2009).p.150-159.
[11] B. Pogrund, *Robert Sobukwe: How Can Man Die Better*?. Jonathan Ball Publishers. Johannesburg & Cape Town.(2015).p.385.
[12] C. Niehaus, The life and times of comrade O.R. Tambo: A revolutionary life committed to principled unity. *Africa News 24/7*. https://www.africanews24-7.co.za/index.php/southafricaforever/the-life-and-times-of-comrade-or-tambo-a-revolutionary-life-committed-to-principled-unity/. (Accessed on the 28.07.2022).

emergency initially covered the Eastern Cape and the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal (PWV) area; the second declaration of the same state of emergency was implemented on a national level.[13] It should be stated that in the 1980s, antagonism towards apartheid came with a refined attempt at control – what the BCM fittingly called "the systems" – with the state playing a major role in generating divisions within black communities.[14]

During this decade, the National Forum (NF), formed in June 1983, aligned with Black Consciousness. The NF consisted of 200 fragmented associations, with Azapo as the single prominent structure, although it moved to the left and identified "racial capitalism" as the enemy in 1981[15] It [National Forum], however, managed to establish links and was further led by Africanist groups associated with, or close to, the PAC.[16] This decade further saw the further decline of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). The brutal state repression of the BCM in the 1970s, including the imprisonment of its political leadership and the killing of Steve Bantu Biko in 1977 had weakened the movement so severely that it became significantly overshadowed by the Charterist-aligned movement whose member organisations mounted widespread political campaigns such as the Release Mandela Campaign (RMC), the Anti-Republic Day Movement, and the Anti-South African Indian Council Campaign.[17]

In August 1983, the United Democratic Front (UDF) emerged as a broad political movement and became prominent during this decade.[18] It was founded along similar lines as the NF, with decentralised regional and local youth, women, religious and national student formations, community organisations and prominent trade unions.[19] It further drew its inspiration from the 1955 Congress of the People's Freedom Charter.[20] Ian Macqueen argues that the UDF leadership was led by the core of activists who had been schooled in the Black Consciousness philosophy and ideology

[13] SAHA, Commemorating the end of the conscription campaign: A state of emergency. http://www.saha.org.za/ecc25/ecc_under_a_state_of_emergency.htm.(Accessed on the 28.07.2022).
[14] I.M. Macqueen, *Black consciousness and progressive movements under apartheid*. University of KwaZulu Natal Press. Pietermaritzburg.(2018).p.223.
[15] Ibid.p.227.
[16] H. Thorn, *Anti-apartheid and the emergence of global civil society*. Palgrave Macmillan. New York. (2009).p.55.
[17] S. Badat, *Black students' politics: Higher education and apartheid from SASO to SANSCO, 1968–1990*. Routledge Falmer Series.New York and London.(2002).p.179–180.
[18] S. Dubow, *Apartheid: 1948–1994*. Oxford University Press.Oxford.(2014).p.206.
[19] A. Du Toit, & N.C. Manganyi, *Political violence and the struggle in South Africa.* Palgrave Macmillan. (1990*).* In Breakey. J, "Writing from inside the fire: Reflections on the fire-centered politics of the 2015-16 South African student movements". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg. (2017).p.24.
[20] Ibid.p.207.

but had moved to embrace the non-racialism of resurrected Charterist traditions.[21] Coupled with these two political organisations, the 1980s saw the growth of powerful trade unions and allies of the UDF, with the formation in 1985 of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Håkan Thörn observes that during this decade, the Inkatha Movement[22], founded by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, progressively profiled itself as a nationwide political party, rather than just a Zulu movement.[23]

Based on the above analysis of the socio-political climate of the 1980s, this chapter analyses the commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre during this decade. It considers the commemoration of Sharpeville by Black Consciousness-aligned-organisations and Congress Movement-aligned formations: 1980-1989. These organisations had affiliates from many sections of society;, however, this chapter will focus mainly on the activities of student movements during the 1980s, groupings which had been commemorating this day since 1970.

This chapter demonstrates that the observance of Sharpeville Day during the 1980s took the form of protest marches, stay-aways, students' class boycotts, solemn commemoration services, and pickets on university campuses. It highlights that the commemorations of this day continued despite the repressive reforms and coercive political context of the 1980s. In its final analysis, the chapter advances the argument that during the 1980s, the commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre did not occur only for the remembrance of the victims but were also used by the student movements as the occasion to launch resistance and re-dedicate to the cause of freedom from apartheid.

[21] I.M.Macqueen, *Black consciousness and progressive movements under apartheid*. University of Kwazulu Natal Press. Pietermaritzburg.(2018).p.225.
[22] H. Thörn, *Anti-apartheid and the emergence of global civil society*. Palgrave Macmillan. New York.(2009).p.55.
[23] A.M. Gray, "The liberation song with special reference to those used by the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party, and the Pan Africanist Congress". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Free State. Bloemfontein.(1996).p.160.

4.2 COMMEMORATIONS BY STUDENTS IN THE 1980s

Mourning ritual practices are common in most African cultures[24] – hence on 20th March 1980, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) called on all black people to wear black clothing and observe a week of mourning in commemoration of Heroes Day. Harry Mashabela observes that COSAS had, in this decade, commemorated various historical events in which the ANC participated.[25] Drawing from Ilanga Ndiyane (2011), Cecilia Daphney Ndlovu argues that the black mourning dress, or any other colour for that matter, is not an African mourning custom. He further contends that black as a colour of mourning was adopted from England, and was first practised by Queen Victoria upon the death of Prince Albert.[26] COSAS further called on the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) to call off all matches scheduled for that week, and for shebeens, shops and cinemas to remain closed on the 21st March, as a mark of respect not only for Sharpeville victims but also for Lilian Masediba Ngoyi[27], who died on the 13th of March 1980, and for those who lost their lives elsewhere.[28] COSAS called on Vaal Triangle students to attend and also announced that a new branch of COSAS would be established in Sharpeville on Sunday 23rd March 1980.[29] In the same year, the NUSAS committee at the University of Durban Westville (UDW) organised a focus week on resistance to apartheid, which coincided with the 20th anniversary of Sharpeville Day and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Freedom Charter. Helen Joseph, a retired Black Sash officer, addressed students on the topic 'Sharpeville: Implications'[30]

[24] H.P. Khosa-Nkatini, C.J. Wepener, & E.E. Meyer, "Tsonga widow's mourning rituals practices in the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa: A ritual-liturgical exploration". *Theologia Viatorum*. Vol.44.No.1.(2020).pp.1-8.

[25] H. Mashabela, *A people on the boil: Reflections on June 16 1976 and beyond*. Jacana Media.(Pty).Ltd. Johannesburg.(2006).p.160.

[26] C.D. Ndlovu, "The mourning cultural practices amongst the Zulu-speaking widows of the Kwanyuswa community: A feminist perspective". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal. Pietermaritzburg.(2013).p.8.

[27] Lilian Ngoyi is regarded as one of the iconic figures in the history of the struggle for freedom in South Africa. Secretary General of the ANC Women's League (ANC-WL), the National Chairman of FEDSAW and the first female to be elected to office in the main body of the African National Congress (ANC), Ms. Lilian Ngoyi was one of the women who led the anti-pass march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria, one of the largest demonstrations staged in South Africa. Women played a leading role in the resistance to unjust pass laws which severely affected their position in society as well as the African family life. *Black History Month: Lilian Masediba Ngoyi* (1911-1980). https://womenshistorynetwork.org/black-history-month-lilian-masediba-ngoyi-1911-1980/.(Accessed on the 30.08.2022).

[28] Staff Reporter, COSAS calls for a week of mourning. *Rand Daily Mail.*21 March 1980.

[29] Ibid.

[30] The Freedom Charter is a statement of core principles of the South African Congress Alliance (COPE), consisting of the South African Indian Congress, the African National Congress (ANC) and its affiliates, the South African Congress of Democrats, and the Coloured People's Congress. The Freedom Charter was adopted at the Congress of the People, in Kliptown, Soweto on 26 June 1955.

The 1981 Anti-Republic Day campaigns witnessed sporadic, uncoordinated school boycotts in many of the communities.[31] The year 1981 was further characterised by student protests against the apartheid government's celebration of Republic Day.[32] At the University of the Witwatersrand, the South African flag was burned on campus after the anti-Republic Day mass meeting. On this 20th anniversary of the republic, it was once again emphasised that the majority of South Africans had no reason to celebrate.[33] The Republic of South Africa Constitution Act 1961 established the Republic, with effect from 31 May 1961, and it consisted of four provinces: the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State which until then comprised the Union of South Africa.[34]

The following year, COSAS held an emotionally charged commemoration meeting at the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre in Soweto. At this meeting, the participants held their breaths during the symbolic burning of a reference book, staged to symbolise the pass issue which led to the killing of protestors on 21st March 1960 in front of the police station in Sharpeville.[35] On the 20th of March, a day before the annual commemorations, student organisations at the University of the Witwatersrand, such as the Political Forum and the Students Moderate Alliance, invited Dr. Piet Koornhof, the apartheid government's minister of co-operation and development, as a speaker. A group of students gathered in a hall for a lunchtime meeting with Koornhof. [36] For almost one hour, students shouted and chanted slogans such as:

"Amandla"
"Seig Heil"
"Free Mandela"
"Get out"
"Remember Sharpeville"
Get out, fascist"
Where is your pass"

[31] K. Naidoo, "The politics of youth resistance in the 1980s: The dilemmas of a differentiated Durban". *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol.18.No.1.(1992).p.154.
[32] In 1961, South Africa became a Republic and the 31st of May was declared a national holiday (Republic Day) by the National Party, yet it was never celebrated by all South Africans.
[33] H. Dugmore, Impatience for change: The 1976–1981 Era of activism at Wits. *Heatherdugmore.* 01 August 2012. https://heatherdugmore.co.za/impatience-for-change-the-1976-1981-era-of-activism-at-wits/.(Accessed on the 25.07.2022).
[34] S.H. Steinberg & J. Paxton, *The Statesman's Yearbook 1969–1970*. Palgrave Macmillan. London.(1969).p.1283.
[35] Z.B. Molefe, & K. Nkomo, Sharpeville commemorated at services throughout the country: Blood that has been shed shall never dry.*Sowetan*.21 March 1981.
[36] C. Doherty, "The Wits-Koornhof Debate: Is there really a difference between the English and Afrikaans Presses?" *Critical Arts*. Vol.2.No.2.(1981).p.41.

"You are a disgrace to your University and South Africa:
"Mandela can't speak! Mandela can speak!"[37]

The shouting and chanting came mainly from black students, while the students who supported Koornhof tried to shout down the other group by chanting, "Stem Nasionaal, Stem Nasionaal".[38] Towards the end of this meeting, scuffles between opposing student sides broke out in the main hall.[39] Following this fracas, nearly 800 academics at the university dissociated themselves from certain statements made by senior officials of the university in connection with the chaotic meeting that prevented Dr. Koornhof from delivering his speech. The academics released the following statement:

> The meeting that took place on the anniversary of Sharpeville, an event of deep significance to many of those present. What is extremely retractable and what we wish to particularly disassociate from, is that some certain senior office holders of this University should have seen it fit to join the clamour. And that they should have confused the issue by references to infringement of academic freedom and to unscholarly behavior, notions which are hardly of prime relevance to a meeting of this kind. Students involved in the incident appear to have been inspired by a passionate concern for social justice and the welfare of all people of this country. It seems frivolous, therefore, to condemn as ill-mannered, behavior motivated by conscientious and deeply held belief.[40]

On the 3rd of June 1981, Jeff Peires, a Rhodes University history lecturer, addressing a protest meeting against the celebration of Republic Day, noted:

> People had fallen on the frontiers. They are still falling on the frontiers of Sharpeville and Soweto … the 70s had been the decade of black consciousness, and the 80s the decade of the unions and the worker's struggle. I look forward to the 90s if we can continue this momentum.[41]

To mark Sharpeville Day, students at Turfloop University displayed the banned ANC flag on campus after the police had driven back nearly 1,000 demonstrators who had stormed the Mankweng police station as part of the protest.[42] In 1982, universities across the country marked Sharpeville Day with a commemorative service organised by the Students Representative Councils

[37] H. Zille, Fiasco as Dr. K address Wits. *Rand Daily Mail*. 21 March 1981.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] A. Akhalwaya, Wits academics spurn 'official' line. *Rand Daily Mail*. 22 April 1981.
[41] Staff Reporter, ANC flag flies on campus. *Rand Daily Mail*. 23 March 1981.
[42] Ibid.

(SRCs) in the presence of the police, without violence or any serious incident occurring.[43] At Rhodes University, a race commotion exploded after the exoneration of two black students on charges of assault against two white students after the black students found them tearing up pamphlets distributed by the Black Students Society (BSS) on the campus on 19th March 1982.[44]

It should be stated that black students studying at universities classified as historically white established the BSS – an elected body set up to represent the specific interests of black students who, due to apartheid policies, constituted an artificial minority on the so-called white campuses. This society and the Students Representative Council worked closely in uniting black and white students in anti-apartheid campaigns, guided by the overall vision of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.[45] Gabriel Cele and Carlton Koen argue that the BSS existed in historically white universities despite its then close alignment to the broader Congress Movement. In 1992, the BSS was involved in a merger with South African National Students Congress (SANSCO) and NUSAS due to their common association with the ANC and the dominance of student structures by black students at white universities.[46]

The 1983 Sharpeville commemoration service held at the Mangosuthu Technical College saw three student leaders, Miygo Thole from Soweto, Malindi Ndaleni from Pietermaritzburg, and Solomon Thlabanelo from Sharpeville, being served expulsion notices. Three days before the commemoration, management told the SRC to abandon the service since it had not been approved by the KwaZulu Government. On the evening of 21st March, the police stormed the campus and turned away students who had come for the commemoration service from the University of Natal. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly told the students: "Kwazulu government did not recognise Sharpeville or June 16. Students from Transvaal were there to discredit the Kwazulu government and chief Gatsha Buthelezi as well."[47] In another service held at the University of the North in Turfloop (now University of Limpopo), Muntu Myeza emphasised unity among the oppressed

[43] Ibid.
[44] Mail Correspondent, Race row erupts at Rhodes. *Rand Daily Mail*.9 June 1982.
[45] South Africa Student Solidarity Foundation for Education, Fact sheet. https://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/general-news/2016/2016-04/sassfe-home/fact-sheet/. (Accessed on the 25.07.2022).
[46] G. Cele, & C. Koen, "Student Politics in South Africa: An overview of key developments". *Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.*No.2.2003.https://journals.openedition.org/cres/1517. (Accessed on the 25.07.2022).
[47] D. Maivha, Students expelled after Sharpeville service. *Sunday Times*. 24 July 1983.

majority within South Africa by stating, “black people throughout the country should forget their differences and rally together in fighting for liberation.”[48]

In 1985, the University of Witwatersrand’s BSS and SRC jointly held the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. During this service, a group of more than four hundred people demonstrated and chanted freedom songs. Others held placards bearing freedom slogans such as “All Power to the People!” “Malan and Botha are Nazis!” “Down with Apartheid Investment!”[49] On the 22nd of March 1985, these two organisations harassed three prominent speakers during a lunchtime debate on American disinvestment in South Africa organised by the Student Moderate Alliance. The president of the SRC said in a statement that students were outraged that the meeting was held on the day when millions were commemorating the 25th anniversary of Sharpeville.[50] In the 1980s, the international divestiture movement was established in the United States of America.[51] In the pamphlets distributed outside the lecture hall, the SRC said, “If the disinvestment will worsen the already appalling conditions of our people, but bring them closer to freedom, then we have no doubt that they are willing to suffer.”[52]

[48] The Reporter, Peace reign over Sharpeville services. *The Star*. 21 March 1983.
[49] J.Stein, Disinvestment debate disrupted by unruly students. *The Citizen*.22 March 1985.
[50] Ibid.
[51] D. Beaty, & O. Harari, “Divestment and Disinvestment from South Africa: A Reappraisal”. *California Management Review*. Vol.29.No.4.(1987).p.31.
[52] J. Stein, Disinvestment debate disrupted by unruly students. *The Citizen*.22.March 1985.



Figure 4.1. A 1985 picture showing Wits University students at the library lawn in commemoration of Sharpeville Day (Image by the *Star* 21 March 1985).

On the eve of the 26th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, the student body of the University of the Witwatersrand held a mass meeting where students were asked by the SRC to vote in favour of the inclusion of an SRC representative in a NUSAS delegation to meet with the ANC in Lusaka in April. In April 1986, members of NUSAS went to Harare to meet with the ANC. Later that year, academics from the UCT and UWC, led by vice-chancellor Stuart Saunders of the UCT and the rector of UWC, Prof Jakes Gerwel, met with the ANC in September 1986. In October 1987, academics from the UWC and members of the Western Cape Teachers' Union met with the ANC in Lusaka.[53]

In 1986, a commemoration of Sharpeville organised by the University of the Witwatersrand's Student Action Committee, an affiliate of the UDF, erupted in violence, with two persons attacked and beaten by students. The commemoration event began with a "people's trial" involving a young black woman who was accused of being a police informer, but she was rescued by the university's security personnel who took her to the safety of the SRC building.[54] In another incident on this day, Derek Hadley, a student at the university, watched as Sharpeville massacre observers ran around

[53] T. Mbeki, & F. van Slabbert, Delegations and dialogue between ANC and internal non-government groups. *South African History Online*. https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/delegations-and-dialogue-between-anc-and-internal-non-government-groups. (Accessed on the 26.07.2022).
[54] SAPA, Two injured in Witwatersrand University Protest. MB210530.21 March 1986.

the campus and he shouted that "the police at Sharpeville were merely defending themselves"[55]. Students heard him and immediately attacked him, while the security personnel standing nearby made no attempt to protect him.[56]



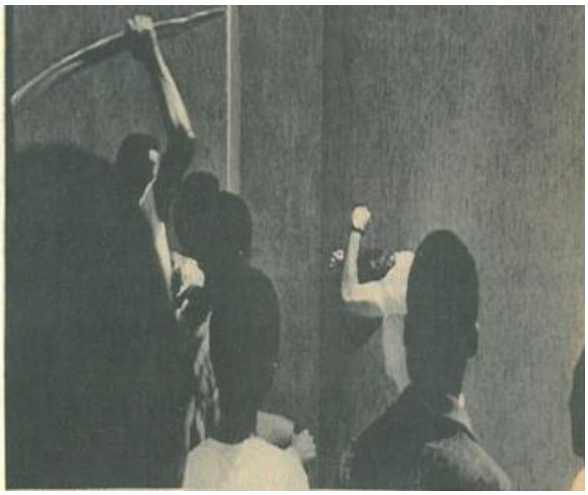

Figure 4.2. A crowd of students at the University of the Witwatersrand chasing a suspected police informer into the Students' Union Building. The woman was saved by the University's security officers who locked her in one of the university buildings (Image by *The Star*. 21 March 1986). **Figure 4.3**. A photo showing Mr. Derek Hadley being assaulted by students commemorating Sharpeville Day at the University of Witwatersrand in 1986 who were angered by his utterances. (Image by *Sunday Times.* 21 March 1986).

In another commemorative event, the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) held an emotional candlelit Sharpeville commemoration attended by representatives of anti-apartheid organisations, including the UDF, at the University of Western Cape (UWC).[57] During this event, speakers emphasised that Sharpeville Day was not a day of mourning, "but a day to remember that we have to carry on the struggle".[58] Drawing from Ali Khangela Hlongwane, it can be argued that this day was also commemorated as a day of rededication to the liberation process in South Africa.[59] Speaking at the AZASO event, Reverend Collins Jones, the UWC chaplain, requested that adherents of organisations present light their candles from a central candle, "which commemorates

[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) was established in 1979 by students from five black universities and one college, following the banning of SASO, and constituted to fill the void created by the banning of SASO.
[58] SAPA, Police Disperse March by UWC Students. MB212012. Johannesburg. 21. March (1986).
[59] A. Hlongwane, The commemoration of Sharpeville. *FrankTalk.* 03.20.2014. http://sbffranktalk.blogspot.com/2014/03/the-commemoration-of-sharpeville.html. (Accessed on the 07.08.2022).

those who gave their lives at Sharpeville before and after, as a sign of ongoing hope and courage that we draw from this fire, our fire."[60]

Earlier on this day, hundreds of students congregated on this campus and called for the release of the incarcerated ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, from prison.[61] In other areas around the Cape Peninsula, the pupils of Bonterhewel held a commemorative mass meeting while many schools in the area held their normal classes. Other schools held awareness programmes on the Sharpeville Massacre or did not report for classes.[62] In 1987, the University of the Witwatersrand's Black Students Society (BSS) and NUSAS organised the Sharpeville Massacre commemoration on campus. During the commemoration, BSS members sang freedom songs and interrupted lectures in an attempt to force other students to participate in the Sharpeville commemoration. However, classes were not abandoned, and the university took measures to prevent such incidents from recurring on campus.[63]



Figure 4.4. Sixty-nine makeshift cross memorials symbolising the Sharpeville Massacre.(Image by *The Star* newspaper).

At the University of Cape Town, students disrupted classes on the eve of the anniversary of the Sharpeville-Langa massacre in an apparent attempt to enforce a class boycott. Victor Steyn, president of the Students of Young Azania, said during this pandemonium that:

[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Citizen Reporter, BSS acted without permission. *The Citizen*. 21 March 1987.

> It must be recognised that the activities involved in Friday's march were bound to affect academic activities. I don't think under the circumstances there is room for an apology. If on such a historic day our activities spill over on the campus, they should rearrange their academic activities. What is one day in the life of a serious student to celebrate a day which is important in our struggle for a democratic and non-racial South Africa?"[64]

Responding to the incident of class disruption on the eve of the 27th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, the acting vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, Professor John Reid, stated that the university was investigating how students, mostly blacks, stormed lecture theatres and forced lectures to be abandoned.[65] The Moderate Students Movement (MSM) called on the university authority to restore academic freedom on campus and take strong action against those who disregarded the university's regulations.[66] Lance Terry, the MSM chairman, told the university authority: "the majority of students are sympathetic to the issues being protested but the MSM feels that the method being used is totally unacceptable and demands that strong action be taken against those who have total disregard for university regulations."[67] The UCT's SRC also released a statement distancing itself from the incident by stating as follows:

> SRC was not in any way involved in the disruption of lectures as some rumours suggest. If they were to move positively from that point then the students, staff and administration had to work towards changing the university into one which was clearly and visibly responding to the challenges of a transformed South Africa…on the day such as the Sharpeville, it was natural that emotions and anger, particularly among the black students, would be high.[68]

[64] Staff Reporter, UCT probes disruptions. *The Cape Times*.23 March 1987.
[65] Ibid.
[66] SAPA, UCT students body condemns disruptions. *The Citizen*. 26 March 1987.
[67] Education Reporter, UCT probes claims of class disruption. *The Argus*. 23 March 1987.
[68] Ibid.



Figure 4.5. The University of the Witwatersrand students commemorating the Sharpeville Massacre at the Braamfontein campus on 21 March 1987.(Image by ZA AFRAPIX AP2-A-597).

The UCT vice-chancellor, Stuart Saunders, met with the organisers and the SRC to condemn the class disruptions that happened on the eve of the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, stating that such an action "struck at the very heart of the university and threatens its existence".[69] Saunders further said, "Although such disruptions would not be tolerated, it was natural that emotions should be high, especially in the context of the state of emergency".[70] On the question that there should be an extra holiday to accommodate the Sharpeville Massacre anniversary each year, Saunders said that he hoped to meet with students on a regular basis to help resolve issues.[71] On the 20th, the day before the 21st anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, and two years after the Langa Massacre, students at the University of the Western Cape attended a meeting addressed by Allan Boesak, and some 30,900 pamphlets were distributed at Peninsula schools by the Western Cape Students Congress (WCSO) in commemoration of the Sharpeville and Uitenhage Massacres.[72]

[69] Staff Reporter, UCT condemns students' class disruption. *The Citizen*. 28 March 1987.
[70] Staff Reporter, Student leaders reject UCT lecture disruptions. *The Cape Times*. 28 March 1987.
[71] Ibid.
[72] C. Harper, Ban on anniversary meetings. *The Cape Times*.21 March 1987.



Figure 4.6. Wits students commemorating Sharpeville Day (1988) at the library lawns of the University of Witwatersrand. (Image by Trevor Samson/AFP via Getty Images).

On the 28th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, nearly all workers at Rhodes University heeded the call to observe the 21st of March by staging a stay-away from work. A Spokesperson of Rhodes University workers said, "all over the county people are staying at home and we have decided to follow suit, workers have been angered by the detention of three shop stewards late last week at a meeting to discuss Monday 21st actions".[73]

On the 21st of March 1988, both the UCT and the UWC held a day of protest against the death sentence imposed on the Sharpeville Six and the ban of the UDF and seventeen other organisations. A statement by the UWC spokesperson noted that the university decided to suspend classes on Sharpeville Day as students had refrained from attending classes on that day in previous years.[74] In a statement issued by the vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, Stuart Saunders, he noted:

> It is clear that the views of different segments of the South African public have been taken into account when deciding on holidays and the university always tries to achieve this. The university council came to a similar conclusion when it considered public holidays recently.[75]

[73] City Press Correspondent, Most Rhodes workers honour stayaway. *The City Press*. 27 March 1988.
[74] Reporter, UCT statements corrected. *The Argus*.18 March 1988.
[75] Education Reporter, Universities to shut on Sharpeville Day. *The Star*.18. March 1988.

At the University of Witwatersrand, a sizable number of students gathered at the campus to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre and acknowledge the Sharpeville Six on death row. [76]

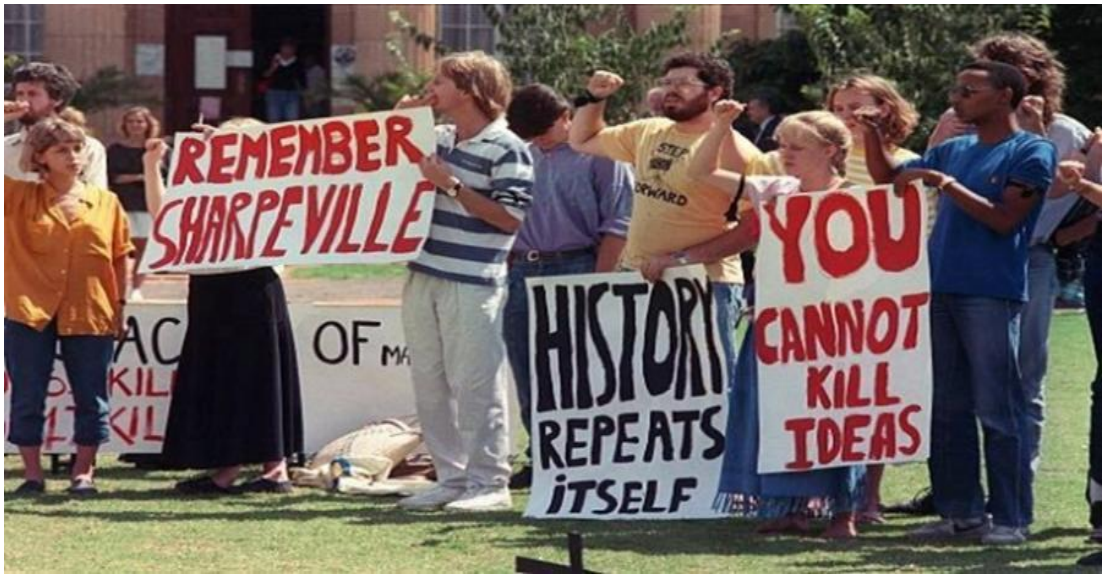

Figure 4.7. Students at the University of the Witwatersrand staged a demonstration on 21 March 1988 to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville shootings and to protest the ban on anti-apartheid organisations. (Image by Trevor Samson/AFP via Getty Images).

At the University of Durban Westville, the management ignored the SRC's call for the university to close for two days in order to observe the anniversary of Sharpeville.[77] On this day, 21st March 1988, violence broke out at the university as a group of militant students, mainly Blacks, went on a rampage, smashing equipment at the library and cafeteria and intimidating students who had defied a stay-away call.[78] The University of Natal did not observe the anniversary of Sharpeville. According to its vice-chancellor, Professor Pieter Booysen, notice was sent to all heads of departments informing them about the position of the university regarding the 21st of March.[79]

[76] Own Correspondent, Large stayaways in Eastern Cape, Rand. *The Cape Times*.22 March 1988.
[77] V. Angamuthu, Students take action. *City Press*.27 March 1988.
[78] The Reporter, Teargas fired at rioting students. *The Star*. 22 March 1988.
[79] The Reporter, University classes to go ahead *on Sharpeville Day. Natal Witness*.19 March 1988.



Figure 4.8. Witwatersrand University students demonstrating to commemorate 28th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre at Jan Smuts Avenue. (Image by Selwyn Taits Collection via Getty Images/Getty Images).

The 29th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre was marked by violence and stayaways.[80] On Monday 21st March 1989, the police fired teargas and rubber bullets at the University of the Witwatersrand's students who were demonstrating and waving banners with captions such as 'Unban the ANC' and 'Sharpeville Remembered'[81] near the university campus.

[80] Leader Reporter, Stayaway marks Sharpeville Day. *The Leader*. 24 March 1989.
[81] Ibid.



Figure 4.9. Wits University students during the 21 March Sharpeville demonstration in 1989. (Image By ZA AFRAPIX AP2-A-590).http://historicalpapers-atom.wits.ac.za/590).

In 1989, Mzwakhe Mbuli, ”the people’s poet” - was a guest speaker at the University of the Witwatersrand’s Sharpeville Day mass protest. Later that week, Mbuli was arrested for being in possession of explosives.[82] Linda Gnoato argues that this decade (1980s) represents the vibrant and flaming decade that both launched Mzwakhe Mbuli at the top of the protest poetry scenario and took him down through bannings, charges, and eventually detention. His commitment to politics and resistance against apartheid became increasingly more consistent.[83] During this period he graced a range of locations varying from political rallies to funerals, from commemorations to church halls. According to Tom Penfold, poetry during this decade was adopted as a chief political mobilising technique.[84] Anne Schumann observes that Mzwakhe Mbuli, as a public speaker at

[82] Reporter, Stayaways and clashes mark Sharpeville Day. *The New Nation*.30. March 1989.
[83] L. Gnoato, Mzwakhe Mbuli, “The People ’s Poet”. Keeping South African Oral Traditions Alive. Single cycle degree programme thesis. Ca’ Foscari University of Venice’. Venice.(2018).p.58.
[84] T.Penfold, “Towards a New Public Space: Performance Culture in 1980s South Africa”. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*. Vol.27.No.3.(2015).p.4.

rallies and commemoration gatherings challenged the state directly with lyrics of *'Behind the Bars'* and *'Shot Down'* among others of his protest poetry in the mid to late 1980s.[85]

According to Ali Khangela Hlongwane, poetry became another major form of expression on commemoration days during this period. He argues that commemoration meetings became a laboratory for new talent and Mzwakhe Mbuli became particularly popular for his poem *Aga sies bayasinyanyisa*.[86] On this day, the police were stationed at Jan Smuts Avenue near the campus. Some students threw stones at the police who, in response, fired teargas and three rounds of rubber bullets, resulting in several students sustaining injuries. Bettina von Lieres, student activist and SRC president who also attended the commemoration activities on that day, accused the police of aiming low on purpose.[87]

Wits University came under close political scrutiny following the recommendation by a special student disciplinary committee concerning Yusuf Akhawaya, who allegedly prevented Dr. Robert Charlton, the deputy vice-chancellor, from apprehending another student accused of throwing stones at the police during the Sharpeville Day protest march on the campus. The university's Black Students Interim Committee slammed the accusation as a political ploy.[88] At the M.L. Sultan Technikon in Natal, students held workshops and other educational programmes linked to Sharpeville Day.[89] At the University of Natal Westville, students held a mass meeting on the eve of the 21st of March and resolved to go on a stay-away the next day.[90] At the University of Natal, many students took advantage of a condoned leave of absence to hold commemorative services on Sharpeville Day.[91]

[85] A.Schumann, "The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa". *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien*.Vol.8.No.14.(2008).p.18-39.
[86] A.K.Hlongwane, "Commemoration, Memory and Monuments in the Contested Language of Black Liberation: The South African Experience". *The Journal of Pan African Studies*. Vol.2.No.4.(2008).p.161.
[87] Own Correspondence, Police students clash at Wits. *The Cape Times*. 22 March 1989.
[88] Post Correspondence, Row after suspension. *The Natal Post*.20 May 1989.
[89] Leader Reporter, Stayaway marks Sharpeville Day. *The Leade*r.24 March 1989.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Mercury Reporter, Two hurt, buses stoned in clashes. *The Natal Mercury*.22 March 1989.

4.3 COMMEMORATIONS BY THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

In 1980, organisations such as Azapo, the Writers Association of South Africa (WASA), the Black Lawyers Association and the Soweto Committee of Ten organised several National Day of Prayers to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. The main service was held on the 23rd of March at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto with the theme "This is a decade for freedom".[92] This church is one of the largest churches in Africa and was a key commemoration site.[93] Ali Khangela Hlongwane argues that this church is also registered in the political consciousness of many South Africans as a venue for political meetings, rallies, and funerals.[94] Days before the commemorations, Azapo issued a statement appealing to the black community to refrain from partying as a token of respect and in solidarity with all the black heroes who died for the liberation struggle.[95]

On 21 March 1980, only the foreign media were allowed inside the church. Following the Sharpeville Massacre, the apartheid regime passed more repressive laws. During this commemoration service, messages of support for the day were read from Elizabeth Mahlangu, the mother of Solomon Mahlangu, an ANC activist, and Umkhonto we Sizwe combatant who was sent to the gallows in 1979.[96] According to Sabine Marschall, Mahlangu became involved in the liberation struggle, leaving the country in 1976 to join the ANC's armed wing. Upon his return to the county in 1977, he was arrested following a shooting incident in Johannesburg that led to the death of two whites. Although the court accepted his defence that he did not personally kill any of the victims, he was condemned to death by hanging.[97] Other messages of support came from Ntsiki Biko, the wife of Steve Biko, and also the daughter of Nelson Mandela.[98] Kick-starting the commemoration service, Desmond Tutu stated that the crowd had gathered to dedicate themselves against oppression. He further told his audience:

[92] Staff Reporter, Day of prayer for Sharpeville. *Rand Daily Mail*.19 March 1980.
[93] A.K. Hlongwane, "The historical development of the commemoration of the June 16, 1976, Soweto Students' Uprisings: A study of re-representation, commemoration, and collective memory". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(2015).p.124.
[94] Ibid.p.124.
[95] Staff Reporter, All set for Heroes Day. *The Post*.19 March 1980.
[96] G. Baines, *Commemorating Solomon Mahlangu: The making and unmaking of a struggle icon*. In Miller. K, & Schmahmann. B, *Public Art in South Africa: Bronze Warriors and Plastic Presidents.* Indiana University Press.(2017).p.118.
[97] S. Marschall, "Pointing to the Dead: Victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.60.No.1.p.107-108.
[98] Staff Reporter, Thousands commemorate Sharpeville. *Rand Daily Mail*. 24 March 1980.

> We offer you God, those who have died so that we could be free; those who have died for our liberation. We offer ourselves so we may be cleansed of the fear in us, so we may be given strength, courage, and determination in our struggle for liberation.[99]

In his address to his audience, Dr. Motlana included those who had died in the Soweto Students' Uprising while fighting for freedom.[100] In another commemorative service held at Alexandra, Tom Manthata told the cheering crowds that:

> Blacks had realized that before they can be liberated lives should be lost. Blacks in the country will continue fighting for their rights until the final victory. South Africa should have seen how Robert Mugabe swept the elections during the hectic voting days in Zimbabwe. The results came as a surprise to the government. Most whites thought Bishop Abel Muzorewa represented the feelings of the blacks in Zimbabwe and expected him to gain victory.[101]

Manthata spoke against the backdrop of the 1980 Zimbabwe elections held after a long, armed liberation struggle against colonial Britain.[102] Following the elections, Robert Mugabe emerged as the clear choice of the Zimbabwean people[103] over South Africa and Britain's preferred candidate, Abel Muzorewa.[104] This commemorative event was attended by about 15,000 people, as the police in camouflage uniforms kept an eye on the event which ended without violence.[105]

At yet another commemoration service held at Lenasia, Tom Manthata laid bare the fear of the Indian community by telling those in attendance that:

> Indians to be wary of attempts to frighten them away from the concept of black solidarity. Indians are often told that Bantu want to use you and that when they are through, you will have nowhere to go. We are black. Our blackness has given us a common culture and common sentiments. Blacks are conscious of the whites of goodwill, and they were included in the list of heroes.[106]

[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.p.4.
[102] N. Kriger, "ZANU(PF) Strategies in General Elections, 1980–2000: Discourse and Coercion". *African Affairs.* Vol.104.No.414.(2005).p.3.
[103] B. Campbell, "Report on the Zimbabwe Elections February 1980". *International Journal.* Vol.35.No.4.(1980).p.701.
[104] S. Moyo, "Regime Survival Strategies in Zimbabwe after Independence". *Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy*. Vol.2.No.1.(2014).p.104.
[105] Staff Reporter, Thousands commemorate Sharpeville. *Rand Daily Mail*. 24 March 1980.
[106] Ibid.

In the light of Manthata's statement, this thesis argues that Indian African relations in South Africa – following the arrival of Indians in South Africa in 1860, after which they were coerced into working in agriculture, mining, and the railroads as indentured immigrants[107] – were characterised by racial antagonism. Maritsa Poros contends that Indians have become part and parcel of South African society, and many have remained throughout its turbulent racial history.[108] Corroborating Manthata's assertion, a Lenasia resident of Indian descent, Dr. Rashid Saloojee of the People's candidates, acknowledged the racial difference between Indians and Blacks, telling the crowd at this service that:

> …besides the little differences within the black nation, all oppressed people of this country-unity were essential. The government was convinced it was invincible. It is up to us who keep the wheels of industry turning and the overall wealth of the country so high, to see to it that the oppressive system is not invincible. It is the black man who should get the glory for the economic wealth boats today. We should just learn to bury our little differences and show South Africa, which has boasted that it can attack Maputo, and nobody there can live to tell the story that it is not all invincible.[109]

In 1981 the apartheid government established the Steyn Commission to investigate the conduct of the mass media vis-à-vis the needs and interests of South Africans.[110] The commission was also tasked to look into the reportage of security news emanating from the South African defense force and the police.[111] The commission found that the words of Desmond Tutu during the 20th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre in Soweto had been not only very dangerous but also totally unnecessary in the light of the peaceful process that was rapidly gathering impetus in South Africa.[112] During his address to his advice, Tutu said:

> At most a bureaucratic transgression…why is there almost excessive accentuation of an alleged SADF party political action but no editorial concern at the potentially extremely dangerous emotional incitement clearly illuminated in the Soweto.[113]

[107] M.V. Poros, "India, Migration to British Africa". *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration.* John Wiley & Sons.Inc.New York City.(2013).p.3.
[108] Ibid.p.3.
[109] Ibid.p.3.
[110] W.A. Hachten, C.A. Giffard, & H. Hachten, *The Steyn Commission and Three Concepts of the Press*. In Hachten. H, *The Press, and Apartheid*. Palgrave Macmillan.London.(1984).p.77.
[111] P.J. Fourie, "Rethinking the role of the media in South Africa". *Communicare.* Vol.21.No.1.(2002).p.23.
[112] Ibid.p.11.
[113] Political Correspondence, A need to 'monitor' foreign pressmen: The Steyn Commission report. *Rand Daily Mail*.15 April 1980.

In December 1980, a South African boxer Peter "Terror" Mathebula beat South Korean Tae-Shik Kim to win the World Boxing Association's flyweight title in Los Angeles.[114] With much anticipation from South Africans to this fight, during the Sharpeville Day commemoration in Lenasia, George Wauchope,[115] a leading exponent of the cultural boycott against the apartheid government, [116] speaking on the call for a complete boycott of the Peter Mathebula world title fight, George Wauchope[117] said that no violence would be used to disrupt it; instead, the fight would serve as the catalyst for offsetting the blacklist of foreign sportsmen who come to the country.[118] Reiterating the stand of Azapo on non-violence, Wauchope said, No violence was used to disrupt the Lovelace Watkins show which flopped in Welkom, or the Ray Charles show which was cancelled in the Jabulani Amphitheatre."[119]

Another Azapo-organised commemorative service culminated in the collection of signatures for the Free Mandela campaign and was held in KwaThema township, east of Johannesburg. During this service, two white men and a black man suspected to be security police were asked to leave the service, although they ended up watching the proceedings from a distance.[120] Among the speakers at the event were KwaThema's Azapo Chairman, Duke More, Mcebisi Gwebindlala Mqhayi, a trade unionist, and Mandla Motsoane, president of KwaThema-based Bayajula Arts Group which according to Mbulelo Mzamane was one of many cultural groups of Black Consciousness persuasion that emerged after the 1976 Soweto student uprising.[121] It should be noted that the late 1970s and early 1980s were marked by vigorous police action and strict enforcement of security legislation, resulting in hundreds of arrests and bans and an effective end to the ANC's campaign of sabotage in the 1970s.[122]

[114] K.M. Nyatsumba, *Incomplete Without My Brother, Adonis*. Strategic Book Publishing and Rights.Co. Huston.(2014).p.237

[115] For more on George Wauchope, see N. Sifuba, *The Wauchopes: generational activism: a pictorial biography.* Kwart publishers.Centurion.(2019).

[116] Sowetan Reporter, Wauchope dies in exile. *Sowetan*. 27 March 2011.

[117] For more on George Wauchope see N. Sefiba, *The Wauchopes - Generational Activism.*Porcupine Press.Randburg.(2019).

[118] C. Mogale, No violence will be used at fight - Azapo. *Sowetan*. 23 March 1981.

[119] Ibid.

[120] M. Edom, Heroes Day - unwelcome. *The Post.*24 March 1980.

[121] M.V.Mzamane, "New Poets of the Soweto Era: Van Wyk, Johennesse, and Madingoane". *Research in African Literature.* Vol.19.No.1.(1988).p.3.

[122] C. Mogale, No violence will be used at the fight - Azapo. *Sowetan*. 23 March 1981.

Mcebisi Mqhayi condemned the educational system for blacks and called for all black organisations to get together and fight for the liberation of black people. Hermann Giliomee, a liberal Afrikaner historian, argues that the state took over most of the coloured and black schools that had been under the control of missions and churches – a move regarded as a destructive form of intervention - leaving the education of blacks in a worse state than before. Drawing from Albert Lithuli and Isaac Bangani Tabata, leader of the non-European Unity Movement, Giliomee further argues that the Bantu education policy could be described as barbaric and a huge deceit.[123]

In 1981, the main Heroes Day commemoration service was held at the St. Francis Anglican Church in Rockville, Soweto. Pamphlets from the exiled PAC, praising the symbolism of having pictures of Chief Albert Luthuli and Robert Sobukwe next to each other, were distributed to the audience. Commenting on the portrait, Dr. Nthato Motlana said, "these two-stand high in the estimation we owe to the past"[124]. There were cheers of approval when Azapo's secretary for labour, Jefferson Langone, infused in his address the famous Steve Biko phrase: "Black man you are on your own", whilst also noting that the Muzorewa regime collapsed because of multiracialism[125]. Shock waves were sent across the world in 1979 when, after 14 years of independence, Abel Muzorewa, former prime minister of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, ordered the lowering of the flag and raising of the British Union Jack in welcome of the return of an English governor.[126]

In a similar commemoration service held in Kwa Thema, Ratha Mokgoatlheng, Azapo secretary for sports and legal affairs reminded his audience of the basis for the struggle for the liberation of the South African black majority. Mokgoatlheng linked the land issue to the 1960 Sharpeville incident. He told his audience:

> …the main aspect of the liberation struggle was the land issue… the land is the determinant whether a nation is free or not and that blacks should bear in mind that they were once free and had a proud history.[127]

Mokgoatlheng cited the frontier wars in the Eastern Cape as an example of black South Africans' early consciousness of themselves as a national entity. He argued that men, women and children all

[123] H. Giliomee, "Bantu Education: Destructive intervention or part reform?" *New Contree.* No.65.(2012).p.68.
[124] C. Mogale, No whites in struggle. *Sowetan*. 23 March 1981.
[125] Ibid.
[126] R.W. Hull, "The Continuing Crisis in Rhodesia". *Current History*.Vol.78. Iss.455.(1980).p.107.
[127] Staff reporter, All quiet as blacks honour victims. *Rand Daily Mail*.23 March 1981.

fought in the "national resistance" against the "land-grabbing whites" while the Sharpeville shooting was a continuation of those battles.[128] Mokgoatlheng further noted:

> We must put the day in its perspective and bear in mind that we were once a free nation and that the struggle has gone back 300 years, but the blacks were now up against a sly enemy… the government will co-opt certain economic outlets to blacks and confuse them, making them forget the vital land issue. Whites have 87% of this country and the Bantustans are merely fostering divisibility.[129]

Historically, according to Lungisile Ntsebeza and Ruth Hall, white settlers in South Africa appropriated more than 90% of the land surface under the Native Land Act of 1913. This Act forced many rural residents to leave their homes for the urban areas and farms in search of work and it led to a significant number of rural people becoming fully proletarianised.[130] Before now, Blacks were the most dynamic agricultural producers in South Africa.[131]

On 6 April of this year, the American music trio, the O'Jays, arrived in South Africa for a seven-day concert tour. During their stay, South Africans heeded Azapo's call for a boycott which resulted in the collapse of the tour.[132] During the commemoration that happened before the O'Jays' arrival, Ratha Mokgoatlheng had warned his audience, saying, "Peter Terror Mathebuala is a western creation. The O'Jays must not come here and be awarded honorary white citizenship or status. Both are non-issues and tend to blur the lines of truth".[133] Still, during this commemoration service, Azapo's secretary of health, Duke More, read out Azapo's devotion to the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre:

[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] L. Ntsebeza & R. Hall, *The Land Question in South Africa: The Challenge of Transformation and Redistribution.* Human Sciences Research Council Press.Cape Town.(2007).p.3.
[131] For more on the dynamism of Black agriculture among Black people in South Africa, see C. Bundy. *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry.* James Currey Publishers.Oxford.(1988). J. Kirsten, J.van Zyl, & H. Binswanger, *Agricultural Land Reform in South Africa: Policies, Markets and Mechanisms*. Oxford University Press. Cape Town.(1996). T. Ngcukaitobi, *The Land Is Ours: South Africa's First Black Lawyers and the Birth of Constitutionalism.* Penguin Books. Cape Town. (2018). among others.
[132] M.C. Beaubien, "The Cultural Boycott of South Africa". *Africa Today*. Vol.29.No.4.(1982).p.14.
[133] Staff Reporter, All quiet as blacks honour victims. *Rand Daily Mail*.23 March 1981.

> The dispossessed Africans in the southern tip of Africa. The heroes of Sharpeville who were massacred by the South African police in 1960. All the patriots of Azania who had laid down their lives defending their fatherland from colonial and imperialist aggression from 1652 onward, and to all Azanians who had been murdered, imprisoned, tortured, exiled, and persecuted in various ways, and all other nations of the world who supported morally and materially the course of freedom and independence in Azania.[134]

In another service held at the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre in Soweto, Azapo president, Khehla Mthembu, paid tribute to those who died in Sharpeville, as well as liberation fighters like Robert Sobukwe, Lilian Ngoyi and Abram Onkgopotse Tiro, who was killed by a letter bomb while in exile in Botswana amid cries of *'Amandla! We shall overcome'*,[135] meaning 'power' within the context of the resistance, an affirmation of African strength and perseverance. In his address to the commemorators, Khehla Mthembu reflected on the dynamic nature of South Africa's liberation struggle and the strategies Azapo had opted for, such as cultural boycotts, as a way of further isolating the apartheid regime. Mthembu had the following to say to his audience:

> Some of us fail to grasp the realities that are facing us. But there is the new generation that is born. And it will fight. This generation that knows that we are fighting the oppressor…the struggle for liberation is multifaceted and thus has to be fought on all fronts. Azapo, as an overt organisation, has embarked on an isolation campaign of South Africa… this is done in order to pressurize the racism minority regime into implementing fundamental changes inside the country...the United Nations has called for economic sanctions and FIFA has expelled South Africa from the international soccer scene. Azapo is thus extending this isolation to cultural fields, hence the call to boycott overseas artists who come to perform in South Africa.[136]

It should be noted that cultural boycott as a political strategy was not exclusive to Azapo. This strategy was also supported by both the PAC and the ANC in exile. Internally the UDF which was the legal vehicle for ANC supporters was behind it.[137] Furthermore, according to Rob Skinner the British Anti-Apartheid Movement's Boycott campaign of 1989 became its final formal solidarity campaign in its thirty years of existence.[138]

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[134] Ibid.
[135] Z.B. Molefe, & K. Nkomo, Blood that has shed shall never dry. *Sowetan.* 23 March 1981.
[136] Ibid.
[137] J.Hyslop, "The South African Boycott Experience" *Academe*. Vol.92.No.5.(2006).p.59.
[138] R.Skinner, "Every Bite Buys a Bullet": Sanctions, Boycotts and Solidarity in Transnational Anti-Apartheid Activism". *Moving the Social*.Vol.57.(2017).p.98.

In Sharpeville, members of the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) and family members of the deceased went to clean the graves, a memorialisation process that Thami Mazwai describes as "a simple, emotion-charged salute to the victims"[139]. Mazwai further gave a description of the situation at the Phelindaba cemetery on that day:

> There is something eerie about graveyards, something sinister, something ghostly, and when the wind whispered it seemed as if the people beneath had only been buried and mourners were on their way home. Only that the forest of weed and tall grass despite this impression and tell a story of people buried some decade ago. Finding the cemetery is not easy, at least for non-residents of Sharpeville, and even then, you have to find a resident who remembers the shootings and then you will be taken by a very silent resident to the graves. There are no speeches. No need for them. The mounds and tombstones, some decaying with time, were ample testimony of the tragic events of 1960. It seemed those mounds to make speeches, had been hushed to silence by those mounds on soil, whose inhabitants with much cynicism hear from new harshness of pass laws now the order of the day. The graves themselves were speeches. A tear would fall. Expressions are inscrutable. It was as if all those cleaning the graves had in their minds the pictures of the thousands fleeing from bullets only that the flight of 69 would end in graves. With spirit at their lowest, they were lifted when the usual powerful soprano led the group in Nkosi Sikelela. There was a letting loose of feelings as the crowd joined in, watched by the silent graves, and for five minutes all was lost, only strains of the anthem."[140]

The editorial opinion of the *Rand Daily Mail* of 21 March 1981 reflected on the value and significance of this day to the South African white community and the Cillié Commission of Inquiry into the uprisings in Soweto on 16 June 1976. The editor mentioned that:

> For most whites, however, it is really just another Friday, and many, probably a day to dismiss Sharpeville as merely another communist-inspired. But no matter what they choose to believe, Sharpeville remains a symbol of revolt against a blatantly discriminatory system whose effect on people was graphically described by Mr. Justice Cillié in his recent report on the 1976 Soweto riots. He said discrimination caused great hate which helped to create a spirit of unrest. Despite continuous black protests against the system, most whites have sealed themselves off from the majority of South Africans, silencing those who disagree with them and convincing themselves that their policies are Christian. Today, perhaps many more whites will reflect on our tragic past.[141]

[139] T. Mazwai, Sharpeville: Weed, tall grass tell grim story. *Sowetan*. 23 March 1981.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Opinion, Sharpeville. *Rand Daily Mail*. 21 March 1980.

The 21st anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre fell on a weekend in 1981. In South Africa, most sporting events, particularly soccer fixtures, are held during weekends. In memory of the Sharpeville dead, an anonymous National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) official expressed displeasure that the soccer governing bodies did not see any reason to postpone the weekly fixtures that coincided with the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre that year. The official went on to describe the South African National Football Association (SANFA) and the NPSL as sleeping a revolution, noting:

> The giant soccer bodies need not have been told to postpone all activities on Heroes Day - the commemoration day for Sharpeville by the police 20 years ago. Those people should know that, like whites, we should mourn our dead. It is history that those 69 people died for the black cause and every black enlightened person understands that it was the start of a revolution… the SANFA and NPSL are now giving the feeble excuse that they were not informed about the intended sports blackout on Saturday. The official singled out George Thabe as the man wholly responsible for the events over the weekend - because Thabe is a resident of Sharpeville. We are suffering under the same laws as all blacks. Our standpoint is questionable, as we have always postponed our events, but we must be informed and not pick up things from the press. It was about time black clubs came together and told the people in power to observe, even without notification, March 21, June 16, October 19, and December 16 as mourning periods.[142]

At an event held in Alexandra, Amanda Kwadi a unionist and member of the Federation of South Africa Women (FEDSAW), encouraged commemorators and Blacks in general to boycott the forthcoming Republic Day festivities scheduled for 31 May. She told her audience: "All black movements, be they political or social, should come together to launch a national protest against the 20th anniversary of the Republic of South Africa.…"[143] A few days before the anniversary, Sam Ntuli, secretary of the newly formed East Rand People's Organisation (Erapo), indicated that the organisation was trying to get a venue to host the Sharpeville commemoration service on 21st March. He further indicated that an agreement had been reached with the manager of 'Harare', the afro-rock group, to allow for 30 minutes of prayer in observance of Heroes Day.[144]

[142] H.Motjuwadi, NPSL must mourn dead. *Rand Daily Mail.* 24 March 1981.
[143] Ibid.
[144] M.Ndlazi, Sharpeville to be remembered. *Sowetan.*18 March 1981.



Figure 4.10. Members of Azanyu cleaning graves of the Sharpeville Massacre victims during the 21st anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre.(Image by *Sowetan.* 23 March 1981).

The year 1982 marked the formation of the BCM-aligned National Forum (NF), comprising some 200 BCM affiliates and dominated by Azapo[145], to mark the 22nd anniversary of Sharpeville. Azapo confirmed several venues across the country where a series of commemoration services and events were to be held.[146] In Durban, two policemen arrested Brandley Potgieter, chairman of Azapo's branch in Durban, on the 19th of March. On 24th August 1982, the Durban regional court convicted him of wearing a banned T-shirt and putting up Sharpeville Massacre posters on a wall without the permission of the owner of the building. Although he was discharged, he was, however, dismissed by Barclays Bank because of the adverse publicity his conviction brought to the bank.[147] Due to the political pressure on Azapo as a result of the cultural boycott, the organisation announced that the Brook Benton concert, scheduled on Sharpeville Day, had been postponed till the following Monday. Ishmael Mkhabela, Azapo's s publicity secretary, said in a statement:

> …March 21 was one of those days considered important in the struggle of the black people of South Africa… the day remains a reminder of the courage of the people in their resistance to Pass laws and all the racist laws of the country. Brook Benton's planned show was a complete disregard of and indifference to the plight of black people. The attitude and interests of visiting sportsmen and entertainers fitted well with

[145] A. Bubow, *Apartheid: 1948-1994*.Oxford University Press.Oxford.(2014).p.206
[146] C. Mogale, Sharpeville remembered. *Sowetan.*17 March 1982.
[147] T. Chetty, Fired over banned T-shirt. *Sunday Times*.12 September 1982.

> the government's total onslaught strategy. Our message to the Benton's and their like is that entertainment is not featured in our scheme of priorities. The arrogance displayed in performing in the country in general and in Sebokeng in particular can only be interpreted as an insult to the black man's struggle…we, therefore, call upon black people to observe Heroes Day….[148]

In Sharpeville, people from all parts of the Vaal and the Reef turned up to clean and lay wreaths on the graves of the victims as part of the memorialisation process, in a ceremony characterised by the chanting of freedom songs and praises of the banned PAC by members of Azanyu, local student organisations and trade unionists.[149] Peter Carrier, argues that wreath-laying during the commemorations reflects official writings and rewritings of history and may, both as products of history and as sources for interpretation, reveal to what extent the content of particular historical memory is subject to intentions underlying their instigation, the context in which they are understood, and the forms in which they are performed, embodied, or transmitted.[150] During this memorialisation process which may also become a social tool that sets out one version of a complex event in order to promote a message, which may be related to the horrors perpetrated by others,[151] family members of the deceased wept hysterically when speaker after speaker described how the day of the anti-pass campaign ended tragically. During this ceremony, an Azanyu spokesman told those in attendance that:

> …detention and harassment of black leaders by the security Police would not deter the people's struggle for liberation. The people who responded to the call by the PAC's call to surrender themselves to the police station in protest of the Pass laws were heroes and should be honored for their contribution to the struggle. The events which followed the 'Sharpeville Massacre', including Soweto Uprising in June 1976, showed that blacks were united and fought for liberation from the shackles of the apartheid.[152]

Jeff Moselane, an executive member of the Black Priests' Solidarity group stated that he believed the laying of wreaths showed that Blacks were still prepared to pursue their course toward freedom because the dead are never forgotten and provide the incentive to go forward with the liberation

[148] M. Moroke, Benton cancels 'Sharpeville Day' show in Sebokeng. *Rand Daily Mail*.20 March 1982.
[149] J. Raboroko, Sharpeville: Our spirits are not dampened. *Sowetan*.22 March 1982.
[150] P. Carrier, "Historical Traces of the Present: The Uses of Commemoration". *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques*. Vol.22.No.2.(1996).p.438.
[151] ICOMOS International Secretariat,"Sites associated with memories of recent conflicts and the world heritage convention". *Reflection on whether and how these might relate to the Purpose and Scope of the World Heritage Convention and its Operational Guidelines*.(2020).p.11.
[152] J. Raboroko, Sharpeville: Our spirits are not dampened. Sowetan.22 March 1982.

struggle.[153] Brian Walker contends that memorialisation process has personal, heartfelt meaning and often take on a special significance as it relates to issues of identity and politics as they affect the broader community.[154] Hence on this day Joe Mange, a Sharpeville resident and commemorator, was quoted by the media as having said:

> …since the anti-pass campaign by the PAC in 1960, the government had done nothing to get rid of the pass laws. The government had introduced 'cosmetic changes' in the pass, influx control, and other discriminatory laws in the country. We do not want petty changes to be affected, but we want the scrapping of all the apartheid and separate development policies to be introduced. Blacks should be included in the decision-making machinery so that they could represent their people and have a share in the economy of this country.[155]

At a commemoration service held at St Hilda Anglican Church in Soweto, there was the display of banners with captions such as "Massacre of the Innocent - Forward with the Struggle".[156] During this service, Tom Manthanta, an executive member of the Committee of Ten, told the audience that "unless everyone was grateful for the little achievements blacks had made in the struggle, it would be meaningless for those who sacrifice their life."[157] Nonsisi Kuzwayo urged black leaders to put aside their differences, stating, "Blacks should forget their ideological differences and fight for a common cause, Zimbabwe would not have been free if leaders there did not shed their ideological differences."[158]

During this service, Khulu Sibiya, executive member of Mwasa, slammed the influx control and pass laws. According to him, "these laws were made to oppress blacks in their land of birth."[159] Kanakana Matsena, poet and BPC Chairman in Pretoria, blamed the black leadership for the political silence in the black community, further saying, "blacks needed a total revision of strategy if they were to gain freedom in their lifetime. Blacks could not eat morals or wear political philosophies. The masses wanted freedom, they were sick and tired of revolutionary slogans."[160]

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[153] Ibid.
[154] B.M.Walker, *A Political History of the Two Irelands: From Partition to Peace.* Palgrave Macmillan. Hampshire.(2012).p.103.
[155] I J. Raboroko, Sharpeville: Our spirits are not dampened. Sowetan.22 March 1982.
[156] S. Hlophe, Sharpeville mourners urged to 'struggle on'. *Rand Daily Mail*.22 March 1982.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Mail Reporters, Many mourn the deaths of 69. *Rand Daily Mail*.22 March 1982.

As early as the second week of March 1983, Azapo called on the black community to observe the day as Heroes Day in commemoration of March 21, 1960. It also called on all churches, sportsmen and students of the black community to mark the event with dignity.[161] The *City Press* editorial of 20 March reported that the 23rd anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre would be a day of mourning for all thinking and caring South Africans.[162] In a statement, the Black Sash national president, Sheena Duncan, said:

> We feel particularly sorrowful that those non-violent protesters against pass laws were so ruthlessly suppressed with such tragic loss of life. The pass laws are now 100 times worse than they were in 1960 and there seems no hope that they are to be removed or even reformed. This fact can only mean more human suffering, escalating violence and conflict in our country.[163]

During the 1970s and 1980s, the apartheid regime introduced a set of laws to enhance the enforcement of the infamous pass laws within the African population. For instance, the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act of 1972 enabled the deportation of black persons found guilty of pass law offences to their homeland without recourse to the courts.[164] In 1982, the Orderly Movement of Black Persons Bill was introduced to tighten up influx controls and undermine permanent residence rights of black South Africans.[165] Michael Savage observes that with the creation of Administration Boards in 1973, which were in charge of the administration of Africans in 'white' areas, enforcement of the pass laws significantly moved from the police to the administration board officials who were mainly Blacks.[166]

In announcing the venues where the 1983 Sharpeville commemorations services would be held across the country, Azapo's publicity secretary, Ishmael Mkhabela, said, "In the spirit of Sharpeville, blacks must dedicate themselves for the long and dangerous struggle for black majority rule of one man one vote"[167]. During the 23rd anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, the police kept a close watch on all Sharpeville commemoration services throughout the country, just as they had done in previous years. There were, however, no major violent incidents, as most of the

[161] The Reporter, Call to Remember shootings of 1960. *The Star*.11 March 1983.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Reporter, Sharpeville Services. *City Press*.20 March 1983.
[164] M. Savage, "*Pass laws and the disorganisation and reorganisation of the African population in South Africa."* Carnegie Conference Paper. Cape Town. No.281.(1984).p.14.
[165] M. Savage, "The Imposition of Pass Laws on the African Population in South Africa: 1916-1984". *African Affairs*. Vol.85.No.339.(1986).p.196.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Reporter, Sharpeville Services. *City Press*.20 March 1983.

commemorative meetings were conducted in a peaceful manner, even though at Umlazi, in Durban, the Sharpeville Day commemoration meeting was banned.[168] Lybon Mabasa – the recently unbanned national president of Azapo who was previously detained and banned for five years under the Terrorism Act following the launch of Azapo in 1978[169] – was present at the main Azapo commemoration service held at St.Hilda Anglican Church in Soweto. Reacting to calls by the Black Sash to the apartheid government to rethink its oppressive policies, Mabasa told his audience:

> Liberals had no real place in the black man's struggle for liberation. Liberals encouraged disunity among the black masses. They feel we cannot do without them. They forget we number 22 million people.[170]

Adherents of the Black Consciousness Movement distanced themselves from liberalism as they saw it as being based on principles similar to racial separatism, with its philosophy based on a degree of separation between white and black.[171] During this meeting, the secretary of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Tom Manthata, called on the black community to unite and lend their support to the shack occupants of Orlando East whose houses were being demolished without provision of an alternative accommodation.[172]

Orlando East was first laid out in the late 1920s and was built from the beginning of the 1930s. Prior to the 1948 Nationalist Party takeover of the government, Orlando East happened to be nearest to the Johannesburg city centre, thus making travel to and from places of employment convenient. Because of its closeness to the city centre, it attracted many migrant workers from the countryside. Residents who had been there before and managed to have houses with relatively bigger yards, erected backyard shacks and backrooms which they either rented out to destitute people or used as extra accommodation for younger household members.[173]

In Johannesburg, the Inter-Church Media Programme held a commemorative service in a small chapel in Khotso House to mark the 23rd anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. During the service, Desmond Tutu reflected on the current political situation in South Africa and pointed out

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[168] Reporter, Peace reigns over Sharpeville services. *The Star*.21 March 1983.
[169] N.C. Gibson, "Black Consciousness after Biko: The dialectics of liberation in South Africa:1977-1987". *Centre for Civil Society Research Repor*t. No.18.Durban.(2004).p.137.
[170] Ibid.p.1.
[171] T.W. Penfold, "Black Consciousness and the Politics of Writing the Nation in South Africa". Unpublished doctoral thesis.University of Birmingham.Edgbaston.(2013).p.47-48.
[172] Ibid.p.1.
[173] S.W. Muthwa, "Economic survival strategies of female-headed households: The case of Soweto, South Africa". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of London. London.(1995).p.90-93.

how Indian and coloured communities thought that they were not part of the struggle. In 1983, the apartheid government established a tricameral parliament with separate houses for whites, coloureds and Indians.[174] In his address, Tutu said:

> Since the Sharpeville, the position of Blacks in this land has worsened. Now it is also aided and abetted by Indians and so-called coloured. They must all realise that freedom is inevitable. It is going to happen, and it is not cheap. More brothers and sisters will be slain before freedom is achieved. Much water has flowed under the bridge since March 21, 1960, when unarmed people were demonstrating peacefully against the pass-laws. Sixty-nine of those people were killed, many with bullets in their backs.[175] In the 23 years since the police shooting at Sharpeville, legislation had become more draconian, detention without trial had been introduced, and the rule of law had been undermined and subverted. It was a time when the banned Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress were seeking to help the whites in this land. Theirs had been passive because they had no constitutional means to bring about change especially the ANC which had been there since 1912. It was the authorities with their intransigence which made them take up arms. In the post-Sharpeville years those who were opposed to apartheid had been arbitrarily banned, 3 million black people had been made aliens in the country of their birth, and another 2 million dumped like rubbish.[176]

Weighing in on Tutu's statement during this service, Father Winston Ndungane, the chief executive of the Church of the Province of South Africa and former Robben Island prisoner, reminded his audience of the interventions he made through prayers on the "evil heresy that is apartheid"[177]. In a similar Azapo-organised commemoration service in Gugulethu township, the police positioned themselves at all entries and turned away many people because they did not have authorisation to enter the township.[178] During this service, the newly elected Azapo vice-president, Sath Cooper, said:

> Events at Sharpeville and Langa had marked 'A turning point in the struggle for the repossession of our beloved land'.[179] The oppressed people of South Africa were not prepared to rely on white assistance or leadership in their struggle for liberation. We of Azapo have no fear in claiming that we are prepared to lead our people to freedom without white assistance. Sharpeville had marked the end of 50

[174] R. Taylor, "Between apartheid and democracy: The South African 'election' of 1989".*The Round Table*. Vol.79.No.314.(1990).p.157.
[175] Citizen Reporter, Blacks worse now, Tutu. *The Citizen*.22 March 1983.
[176] J.Qwelane, Tutu: Sharpeville start of clamps. *The Star*.22 March 1983.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.

> years of 'cap in hand endeavours' and had brought about a clear distinction between politicians and revolutionaries.[180]

The Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) held an emotionally charged commemoration service where black residents of Port Elizabeth took a stand against the rent and bus hikes. In this service, Jack Mkhuseli told his audience about the nature of the day, noting, "March 21 should not be regarded as a day of mourning by blacks, but as a day when blacks should meet and re-mobilize themselves"[181].

On 16th March 1984, South Africa signed the Nkomati Accord[182] with Mozambique. Saul Dubow argues that this accord, signed in public with full diplomatic protocol, was a major setback for the ANC whose leadership was plainly shocked by this dramatic turn of events.[183] The accord stipulated that "neither country could allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks on the other." Essentially, this meant Mozambique agreeing to expel the ANC and South Africa ceasing its support for Renamo. Because of the accord, many personnel in Mozambique were expelled and they had to cross the border to Swaziland.[184] Reflecting on the Nkomati Accord a few days later on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, Saths Cooper put the accord in BCM perspective by telling his audience that:

> Nkomati Accord is an example of 'battle diplomacy' because the Mozambique government did not participate of its own free will, but because it was forced into it by the South African government. The treaty is primarily in South Africa's interest, and this is why the Republic uses its economic and military strength to try and force the neighbouring states into similar treaties. The intentions are not genuine - a decade ago President Samora Machel was referred to as a terrorist in the South African government circle".[185]

Commenting on the Nkomati Accord, Dr. Neville Alexander had this to say: "It will not bring peace to the classes in South Africa, the class war between the exploited and exploiter will continue until a new, free Azania is reached. Nkomati Accord should not make the oppressed in South Africa

[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid.
[182] For more on the Nkomati Accord, see G. Erasmus, "*The Accord of Nkomati: Context and content".* The South African Institute of International Affairs. Braamfontein.(1984).
[183] S. Dubow, *Apartheid: 1984-1994.* Oxford University Press.Oxford.(2014).p.216.
[184] Z. Jolobe, "Getting to CODESA: An analysis on why multiparty negotiations in South Africa began, 1984-1991". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Cape Town.Cape Town.(2014).p.124
[185] SAPA, Azapo calls Nkomati Accord. Battleship Diplomacy. MB221218. 22 March 1984.

accept reformists solutions."[186] Azapo's president, Lebon Mabasa, reflected on the memory of Sharpeville and how it changed the political landscape in the county from passive resistance to armed confrontation by telling his audience that:

> Sharpeville riots were 'the watershed of the era when negotiation-politics ended and the ears that heralded revolutionary politics and armed struggle buried forever the ideas that a negotiated settlement could be reached between unequals. Like the Soweto unrest in 1976, it was an unfortunate, avoidable tragedy, but the logical results of the racist-capitalistic system that contained built-in violence by the white minority towards the black majority… Azapo was the spiritual heritage of the PAC and regarded itself as the embodiment of the black consciousness movement, which was anti-Communist but exclusively black.[187]

On their way to Sharpeville to commemorate the 24th anniversary of Heroes Day, Manfred Yende, a member of the BPC, member of the Soweto Action Committee, and vice-chairman of the Soweto branch of Azapo, Ishmael Mkhabela, Azapo's publicity secretary, and Phillip Dlamini, former secretary of the Black Municipal Workers Union met their untimely death as the car they were travelling in got involved in an accident and left them dead. [188] Moseki Goitsemang, chairman of Azapo's Soweto branch, paid tribute to Manfred Yende, saying, "his death was a loss to the branch and to the organisation as a whole. I call on all black revolutionaries to rally around and give Mr Yende the hero's funeral he deserves."[189] In another service held in Soweto to mark the 24th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, Zithulele Cindi, an Azapo executive, stated:

> Sharpeville was to have a ripple effect throughout the country as the voice of black indignation at oppressive measures grew louder… Forced removal of Black people to invariably barren areas in the desire to enforce homelands systems, keep memories of that day alive in our minds and hearts… Medical evidence indicated that those slain at Sharpeville had been fleeing from the onslaught of the minions of this law. A peaceful demonstration had been turned into a blood-curdling orgy of carnage and senseless brutality....[190]

[186] The Correspondent, Sharpeville remembered. *Cape Herald*. 22 March 1894.
[187] Ibid.
[188] M. Moroke, Leading Azapo man dies. *Rand Daily Mail*. 31 March 1982.
[189] Ibid.
[190] M. Moroke, Removals 'keep the memory alive'. *Rand Daily Mail.*26 March 1984.

Addressing the crowd, Joe Thloloe, who was chairperson of the Media Workers Association (MWASA) and an active participant during the anti-pass campaign of 1960[191], told his audience that the commemoration of Sharpeville should not necessarily be about crying; instead it was time to take the baton from the fallen heroes. He further picked on Robert Sobukwe's words on the race question. Elme Ravenscroft argues that Sobukwe rejected the liberal conception of non-racialism, positing that in an Africa that is truly free, "colour will count for nothing". [192] Thloloe further said:

> There was no time to cry for the 69 people who had died in Sharpeville …, it was only after victory, when women were ululating, that people would cry. There is no time to cry. When the soldier dies it is for those who remain to pick up his weapons and continue the fight. We are here to pick up the weapons of those of us who have fallen… People had distorted history by labelling those who were involved in the anti-pass campaign as 'racists'. We do not believe there are races in this world.[193]

In a service held at Khotso House in Johannesburg, Lybon Mabasa, the then-president of Azapo, told commemorators that the shooting at Sharpeville was against capitalism and unavoidable. He emphasised:

> Sharpeville shooting of 24 years ago marked a new beginning in the struggle against Racist capitalism'. Sharpeville laid to rest the notion of negotiation between unequals. Sharpeville, like Soweto 1976, was not an unfortunate avoidable but the logical outcome of the racist capitalist system in which majority is controlled by minority.[194]

The deputy president, Sath Copper, delivered his message by stating that:

> Those who were shot at Sharpeville died as patriots, for a new nation of Azania, in which there would be no divisions of race and ethnicity. Sharpeville was a watershed at which the struggle for South Africa became the struggle for Azania in which there would be on nation[195] … Azapo subscribes to the Black consciousness philosophy, which is against joint black and white participation in the struggle. Whites have a role to play on the struggle place. The role of whites should be within their own communities. Those whites who are dedicated to the struggle should go to their communities and allay fears of their people so that they

[191] SAPA, Sharpeville Commemoration Service held in Soweto. MB210639.21 March 1988.
[192] E. Ravenscroft, "Non-racialism as an effort to assimilate to whiteness". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Pretoria.Pretoria.(2001).p.47.
[193] Ibid.p.1.
[194] Ibid.p.1.
[195] Ibid.p.1.

> should not have to leave the country after liberation. The land shall be made free for all its people. The present Black consciousness was not the same as the that of 1970 or 1971 - it adapted itself to the realities of the situation as they unfolded".[196]

Thamsanqa Wilkinson Kambule, the former principal of Orlando High School, reflected on the Sharpeville Massacre. He further noted how the Nkomati Accord was "formulated by South Africa to get a chance to intensify apartheid."[197] Glen Matsie of the Insurance Assurance Workers Union of South Africa (IAWUSA) paid tribute to the Sharpeville dead. Speaking on the pass laws, Matsie said:

> ...the pass laws are an organ created to frustrate our efforts to attain our freedom. Comrades paid the supreme price and let us not forget that their death was not an accident but a 'kragdadig' effort on the part of this illegal regime to enforce their racial laws against our will.[198]

The last bid by Azapo to hold a commemorative service in Sovenga failed when the Lutheran Church stuck by its earlier decision not to allow any services take place inside its hall, which Azapo had been using since 1980. The church's refusal bordered on concerns that the service might attract police interference, even though, according to Azapo, that had never happened.[199]

In Sharpeville, ideological differences degenerated into anger between the United Democratic Front and Azapo during a joint Heroes Day commemoration rally. Here, Curtis Nkondo of the UDF was heckled after he told his audience that it is "an accident that there are black people and white people. It is also an accident that there is a man and a woman".[200] Some attendees, among them the president of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU), Sisa Njikalane, expressed his disappointment at the division and lack of discipline among the students and threatened to walk out if they didn't behave civilly.[201] President of the Azanian Students Organisation, Tiego Moseneke, warned that parallel organisations would never archive the goal of true liberation, hence they called for a joint Sharpeville Day commemoration.[202] Responding to this fiasco, Sath Cooper mentioned that those who perished in 1960 in Sharpeville did not die for the PAC, but rather the whole nation.[203]

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[196] P. Mtimkulu, Sharpeville should be an inspiration. *The Star*.22 March 1984.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid.
[199] SAPA, Sharpeville service turned down by the church. *The Citizen*.21 March 1984.
[200] K. Sibiya, Row over BC at Heroes Day meeting. *City Press*.25 March 1984.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid.

While commemorations were in full swing around the country during this year (1985), in Pretoria the chief magistrate, Harold Thompson, prohibited all Sharpeville-related commemorations between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. on Friday March 1985 in his magisterial district.[204] The chief magistrate said in his ruling:

> I have a reason to believe that the public peace will be severely endangered and hereby prohibit, in terms of Article 46(1)(b)(1) of the Internal Security Act, Act of 1972, a meeting scheduled to be held on 21 March 1985, in the Dutch Reformed Church on the corner of Mofokeng and Sakweng street, Atteridgeville, in commemoration of the so-called Sharpeville massacre of 21 March 1960 and also other meetings commemorating the Sharpeville massacre within the Magisterial District of Pretoria with effect from 07h00 on 21 March, 1985 until 07h00 on March 22, 1985.[205]

The police further announced a ban on meetings in two magisterial districts around Pretoria until 5 p.m. of the following day of the commemoration of 22nd March. The spokesperson for the police said in a statement that the ban was intended to prevent any post-21 March meetings commemorating the Sharpeville Massacre.[206] In Sharpeville itself, on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the massacre, the local clinic was broken into and documents from the filing cabinets were taken and set alight. The walls of the clinic building were further sprayed with ANC slogans.[207] On the 21st of March, Sharpeville and Sebokeng youths barricaded the streets with burning tyres, with the police using teargas to disperse the mob of young people who had barricaded the streets.[208]

The 1986 Sharpeville Massacre anniversary commemorated a double tragedy as this day was also the first anniversary of the 21 March 1985 Langa-Uitenhage Massacre. This year, the memory of Sharpeville was observed differently as it was characterised by work stoppages and stay-aways, class boycotts, commemorative services and pickets.[209] In Tembisa, for instance, there was a complete school stay-away, and few people reported to work.[210] Azapo also organised a commemorative meeting of both Sharpeville and Langa at Khotso House, the headquarters of both

[204] SAPA, Banned Meetings, Violence on Sharpeville Anniversary. MB 201815.20 March 1985.
[205] Ibid.
[206] SAPA, Sharpeville unrest. *The Citizen*.22 March 1988.
[207] The Reporter, ANC slogans at clinic in Sharpeville. *The Cape Times*. 21 March 1985.
[208] E. Larsen, Police disperse stone-throwing youth at Sharpeville. *The Citizen*.22 March 1985.
[209] Staff Reporter, Nationwide Sharpeville demonstration: seven axed to death in a day. *The Star*. 22 March 1986.
[210] Star Reporter, 'Heavy police patrol in Jo'burg streets: "Informer" saved from Wits Mob'. *The Star*.21 March 1986.

the South African Council of Churches and the United Democratic Front.[211] Azapo issued a statement vowing to "to take the struggle into white areas".[212] The commemoration activities started at the BCM headquarters at Lekton House.[213] This same year, the Vaal Civic Association pleaded with residents to stop buying goods outside the townships during the week of the observance of the massacre, more as a symbolic act of restraint than of boycott.[214] Young people also organised the traditional cleaning of the graves at Sharpeville cemetery.[215]

During the 27th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1987, the Bureau for Information placed a multimillion-rand advertisement on all township billboards in the country and in major newspapers, eulogising the death of the dompas, with the picture of the new green passbook and the message 'Hamba Dompas…Come common ID for all'. In Sharpeville, this advertisement was placed on the spot where many of the bodies were scattered.[216] As the subsequent chapter demonstrates, this spot became the site where post 1994, drawing from Eugenia Allier Montaño , collective memory crystallizes and secretes itself and a place where the exhausted capital of collective memory condenses and is expressed.[217] Considering that, what led to the massacre was issues of passbooks, this advertisement about the death of dompas was strategically and deliberately installed at what Pierre Nora best describes as "*lieux de mémoire"* as actual material places, where a given community deposits its memories.[218] Post 1994, this site has become an embodiment of a commemorative conscious that survives in a history where the creation of memorials, heritage sites, commemorative library ,and exhibition centre articulate the massacre.

This advertisement, as expected, received mixed responses from those who had lost their next-of-kin in 1960. The editorial of the *Sowetan* of 20 March 1987 had this to say:

> While we must pay homage to those who lost lives on this day and while we must certainly make the proper political gestures to show our dedication to a struggle started by those before us, we might have to change the tenor of our activities and even our feeling. We believe if the saint like Robert Sobukwe who started the pass

[211] SAPA, 200 march through Johannesburg. MB21304.21 March 1986.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Staff Reporter, Nationwide Sharpeville demonstration: seven axed to death in a day.*The Star*.22 March 1896.
[214] Star Reporter, Heavy police patrol in Jo'burg streets: "Informer" saved from Wits Mob. *The Star*.21 March 1986.
[215] Ibid.
[216] T. Molefe, The rain washed away the blood. *Sowetan*.20 March 1987.
[217] E.A.Montaño, Places of memory. Is the concept applicable to the analysis of memorial struggles? The case of Uruguay and its recent past. *Cuadernos del CLAEH*. Vol.4.(2008).p.2.
[218] J.Krawczyk, & M.Balcer, "Pierre Nora's "sites of memory" and the social aspect of issues in built heritage conservation" *Protection of cultural heritage*. Vol.12.(2021).p.3.

> campaign was still alive, he would have shown his special kind of wisdom and dignity to have Sharpeville Day given a special meaning, perhaps devoid of all passionate rhetoric and political posturing… Sharpeville people today have shown us that they may not be free, but they would rather not have this day turned into an orgy of political bitterness and political point scoring. The irony is that while the government has abolished the pass system there seems to be various subtle ways in which the system is being resurrected. That makes this day even more important.…[219]

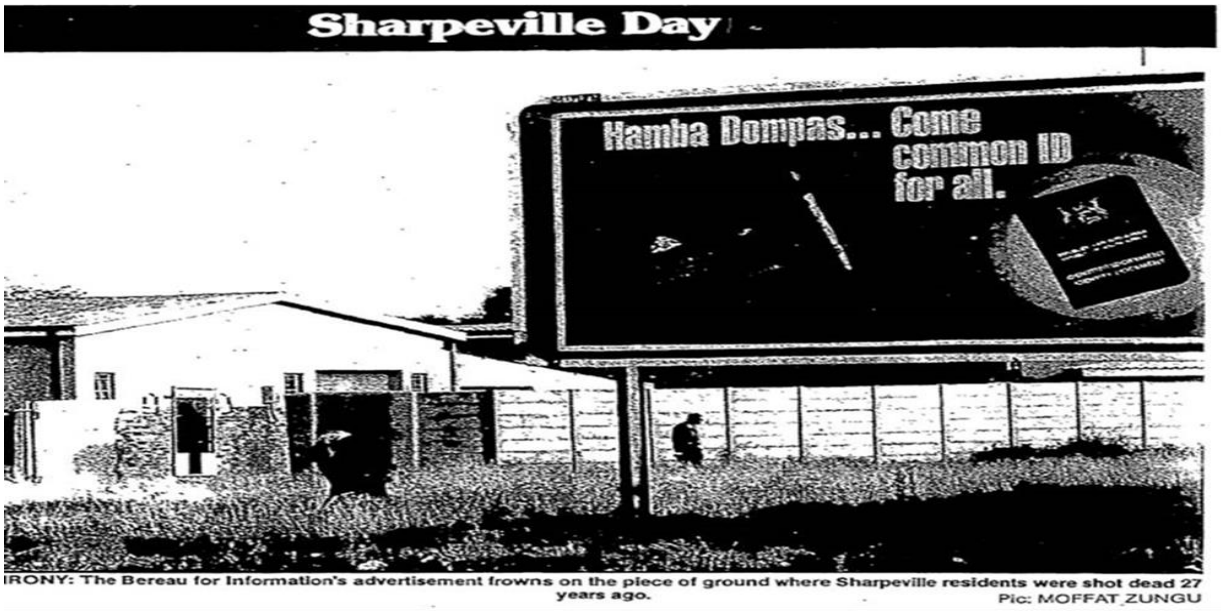

Figure 4.11. The billboard dotted the South African landscape, announcing the coming of a new green identity document for all South Africans. The green ID were introduced in South Africa in 1986. (Image by *Sowetan* newspaper).

In terms of political commemorations of the 27th anniversary of Sharpeville Day, the Azapo branch in the Eastern Cape region held a joint commemoration of both the Sharpeville and Langa Massacres. Azapo urged all Black South Africans to ring church bells, turn on their car headlights for one hour and hold five-minute special prayers in churches to commemorate this day.[220] In Sharpeville, just like the previous years, Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) held the memorialisation ritual of cemetery visitation and grave cleaning.[221] In a joint commemorative event held by Azapo and the Azanian Youth organisation (Azayo) at the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre Hall in Soweto, Azapo's publicity secretary, Muntu Myeza, reflected on the memory of Sharpeville, telling his audience, "March 21 symbolizes all the heroes of our struggle who have

[219] T. Molefe, The rain washed away the blood. Sowetan.20 March 1987.
[220] Reporter, Quiet anniversary of two massacres. *Cape Times*.23 March 1987.
[221] M. Tisong, Services planned for Heroes Day tomorrow. *The Star*. 20 March 1987.

fallen and remains a hallmark of our determination for liberation. The campaign marked the watershed of peaceful resistance when our people were massacred for demonstrating against the dompas"[222].

On 22 March 1987, the police in the Western province issued a statement banning all meetings commemorating the Sharpeville and Langa massacres. On the 21st of March, people were turned away from the Anglican Church, while those who managed to attend were frightened by police presence in the township. Some residents of Langa carried on with their daily activities, while the municipal police manned roadblocks at the entrances, searching cars and interrogating people.[223] In Soweto and Alexandra, commemoration services did not take place as residents of both townships were intimidated by the large police presence. It was the first time in years that commemoration services did not take place in the country.[224] As mentioned earlier, the ban issued by the police was in fact targeted at meetings of Azapo and Azasm. It covered all forms of commemorative events and further prohibited the commemoration of the death of any person who lost their lives at such events or through any security action connected with them.[225]

The Azanian Coordinating Committee (AZACCO), a crisis committee formed after the effective ban of the Azapo, held a series of commemorative meetings across the country in the build up to the 21 March, despite the detention of three of its prominent members and state restrictions. At these meetings, Azanyu, which was not affected by the spate of restrictions, urged people to participate in a "period of resistance" from the 18th to the 21st of March. The group called on South Africans to wear black clothing as a sign of mourning and also asked religious ministers to ring church bells between 6 and 6.30 a.m. on the 21st of March. Between the 18th and 21st, its members embarked on a memorialisation ritual of cleaning graves and laying wreaths in Sharpeville.[226]

At Soweto's Regina Mondi Roman Catholic Church, the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee, Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), African Women's Organisation, National Council of Trade Unions, African Allied Workers Union and Azanyu held a successful service. During this commemorative service, there was a large contingent of police filming people entering and leaving

[222] Ibid.
[223] S. Memela, S. Mhlongo, & S. Seripe, Ban, so silence marks year 27. *The City Press*.22 March 1987.
[224] Ibid.
[225] C.Harper, Ban on anniversary meetings. *The Cape Times*.21 March 1987.
[226] Ibid.

the church.[227] The crowd of about 2,000 people sang freedom songs in praise of the chairman of the BCM, Mosibudi Mangena, and PAC chairman, Johnson Mlambo, even as the organisers held talks with the police outside the church.[228] This commemoration service resolved to call for the unbanning of organisations, the scrapping of capital banishment, particularly for politically-motivated trials and the release of Azapo leader, Nkosi Molala, PAC leader, Zephania Mothopeng, Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners. Reflecting on the significance of the day, Lybon Mabasa of the Steve Biko Foundation told his audience that "the now banned South African Students Organisation declared March 21 Heroes Day to commemorate all heroes who died in more than 300 years of struggle against oppression in Azania".[229] Reflection on the legacies of both Steve Biko and Robert Sobukwe and the unity among the oppressed, Mabasa noted:

> Whether we call the unity we are striving for black unity or African unity, it is the same thing. When Steve Biko saw Robert Sobukwe of the PAC in 1976 to discuss black unity, Sobukwe endorsed the proposal that the oppressed and exploited come together under one banner. Through our unity we will strive to remove the exploitation of man by man and usher in a socialist order. We will see to it the struggle for socialism will not end in Azania or Africa but will spread throughout the world where there are oppressed people.[230]

Reflecting on the legacy of the Sharpeville Massacre and the repressive socio-political climate that prevailed during that decade, Joe Thloloe of the Union of Black Journalists told his audience during this service that "the large-scale presence of police in the township and the banning of organisations was the history of March 21, 1960 ... repeating itself".[231]

The 1989 commemoration of the 29th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre was organised by Azanyu at different venues across the country. In Sharpeville, the day was first marked by Azanyu and the families of the victims who gathered at the Phelindaba cemetery to clean the graves of their heroes in presence of the police.[232] Announcing the purpose of this observance, Azanyu issued a statement, stating, "We will be marking the 29th anniversary of the Langa and Sharpeville

[227] SAPA, Sharpeville Commemoration Service held in Soweto. MB210639.21 March 1988.
[228] C. Harper, Ban on anniversary meetings. The Cape Times.21 March 1987.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid.
[231] SAPA, Sharpeville Commemoration Service held in Soweto. MB2210639.21 March 1988.
[232] M. Ntsoelengoe, Death Days - packed services expected. *The City Press*.19 March 1988.

massacres as a period of rededication to the Azanian revolution, which was sharpened by tested leaders of the likes of Mangaliso Sobukwe…."[233]

Later that day, in a tense but calm atmosphere, workers and school children packed the Sharpeville community hall to mark the occasion of the 29th anniversary as police moved freely and took pictures of the proceedings of the day.[234] James Mndaweni of NACTU told his audience to unite in their fight against apartheid.[235] In another service held in Vosloorus, Reverend Wilmot Ngobese called on black African people to remember the day with the respect it deserved, while other speakers emphasised unity among trade union movements. Ngobese told his audience that "unity between NACTU and COSATU would be the best tribute to those who died in the Sharpeville shooting"[236].

In Durban, however, although the majority of organisations had agreed with their employees to observe the day, violence broke out when youths barricaded roads and began to stone buses and intimidate people who were heading to work instead of observing the day. Pamphlets were distributed in KwaMashu, Umlazi, Newtown, Inanda and KwaDengweni, and twelve people were arrested. In this incident, four buses were damaged during rush hours at Ntuzuma East and a petrol bomb was hurled at one private vehicle.[237]

In Edendale, a 24-year-old man was arrested after he attacked the police with an assegai.[238] In the East Rand, at another service in KwaThema, a twelve-year-old boy was injured when the bus he was riding in was stoned by protesting youths. In Tembisa, a bus driver was injured when his bus was petrol-bombed by protesting youths. In Soweto, all 62 high schools were boycotted, except for a few primary schools that opened in the morning. To further mark this day, pupils and teachers organised a joint stay-away to protest against overcrowding in black schools, shortage of teachers, and failure of the Department of Education and Training (DET) to re-admit pupils who failed their matric the previous year.[239] In the Eastern Cape, observance of Sharpeville Day was characterised

[233] Ibid.
[234] J. Raboroko, They are not forgotten. *Sowetan*.22 March 1989.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Ibid.
[239] S. Ngcobo, & T. Rawan, Soweto schools empty in protest. *Sowetan*.23 March 1989.

by patchy work stayaways, especially in the commercial metal sector. Some motor companies, such as Volkswagen and Samcor, had been shut down the previous day.[240]

4.4 COMMEMORATIONS BY THE CONGRESS-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

In Atteridgeville, near Pretoria, the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) held the 20th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre at the St Bernard the Martyr Church on 21 March 1980. This commemoration, attended mainly by local youths, was interspersed with moving freedom songs, poems and shouts of "Amandla nga Wethu" and "Matanzima is a sell-out". During this service, a moment of silence was observed when the names of those who perished during the unrest and in incarceration were read out.[241] One speaker reflected on the memory of the Sharpeville dead by stating that "their blood shall not dry, they died during the struggle and the struggle shall continue".[242] Another speaker emphasised unity among black people, saying, "Blacks should unite to fight the racist regime. The government has implemented the homelands to divide us and suck the blood of the sufferer".[243]

Amanda Kwadi of the Women's Federation condemned the continued harassment and imprisonment of activists, as well as recent attacks on Blacks in Angola and Maputo.[244] According to Jennifer Davis, in 1982 South Africa launched the largest military attack against Angola. South Africa justified its actions by stating that Angola was providing a rear base for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in its struggle to end South Africa's occupation of Namibia.[245] In 1981, South Africa conducted its first official cross-border raid, hitting Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, and killing 13 ANC members.[246] In a commemoration held in Kwazakhele in 1983, Reverend Paul Verryn of the Methodist Church said in his message: "We pray for those who will seek justice in our country and that they find the truth. We pray to the Lord to keep our eyes open to the rights and dignity of all people irrespective of colour or race."[247]

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[240] A. Fine, Sharpeville Day stayaways. *Business Day*.22 March 1982.
[241] Molefe, Blood that has been shed shall never dry. *Sowetan*. 23 March 1982.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Molefe, Blood that has been shed shall never dry. *Sowetan*. 23 March 1982.
[245] J. Davis, "South Africa: Destabilizing the Region". *The Africa Fund.* (1983).p.2. http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-F37-84-af%20destable%20opt.pdf. (Accessed on the 26.07.2022).
[246] R. Williams, "The other armies: A brief historical overview of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK), 1961-1994". *Military History Journal.* Vol.11.No.5.(2000). http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol115rw.html. (Accessed on the 26.07.2022).
[247] J. Matyu, Pebco meeting told pass laws are being intensified. *Evening Post*. 21 March 1983.

In 1984, the UDF held the Sharpeville Massacre memorial service at the University of Witwatersrand. During this commemorative event, Aubrey Mokwena of the Release Mandela Campaign (RMC) paid tribute to the banned, the exiled, the trialists, the imprisoned, as well as those who had died in the struggle. In his address to the audience and reflecting on the Sharpeville Massacre and the purpose of the commemoration, he stated that the gathering was not to commemorate nor lament Sharpeville: "We are here to identify our direction, to determine our resources, and to galvanize our forces in the quest for humanity and the restoration of human dignity."[248] Tracing the history of conquest, dispassion, and economic exploitation, Mokwena called for the absolute refutation of a new dispensation by stating that the UDF was the antithesis to the government which was the thesis, and that the struggle would lead to synthesis.[249]

The 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre was the most depressing since 1960, as history repeated itself. The month of 21st March 1985 presumed a twofold significance for millions of Blacks in South Africa. Mono Badela contends that this date become a double date with sorrow, for it was also the anniversary of the shooting by police of scores of mourners from Kwa-Nobuhle who had been marching to the funeral of unrest victims. Langa residents claim 43 persons were killed and scores injured.[250]

On this day in 1985, the police opened fire and killed scores of people who were part of a procession of mourners on their way to bury activists that had been killed the previous weekend in Langa[251]. The police reported that 17 people were slain and 19 injured, while residents claimed that as many as 43 people were killed on that day.[252] According to Graham Fox, the procession of a hundred mourners carrying the bodies of local residents from the township of Kwa-Nobuhle to Langa where burial was to take place, defied a ban on marching. Police established that a group

[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid.
[250] M. Badela, Twenty-eight years later Sharpeville bleeds again. *Mail & Guardian*. 18 March 1988.
[251] For more on the Langa Massacre, see, M. Swilling. "Because Your Yard is too Big": Squatter Struggles, the Local State and Dual Power in Uitenhage:1985-1986. *African Studies Seminar Paper*. University of the Witwatersrand. March 1988. & M. Swilling, "Urban control and changing forms of political conflict in Uitenhage, 1977-1986". Unpublished doctoral Thesis. University of Warwick. Warwick.(1994).
[252] G. Houston, N. Pophiwa, K. Sausi, S. Dumisa, & D. Seabe, *The National Liberation Heritage Route*. Paper presented at the Human Sciences Research Council's Social Sciences and Humanities Conference. 26-27 September 2013.Birchwood Conference Centre. Johannesburg.p.30.

among these mourners was planning to defy the ban and intercepted them as the procession neared the Uitenhage roadway.[253]

In Sharpeville itself, on the eve of the Sharpeville Day commemoration, there were placards outside the home of Regina Sefatsa, wife of one of the six convicted husbands.[254] On the 3rd of September 1984, Sharpeville once again became the epicentre of rent boycotts which spread throughout the whole country. The crowd of Sharpeville residents marched to the house of the deputy mayor of Lekoa town council, Kuzwayo Jacob Dlamini, and invited him to join them in a peaceful march to the local municipality offices but he refused and instead shot at the demonstrators.[255] Following his death, six youths – Theresa Ramashamola, Mojalefa Sefatsa, Oupa Diniso, Reid Mokoena, Duma Khumalo, and Francis Mokhesi – were arrested in what became known as The Sharpeville Six. They were sentenced to death for participating in the brutal murder of Kuzwayo Jacob Dlamini.[256]

In Sharpeville, the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre was marked by widespread unrest, with streets and main roads barricaded.[257] Despite the ban on commemoration, Azanyu, Azapo, and the Azanian Students Movement (AZASM) performed the memorialisation ritual of visitation and cleaning of victims' graves, after which a commemoration service was held at the cemetery.[258] At St Hilda's Anglican Church in Soweto, the Azanian Students Movement held a commemoration service which was addressed by Azapo's president, Ismail Mkhabela.[259] The Detainees Co-ordinating Committee[260], a UDF affiliate, announced that Sharpeville Day would be observed with the launch of a twenty-four-hour relay fast to last until the detainees crisis was resolved. The statement was released on the eve of 21 March 1985, and it read:

[253] G. Fox, Remembering ubuntu: Memory, sovereignty and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. *Platforum*.Vol.12.(2011).p.102.
[254] M. Badela, Twenty-eight years later Sharpeville bleeds again. *Mail and Guardian*.24 March 1988.
[255] M.K. Pasha, "South Africa: Sharpeville". *African Rights Monitor*.1st Quarter.(1988).p.33.
[256] E. Cameron, "Inferential reasoning and extenuation in the case of the Sharpeville Six". *South African Journal of Criminal Justice*. No.243.(1988).p.423.
[257] T. Khuele, Cars burnt and stoned in Vaal unrest. *Rand Daily Mail*. 22 March 1985.
[258] Mail Reporter, Sharpeville meets banned. *Rand Daily Mail*.21 March 1985.
[259] Mail Reporter, Sharpeville remembered. *Rand Daily Mail*. 20 March 1985.
[260] Detainees Coordinating Committee South Africa, also known as The Detainees' Parents Support Committee, was formed in 1981 by the families of activists who had been detained and had no recourse to legal intervention. For more on this organization, see T. Shakinovsky, & S. Cort, *The Knock on the Door – The Story of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee.* Picador Africa. Johannesburg.(2018).

> March 21 is the day on which those who were killed in Sharpeville in 1960 and in Uitenhage in 1985 are remembered. This year we shall also be standing in solidarity with those who are incarcerated, and especially with those who have taken the brave action of going on hunger strike to draw attention to their plight.[261]

On the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1986, there was a heavy army and police presence in most major townships in the country, including near the South Africa-Bophuthatswana border.[262] On this day, commemoration services were held in various churches across townships. As mentioned earlier, this year coincided with the first anniversary of the Langa Massacre of 21 March 1985. In the Eastern Cape, the Uitenhage Youth Congress (UYCO) president, Wonga Nkala, addressed those who had gathered at the Kwa Nobuhle Stadium to mark the first anniversary of the Langa Massacre, telling his audience, "We are here so the fallen heroes can speak, so our mothers shot in Sharpeville, our sister in Soweto, our brothers who died on the 9th floor of John Vorster can speak through us."[263]

On 5 March 1987, few days before the 27th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, Essau Mahlatsi, the mayor of Lekoa Town Council, announced that apartheid state president, P.W. Botha, had been given an honorary citizen of Sharpeville for his dedication to his office.[264] Four months after that announcement, on the 5th of June 1987, residents of Sharpeville trooped out to greet President P.W. Botha.[265] Unlike in Sebokeng where there was no enthusiasm, in Sharpeville, he toured the township briefly and later made his way to the George Thabe Stadium where he was given a rousing reception[266] by primary school children.[267]

[261] Q. Patel, Sharpeville Day action plan or detainees. *The Sunday Star*.19 March 1989.
[262] SAPA, *Pupils Boycott Soshanguve School*.MB210833. Johannesburg.21 March 1986.
[263] Ibid.
[264] The Reporter, P.W. Botha to receive Sharpeville honour. *The Cape Times*.28 May 1987.
[265] T. Masland, Blacks greet Botha warmly. *Chicago Tribune*. 5 June 1987.
[266] Ibid.
[267] M. Badela, P.W. Botha: Take me to your leaders. *The Mail and Guardian*.14 May 2012.



Figure 4.12. President P.W.Botha receives the freedom of the townships of Sebokeng and Sharpeville from the Black Local Council on 4 June 1987.(Image by Eric Miller).

Reacting to Botha's visit to Sharpeville, the Vaal Civic Association issued a statement downplaying his tour as meaningless and a miserable failure. According to the association, those who welcomed him were retired or jobless people, while others were there out of curiosity.[268] The association noted that the ceremony that conferred the freedom of Sharpeville on Botha was also a failure as the Lekoa Town Council flag had been raised upside-down. It further noted that dignitaries sang 'Morena Boloka' (the Sotho version of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika) and then 'Die Stem'.[269] Reflecting on the painful memories of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre, the 1984 Vaal Uprising, and the Delmas Trial, the spokesperson for the association said: "We have not forgotten the gravestones in Sharpeville, the six people in death row, including the only woman so far to have been condemned to death, Theresa Ramashamole, for a political offense, and the trial in Delmas, where Vaal Triangle leaders face charges of treason."[270]

[268] Ibid.
[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid.



Figure 4.13. President P.W. Botha waves to a crowd, accompanied by Lekoa Mayor, Esau Mahlatsi, who makes a black power salute in the Vaal on 4 June 1987. (Image by Nicho Ntema personal archives).

Following that ceremony, Botha made an unexpected visit to the house of Klass Seabata Fokane, a 1960 Sharpeville Massacre survivor. Fokane did not appreciate this visit as he thought of the consequences and likely reprisal this might have on him and his family from community members. He also thought that Botha could have gone to the cemetery to pay his respects and atone to the victims of the massacre. Fokane lamented:

> I curse the day Botha set his foot on my doorstep; it has made my life a misery. I have been having sleepless nights. I now wake up three or four times a night and check around outside, thinking that some people may be around to come and petrol-bomb my house. I was really taken by surprise. I just saw a whole group of people pouring into my yard and led by Botha, whom I have only seen on television in the past. He shook my hand and asked me how I was feeling whether I was happy or not. He also asked me to buy the house which I have occupied since 1947. He did not offer to buy it for me. I told him I have no money That was the end of his flight visit to us… I sincerely believe that Botha would have earned a lot of goodwill by visiting the Sharpeville graveyard and paying homage to the 69 men and women shot dead by police in 1960. I do not know what Botha was really doing in Sharpeville. As a president, he should have gone to the cemetery as a gesture of goodwill.[271]

[271] Ibid.

Emily Ramatlakane, whose only son was shot dead by the police on the first day of the 1984 Vaal Uprising and whose body she discovered at the Vereeniging mortuary a week later,[272] was among those who joined Botha's delegation to Fokane's house. Reflecting on Botha's attitude on that day and his overall impression of him, he described him as someone who did not care about the suffering of the Sharpeville community in the hands of his government, noting, "The deaths of the people in 1960 and those who died during the upheaval in 1984 seem to mean nothing to Botha and he does not care."[273]

In 1988, COSATU was prohibited by the apartheid regime from participating in any activity it deemed to be political. Although not totally banned, this move did, however, effectively restrict the UDF's activities, thereby further weakening it as a campaigning force before it became revitalised after going into alliance with COSATU.[274] Ngqabutho Nhlanganiso Bhebhe observes that due to continuous restrictions and detention of political activists, the UDF continued its activities under the mantle of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). [275] It should be noted that the MDM was instrumental in formulating internal grounds for discussions and political changeover to the new order realised in 1994.[276]

On the 15th of March 1988, UDF affiliates released a statement calling on the people of South Africa to observe 21 March as a day of peaceful protest against the ban on the UDF and other black political formations and leaders. Part of the statement read:

> March 21 will also demonstrate our protest at the silencing of one of our great heroes and leaders, Mr. Govan Mbeki. It will also be a show of solidarity with those condemned to death, like the Sharpeville. We call on workers, students, youth, and traders to observe the day appropriately.[277]

On the 16th of March, a few days before the 28th annual commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre, Desmond Tutu visited P.W. Botha's guesthouse in Cape Town.[278] His visit was aimed at

[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid.
[274] S. Dubow, *Apartheid: 1948-1994*.Oxford University Press.Oxford.(2014).p.241.
[275] N.N.Bhebhe, "Mobilization, Conflict, and Repression: The United Democratic Front and Political Struggles in the Pietermaritzburg Region, 1983-1991". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Natal. Pietermaritzburg.(1996).p.88-89.
[276] S. Dubow, *Apartheid: 1948-1994*.Oxford University Press.Oxford.(2014).p.241.
[277] SAPA, UDF Calls for 21 Mar Protest against Burnings. MB160555.15 March 1988.
[278] For more on this visit, see Allen, *Rabble-rouser for Peace: The authorized biography of Tutu*. Ebury Publishing.London.(2007).

pleading for clemency in the light that their impending execution on 18th March 1988 could lead to renewed violence on the 28th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre.[279] On the 18th of March 1988, the group calling itself "Let the UDF Speak Committee" distributed pamphlets in most townships, proposing protest action against the restrictions on the UDF and COSATU, and in solidarity with the many on death row and thousands in detention.[280] Other UDF-affiliated formations called for special church services on the 21 of March to pray for the downfall of the Botha government and Bantustan puppets.[281]

On the eve of the 28th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, 13 affiliates of the UDF placed advertisements in the country's newsletters calling on the people of South Africa to protest the banning of the UDF, the restrictions on COSATU, the silencing of Govan Mbeki, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede and other leaders of the struggle.[282] This call was followed by a bomb blast in Krugersdorp which damaged a police vehicle, petrol station, magistrate court and the police station while three policemen were killed in Atteridgeville.[283]

The 28th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre was, in most townships across the country, characterised by protests that culminated in almost 80% of stay-aways in some industrial areas in the country. The stay-aways took both employees and employers by surprise because the national newspapers were unable to publish details of the stay-away in advance for fear of contravening the emergency regulations, and the employers were caught off-guard as they could not make contingency plans. The police also instructed the editors of the local newspapers not to publish the effectiveness of the stay-away as that would be deemed illegal and an intimidation by a radical minority resulting in a work stay-away.[284]

According to a survey by the University of Port Elizabeth, the stay-away was successful this year. Its data indicated that 82% of Africans and 81% of coloureds in the Eastern Cape observed the stay-away, with Johannesburg and Pretoria being close to 80%.[285] The UDF estimated that the total number of people who observed the stay-away during this year ran into the millions, making it one

[279] Ibid.p.4.
[280] Star Reporter, Call for workers to take protest action. *The Star*. 18 March 1988.
[281] Ibid.
[282] J. Thloloe, "Challenging the restrictions". *Africa Report*. May-June.(1988).p.64.
[283] S. Rabothata, Car bomb kills 3. *Sowetan.* 18 March 1988.
[284] The Editor, Surprise stayaway. *The Natal Witness.* 22 March 1988.
[285] Ibid.

of the most effective stay-aways in recent years. Winnie Mandela called the participation "very impressive", particularly since the UDF, which normally organised the protest strikes, had been effectively shut down.[286]

To mark the 28th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, UDF affiliates, among them women's organisations, the Transvaal Indian Congress, civic associations, and youth groups called for a protest against the planned executions of the Sharpeville Six.[287] In Sharpeville, Winnie Madikizela Mandela, Sister Bernard Ncube, and Leah Tutu, all members of the Federation of Transvaal Women (FTW), gathered for the memorialisation process of grave visitation and cleaning at Phelindaba cemetery, and later during the day attended commemoration services at both the Roman Catholic and Methodist churches.[288]

The 29th anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville shooting was characterised by stay-aways in some major areas within the country. COSATU said it expected stay-aways to be patchy as some firms recognised 21 March as a holiday, while others stuck to a no-work no-pay system.[289] In Durban and Pietermaritzburg, for example, thousands of pamphlets urging workers and school children to stay away and mark the 29th anniversary of Sharpeville Day were distributed in surrounding townships. The day, in these two major Natal towns, was characterised by the intimidation of workers.[290] In Kwamashu, a woman was burned to death when a bus she was in was petrol-bombed.[291] In Pietermaritzburg, stayaways did not have a major impact on industry and commerce. In Imbali, schoolchildren were seen dancing on the streets while others went to school to force their mates out of classes.[292]

Abdul Aweta, an Inkatha member and councillor, condemned the school boycott by pupils, stating, “Local children have nothing to do with Sharpeville. Since when it has been in our culture to say, ‘I am not going to work or school today because it is the anniversary of so-called so and so’s death, it

[286] W. Claiborne, Blacks defy Pretoria with the strike. *Washington Post.* 22 March 1988.
[287] Reporter, Sharpeville to be mourned - despite the clampdown. *Mail & Guardian*. 18 March 1988.
[288] Weekly Mail Reporter, Quiet, private protests mark Sharpeville Day number. *Weekly Mail*. 25 - 30 March 1988.
[289] SAPA, Limited Stayaway on Sharpeville Anniversary. MB2103080389.21 March 1989.
[290] SAPA, Durban Violence Marks Sharpeville Day. MB213095189.21 March 1989.
[291] Reporter, Township back to normal. *Diamonds Field Advertiser*. 23 March 1989.
[292] L. Kauda, Massacre commemorations meet mixed local reaction. *The Natal Witness*.23 March 1989.

is bizarre."[293] Asked about the Shaka Day holiday, Aweta responded by stating that Shaka Day was different because it was official, adding:

> If children want March 21 to be an official holiday they must ask. We, parents, pay for these children's education and we want to see them educated. We know that some parents are behind this action. We as councillors try to call their children to order, but they swear at us saying we are beating their children.[294]

Gcina Mfeka of the Edendale Crisis Committee responded to Abdul Aweta's remarks by stating:

> It is very insensitive of him to say locals have nothing to do with Sharpeville. Every South African is involved in this. If he says children should ask for March 21 to be a holiday, then as the leader who is worried about this, he should approach the government and ask for March 21 to be an official Heroes day. Both days are days of prayers. I also don't like to see people in the streets fighting or drinking. They should be calm and treat days like March 21 and June 16 as days for praying that such incidents do not happen again.[295]

On this anniversary, Natal reported that 40.6% of workers did not report to work, as prior negotiations between both parties agreed on a no-work, no-pay, and no-disciplinary action policy.[296] The 1989 Sharpeville stay-away action was strongest in the Eastern Cape as over 500 delegate workers from COSATU, NACTU, and independent unions put up a united front in the struggle against the Labour Relations Act.[297] For the first time in years, speakers from COSATU, NACTU, and the MDM shared the same platform in a church service in Port Elizabeth that was attended by over 3,000 people.[298]

In Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, 95% and 85% of the workers stayed away on 21 March, respectively. This was against the backdrop of COSATU's long-standing demands for Sharpeville Day to be regarded as a paid public holiday.[299] A worker said, "Our needs as workers are one. Our enemies as workers are the same. Then let's unite and fight the bosses for what we need. We will sort out differences between us along the way."[300]

[293] Ibid.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Staff Reporter, Stayaways in Natal. *The Star*.22 March 1989.
[297] Cosatu News, Build on the fighting spirit of Sharpeville Day. *Cosatu News*.No.2.(1989).p.1.
[298] Ibid.p.1.
[299] Ibid.p.1.
[300] Ibid.p.1.



Figures 4.14. Three under-18 Katlehong youths beaten by South African Security forces during the Katlehong stay-away to commemorate the Sharpeville(1960) and Uitenhage (1985) massacres in 1988. http://historicalpapers-atom.wits.ac.za/740. Johannes Pilane. http://historicalpapers-atom.wits.ac.za/738. (Accessed on 18.02.2023).

On the 11th of April 1989, the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (NUMSA) held the funeral of Justice Mavuso who was killed when the police intervened at the Sharpeville commemoration service held in Natalspruit.[301] Mavuso died of injuries sustained from being trampled on by fleeing Sharpeville Day observers when police forcibly dispersed people who had gathered at the service holding at the Methodist church.[302] NUMSA condemned the police's actions, stating, "We as NUMSA endorse the right of our members, workers, and the community at large to commemorate 'Sharpeville Day'. It is ironic that this should have happened at the service to commemorate the killings of Sharpeville in 1960 and Langa in 1985".[303]

[301] Reporter, Funeral for metalworker. *The New Nation*. 11 April 1989.
[302] T. Gqubule, One dead, many held as Sharpeville memorial turns sour. *Weekly Mail.*23. March 1989.
[303] Ibid.

4.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the political climate in South Africa in the 1980s. It described the 1980s as a decade characterised by protests orchestrated by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other extra-parliamentary anti-apartheid organisations aligned to the then banned ANC. It highlighted how the 1980s was a decade of severe apartheid state repression, aggression and brutal violence against its own citizens and aimed at crushing internal opposition that was gaining momentum during this decade.

The chapter highlighted that this decade was characterised by the ban on BCM-aligned liberation movements and the Vaal Uprising, which saw Sharpeville residents, known as the Sharpeville Six, wrongfully convicted for a high-profile murder in 1984.[304] The Sharpeville Six had become a unifying and rallying point, just like the Langa Massacre which occurred on Sharpeville Day and saw at least 20 people killed and several injured.[305] The chapter also highlighted how, during this decade, popular strategies, such as strikes, boycotts and illegal rallies were deployed to render the country ungovernable. Following the 1976 Soweto Students Uprising, schools across the country became significant sites of the anti-apartheid struggle.

The chapter has also shown that NUSAS and other student formations, including the Students Representative Council, played a visible role in keeping the memory of Sharpeville alive. It demonstrated that the commemoration of this day did not only take place for its own sake but also functioned as a platform to launch protests, advocate for disinvestment and the release of political prisoners. Despite its dwindling popularity towards the middle of this decade and the rising hegemony of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Black Consciousness Movement(BCM)-aligned Azapo continued to popularise the observance of Sharpeville Day during this decade.

Despite the apartheid government's continued attempts to suppress and disrupt the commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre, Azapo deployed commemoration forms such as church services and grave and cemetery visitations to honour the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre. During this decade, Azapo further introduced the commemoration tradition of black mourning clothes, black

[304] S. Graham, *Introduction: Mapping Loss. In: South African Literature after the Truth Commission*. Palgrave Macmillan. New York.(2009).p.1.

[305] R. Thornton, *The Shooting at Uitenhage, 1985: The Context and Interpretation of Violence*. In Manganyi.N.C, & du Toit.A, *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa.* Palgrave Macmillan. London.(1990).p.131.

armbands, the ringing of church bells, turning on of car headlights, candle-lit ceremonies, and special prayers in churches in observance of this day. It also encouraged people to refrain from sporting activities and social festivities, such as visits to entertainment places, as a sign of respect for the fallen heroes.

The chapter has shown that in the mid-1980s, Black Consciousness-aligned movements and leaders were banned but resurfaced under the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). These groups intensified the mobilisation of the masses by providing them with a common focal point of struggle and uniting them through grassroots organisations,[306] such as the Vaal Civic Association and the Detainees Co-ordinating Committee which used Sharpeville Day to highlight the plight of detainees during this decade. The chapter has highlighted that Sharpeville Day was commemorated through political rallies, demonstrations, grave visitations, unofficial public holidays, boycotts, and in some instances, violent protests. The chapter further demonstrated that contrary to Tom Lodge's assertion, that there were no observances of the Sharpeville Massacre, in terms of commemorations, from 1964 to 1984.[307] It therefore showed that Lodge was oblivious of commemorative activities during this period. The next chapter focuses on commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre in the 1990s when liberation movements were unbanned and thereafter transformed into political parties

[306] J. Seekings, *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991*. David Phillip Publishers.Claremont.(2000).p.vii.

[307] R.E. Johnson, "The day that fell off the calendar: 16 June, South African newspapers, and the making of a national holiday, 1977-1996". *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol.42.No.6.(2016).p.6.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMMEMORATIONS AND MEMORIALISATION DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD: 1990–1994

*"*Let me plead with you, lovers of my Africa, to carry with you into the world the vision of a new Africa, an Africa reborn, an Africa rejuvenated, an Africa re-created, young Africa. We are the first glimmering of a new dawn".[1]

Robert Sobukwe

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter examined commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre during the 1980s. The political landscape of that period was characterised by chronic massive unrest countrywide, triggered by growing economic inequality, the creation of a tricameral parliament and intense ritualised township violence within black communities with opposing political inclinations – all aimed at rendering the apartheid government dysfunctional. The chapter highlighted the 1980s as a period in which popular mass protests brought about a turning point in South Africa's political history.

This chapter, therefore, deals with the period between 1990 and 1994. Robert Inman and Daniel Rubinfeld describe the period as witnessing the most important event in the political history of South Africa in the past century. This period, spanning only four years witnessed a proliferation of literature on themes and issues pertaining to South Africa's democratic transition and consolidation.[2] David Howarth and Aletta Norval, in their edited book, discuss the well-rehearsed and documented political events that the National Party embarked on from 1989 to the early 1990s, which ended white minority rule and the creation of a democratic system of representation in South African national political landscape. Their work contextualize the different aspects of the transition, by situating them in the broader theoretical and intellectual context from which they have emerged.[3]

[1] South African History Online, Robert Sobukwe Speech at the University of Fort Hare as President of the Students' Representative Council. 21 October 1949. https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/robert-sobukwe-speech-university-fort-hare-president-students-representative-council-21. (Accessed on the 18.08.2022).

[2] R. Suttner, "Democratic transition and consolidation in South Africa: The advice of the experts". *Current Sociology.* Vol.52.No.5.(2004).p.755.

[3] For more see, D.R Howard, & A.J.Norval, *South Africa in Transition*. Palgrave MacMillan. London.(1988).

The work by Oluwatobi Runsewe analyses the post-colonial triumph of South Africa characterised by grand narratives in terms of lofty concepts such as, democracy, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Human Rights social cohesion, Rainbow Nation and racial harmony. It focuses on the youth born before and after the political transition who became eligible to vote for the first time in 2014. He argues that South Africa moving away from the illusion of racial and class equality that dominated the post-apartheid discourse, and there is a shift from history-based, public memory and political discourse to issue-based focusing on economic inequality.[4]

A comparative study of democracy in ancient Athens, South Africa's transition from apartheid democracy, Mexico's democratic accountability after the "dirty war," and the unresolved legacy of slavery in US race relations by P.J. Brendese, looks into how those who control the past control the future, and those who control the present control the past. It examines how political power affects what is available to be remembered, who is allowed to recall the past, and when and where past events can be commemorated.[5]

According to Robert Griffiths, the 1994 elections marked the beginning of the country's democratic consolidation. He argues that this period under review was characterised by uncertainty, unforeseen challenges, and susceptible derailments. polity's acceptance of democratic processes, the establishment of the rule of law, institutional reform, the emergence of civil, and political society, and economic progress were some of the democratic consolidations during this period.[6] Heinz Klug's analysis of South Africa's transition from colonial apartheid to democratic constitutionalism provided an opportunity for political compromises by postponing decisions on sensitive and potential unresolvable questions.[7] Some of those unresolved issues include among others, the land question, which has been a source of conflict and contention. The colonial and apartheid policies dispossessed African people's economically valuable land and moved them into overcrowded and impoverished reserves.[8]

[4] O.Runsewe, "Nostalgia, Collective Memory, and Forgetting After Apartheid: Contemporary South Africa in Focus". Graduate dissertation. Trinity College of Arts and Science. North Carolina.(2015).p.iii.
[5] P.J. Brendese, The Power of Memory in Democratic Politics. University of Rochester Press. Rochester.(2014).p.ix.
[6] R. J. Griffiths, "Maintaining momentum: an overview of South Africa's progress toward democratic consolidation". *Southeastern Political Review*.Vol.26.No.2.(1998).p.427.
[7] H. Klug, Constituting Democracy: Law, globalism, and South Africa's political reconstruction. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.(2000).p.18.
[8] M.Aliber, & Mokwena, *The land question in contemporary South Africa*. In Daniel.J, Habib.A, & Southall. R, *State of the nation: South Africa 2003-2004*.Human Sciences Research Council.Cape Town.(2003).p.330.

It was also the most politically dramatic and uncertain period in the history of South Africa, with layer upon layer of developments.[9] Nancy Clark and William Worger contend that 14,000 people were killed in politically motivated incidents between 1990 and 1994 – a death rate they claim was far higher than any other in the country's 20th-century history.[10]

During this period, commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre also took place within the context of more than fifty massacres. Among the notable and annually commemorated massacres were the Sebokeng Funeral Vigil of January 1991 in which 40 people died, the Sebokeng Shooting Spree of 1992, the Boipatong Massacre of 17 June 1992 (which occurred when residents of this township were randomly attacked by residents of nearby KwaMadala hostel, a stronghold of the IFP, and some elements within the state security working covertly and illegally)[11], the Bhisho Massacre of 7 September 1992 (which occurred when 28 ANC supporters and one soldier were killed and over 200 demonstrators were injured by the Ciskei Defence Force [CDF] during a protest march)[12], Phola Park, Thokoza, Zonkiziswe, Mpumalanga, Trust Feed, Crossroads, and Folweni.[13] It was also during this period that the SACP leader, Chris Hani, was assassinated. His killing on 10 April 1993 shifted the world's attention back to South Africa, which had been out of the global news for some time.[14]

The unbanning of liberation movements and release of political prisoners, as well as the return of exiled political leaders in the 1990s, brought about a radical change in the internal political situation. It also meant that commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre was organised in a more tolerable political environment and without any form of state harassment, intimidation, or prohibitions. Not only were the proscribed liberation movements unbanned, but there was also a substantial easing of restrictions on opposition politics. Likewise, the national state of emergency imposed in 1986 was lifted, political prisoners were released, indemnity was granted to anti-

[9] K. Kondlo, "From the fringes to fossils": The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the negotiated transition to democracy in South Africa, 1990–1994". *Journal for Contemporary History.* Vol.42.No.1.(2017).p.43.
[10] N.Clark, & W.Worger, *South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid*. Routledge.London & New York.(2022).p.142.
[11] J.G.R. Simpson, "The Politics of a Massacre and the South African Transition". *Journal of Southern African Studies.* Vol.38.No.3.(2012).p.624.
[12] S. Victor, "The Politics of Remembering and Commemorating Atrocity in South Africa: The Bhisho Massacre and its Aftermath, 1992–2012". *Journal of Southern African Studies.* Vol.41.No.1.(2015).p.83.
[13] J.L. Oliver, "Political conflict in South Africa: A resources mobilization approach. In Bekker. S, Capturing the event: Conflict trends in the Natal region 1986-1992". Centre for Social and Development Studies. University of Natal.Durban.(1992).p.1.
[14] A. Guelke, "Political Violence, and the South African Transition." *Irish Studies in International Affairs*. Vol.4.(1993).p.59-68.

apartheid activists in exile, while many of the prohibitions against political activities such as public demonstrations, commemorations, and marches were eased.[15]

After years in exile, the liberation movements rebuilt themselves inside the country during this period. However, the apartheid state apparatus – in the form of the police and secret services – kept a watchful eye on commemoration events throughout this period, mainly because, similar to the previous decade, this (transitional) period was characterised by continued political violence. During this period, South Africa witnessed a dramatic escalation in violent conflict. Graeme Simpson, Steve Mokwena and Lauren Segal describe this period as an "intensifying civil war"[16].

According to Adam Habib, this period – which ended with the first South African democratic elections on 27 April 1994 – marked a pivotal moment in the unfolding drama that began with the release of Mandela and other political prisoners from prison, the unbanning of liberation movements, constitutional negotiations and Mandela's entry into a dusty polling station in the township of Inanda, Natal, where he voted for the first time in his life.[17]

The release of Mandela had a significant impact both within South Africa and internationally as well. It further marked an end to the activities of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM).[18] Drawing from Matthew Graham and Christopher Fevre, Hanef Bhamjee, an AAM activist based in Wales, whilst reflecting on Mandela's release from prison, had this to say: "…people were saying we don't need an anti-apartheid movement anymore. It is now over."[19]

During the early 1990s, commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre occurred in a climate of countrywide stay-aways, intimidation and repressive measures (such as arrests) by the apartheid regime. Newspapers constantly reported on violent incidents and damage to public utilities like trains and private property in numerous parts of Kwazulu and Natal province. During the first year of the unbanning of liberation movements, the police headquarters reported that more than 120

[15] L. Nathan, & M. Phillips, "Security reforms: The pen and the sword". *Indicator South Africa.* Durban. Vol.8.No.4.(1991).p.7.
[16] S. Graeme, S. Mokwena, & L. Segal, "Political violence: 1990" *Human Rights and Labour Law Yearbook*.Vol.2.(1991).p.193.
[17] A. Habib, "The transition to democracy in South Africa".*Transformation.*Vol.27.(1995).p.50.
[18] M. Graham, & C. Fevre, "Mandela's out so apartheid has finished: The British Anti-Apartheid Movement and South Africa's transition to majority rule, 1990-1994".*Contemporary British History.* Vol.36.No.3.(2022).p.330.
[19] Ibid.p.330.

people were arrested for their alleged involvement in incidents coinciding with the commemorations of Sharpeville throughout the country.

The argument advanced in this chapter revolves around the nature of commemoration of the Sharpeville massacre characterised by contestations between different political organisations. Following the unbanning of liberation movements, commemorations of the Sharpeville massacre were held along party lines, forms and traditions. From the late 1980s, the struggle for political hegemony by the liberation movements became apparent in the observance severances of events in the history of South Africa's liberation struggle.[20]

Ali Khangela Hlongwane observes that the display of political intolerance at the commemorations of the Soweto Uprising, leading sometimes to conflict and mutual suspicion among militants of different schools of political thought, applied also to commemorations of Sharpeville, as will be demonstrated in this chapter.[21] In 1990, Sharpeville commemorations in nearly all South African townships took the forms of marches, rallies and prayer services organised to mark the day. It was further significant as it coincided with the independence of Namibia.[22]

5.2 COMMEMORATING THE SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE IN THE EARLY 1990S: WORKERS' UNIONS, STUDENT MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

The Cape Times of 27 March1990 reported that in both Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark, gun sales rose by 50%. According to gun dealers, this spike in sales was security-related as the white community panicked upon hearing rumours that there would be unrest around Sharpeville on the 21st of March. The report further suggested that Sharpeville residents would be marching to Vereeniging, which scared many white residents of the town.[23] On 21 March 1990, the University of Witwatersrand remained closed to academic activities. However, the university held a memorial service on the 20th of March to commemorate the Sharpeville Massacre.

[20] A.K. Hlongwane, *June 16, 1976, Soweto uprising: A journey into the contested world of commemoration.* In SADET, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa. Soweto Uprising: New Perspectives Commemorations and Memorialization*.Unisa Press.Pretoria.Vol.7.(2017).p.180.
[21] Ibid.p.181.
[22] I. Lagardien, In memory of 69 killed at Sharpeville. *Sowetan*.20 March 1990.
[23] Staff Reporter, Gun sales boom after unrest rumor. *The Cape Times*.27 March 1990.

The universities of Cape Town, Western Cape, and Cape Peninsula Technikon also suspended all academic activities in order to observe the day.[24] Likewise, the universities of Transkei, North (Turfloop), Durban-Westville, and Rhodes also held commemoration services to mark this day.[25]

Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu was a guest speaker at the University of Transkei, where he addressed a commemoration rally organised by the PAC. In his response to media questions about the role of academia in partisan commemorative events such as Sharpeville, Nkuhlu indicated that he was in no way affiliated with the PAC. He opined that the university community should commemorate such events jointly with other progressive parties, while political differences should be set aside.[26] He further stated that his participation in the PAC-organised commemoration should not offend anyone, noting: "…divisions are not important. What is important is the meaning of Sharpeville to us as a people and Sharpeville should bring all progressive organisations together…"[27]

The involvement of Nkuhlu in commemoration events of this nature can be described as an example of academics "cashing in" on commemorative culture and capitalising on commemoration anniversaries for the purpose of public or community engagement. Seān Williams argues that the commemoration of significant events affects scholars most of all, while most contemporary studies of remembrance, undertaken across disciplines, have become more critical of memorialisation. He further contends that public-facing commemoration is thus subject to greater intellectual analysis, even academic scepticism.[28]

According to Maria Abreua and Vadim Grinevich, partaking in events such as commemorations that occur beyond the traditional academic roles of teaching and/or research, carries an element of risk, even if it leads to financial rewards for the individual academic or his/her institution.[29] According to Abreua and Grinevich, academic participation in commemoration events can be regarded as academic entrepreneurship.[30]

[24] SAPA, The city remembers Sharpeville. *The Cape Times*. 22 March 1990.
[25] I. Lagardien, In memory of 69 killed at Sharpeville.*Sowetan*.20 March 1990.
[26] M. Moonieya, Academics and their role in liberation movements. *Daily Dispatch*.10 April 1990.
[27] Ibid.
[28] S.M. Williams, Anniversaries, the public and academia.*German Life and Letters*. Vol.73.No.3.(2020).p.492.
[29] M. Abreua, & V. Grinevich, "The nature of academic entrepreneurship in the UK: Widening the focus on entrepreneurial activities". *Research Policy*. Vol.42.(2013).p.408.
[30] Ibid.p.408.

In the Bantustan of Lebowa, Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike declared 21 March 1990 a public holiday. During this year the Ciskei military government declared Sharpeville Day and Soweto Day as new official holidays. In a statement released on 9 May 1990, the Ciskei military government boasted that it was the first state in Southern Africa to declare Sharpeville Day and Soweto Day official public holidays.[31] It should be noted that in 1981 the South African apartheid parliament enacted the Ciskei Act No 110, which declared Ciskei an independent and autonomous state.[32]

Following the unbanning of liberation movements in February 1990, trade union movements became more visible, organising their activities freely as the political landscape in South Africa became irreversibly transformed. Although COSATU's application to be part of Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) was declined by the ruling National Party (as it did not regard it as a political party), COSATU, however, participated indirectly through the ANC and the SACP.[33] South Africa reflects a situation where a once-strong social movement sector is incorporated and/or marginalised by a political hegemony – in this case, the ANC.[34]

Adele Baleta reported in the *Business Day* of 22 March 1990 that extensive stay-aways, workplace absenteeism, police intimidations and other skirmishes occurred, blighting the 30th anniversary commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre.[35] This was, however, against the admonition by both NACTU and COSATU that there was no need for a stay-away, as 21 March was generally observed as a holiday. Numerous workers had also made provisions or negotiated with their employers for this day to be a paid holiday.[36]

Adele Baleta further notes that stay-away figures were highest in Durban ranging between 75% and 100%. Between 90% and 100% of the East Rand workers did not report to duty, and in Port Elizabeth, absenteeism figures were around 20% to 70%. In the Cape Province, observance of Sharpeville Day was also characterised by stay-aways. On this day, the Cape Town Chamber of

[31] Dally Dispatch Reporter, Ciskei changes public holidays. *Daily Dispatch*.10 May 1990.
[32] D.Jones, "Recognition of States and Governments—Republic of Ciskei". *The Cambridge Law Journal*. Vol.46.No.1.(1987).p.7.
[33] M. E. Manamela, "The social responsibility of South African trade unions: A labor law perspective". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of South Africa.Pretoria.(2015).p.40.
[34] P.Heller, "Moving the State: The Politics of Democratic Decentralization in Kerela, South Africa, and Porto Alegre*." Politics & Society.*Vol.29.(2001). In Anisha. E.C, "Trade Unions, Political Unions, and Social Movement Unions: A Case Study of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) in the Context of Polokwane". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Witwatersrand.Johannesburg. (2009).p.32.
[35] A.Baleta, Major centers hard hit by Sharpeville stayaways. *Business Day*.22 March 1990.
[36] M.Tsedu, Peace, and Unity theme for services. *Sowetan.*21 March 1991.

Commerce reported that retail centres in the southern suburbs experienced 20% to 45% worker stay-aways, while the Wynberg area experienced 75% stay-aways.

There were also partial stay-aways in the northern suburbs as workers attended commemoration rallies in Langa, Gugulethu, Paarl, Bonteheuwel and Atlantis.[37] It should be noted that Langa is the place where several people were killed on 21 March 1960, the same day as the Sharpeville Massacre; Bonteheuwel is the former coloured township; Gugulethu is the African township established along with Nyanga in the 1960s; and Paarl is the third oldest settlement in South Africa.[38] The Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU), the biggest union in the South African clothing, textile, footwear and leather industry[39] had, on this day, arranged with the Western Cape industries to observe Sharpeville Day by ensuring that their members do not report to work; instead, they were to work on 6 April marked as Founders Day.[40]

In Kimberley, the diamond mining town in the Northern Cape, the UDF organised a commemoration rally to observe the Sharpeville shooting. In this town, thousands of pupils, students and workers were absent from their schools and places of employment so as to mark the day. In Galeshewe and other coloured residential areas, school attendance figures were reported normal until 10am – after which pupils joined students at the college where political speeches, songs and poetry were used to commemorate the day. Mark Soileau argues that the communal nature of commemoration means that a memory is shared and thus perpetuated. It is further communicated and interpreted to transmit its relevance and significance through verbal forms such as stories, poems, songs and discourse.[41]

In Galeshewe, residents lined the streets just before the lowering of the South African apartheid flag. With the hoisting of the Namibian flag, residents took to the streets, singing and dancing.[42] Notably, there was an overwhelming participation of school children in this commemoration. Scholars argue that students' participation in commemorative ceremonies exposes them to powerful

[37] SAPA, City remembers Sharpeville. *The Cape Times*. 22 March 1990.
[38] For more on Cape College town suburbs, see C. de Swardt, T. Puoane, M. Chopra & A. du Toit, "Urban poverty in Cape Town". *Environment & Urbanization.*Vol.17.No.(2005).p.101-111. & P. Wilkinson, "City profile: Cape Town". *Cities.*Vol.17.Iss.3.(2000).p.195-205.
[39] J.T.Barrett, & A. F. Mullins, South African trade unions: A historical account, 1970-90.*Monthly Labor Review*.(1990).p.26.
[40] SAPA, City remembers Sharpeville. *The Cape Times.* 22 March 1990.
[41] M.Soileau, Hızır Pasha Hanged Us: Commemorating Martyrdom in Alevi Tradition. *The Muslim World*. Vol.107.(2017).p.551.
[42] Anon, Thousands in the city schools stay away. *Diamond Fields Advertiser*.22 March 1990.

images of bereavement, suffering, sacrifice and heroism, which cannot but leave a deep impression on the adolescent mind.[43] According to Henning Melber, formal Namibian independence began with the choice of 21 March 1990 as Independence Day in accordance with the suggestion by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) that this date should be honoured in memory of the Sharpeville Massacre in South Africa.[44] In separate commemoration rallies within Kimberley, both the UDF and the Galeshewe Students' Organisation (GASO) paid respects to the Namibian presidents by stating: "…We salute and admire president-elect Sam Nujoma, who has striven for many years to archive lasting peace in the Namibian area and African continent…."[45]

In a UDF-organised Sharpeville Massacre commemoration rally held at the Galeshewe Social Center, the organisation's publicity secretary, Sibongile Punch Nxumalo, downplayed, whitewashed and distorted the well-known historical fact about the Sharpeville Massacre and its consequences. In his address to the multitude of commemorators, Nxumalo noted:

> …Apart from its overwhelming significance on 21 March 1960, when the ANC launched its largest campaign against pass laws in the country, by staging a massive protest march and publicly burning…. The Sharpeville incidents have risen to the outlawing of the ANC and the rise of the Umkhonto we Sizwe, spear of the nation, headed by now deputy ANC president Nelson Mandela….[46]

It is, however, a historical fact that the ANC never in its existence launched the largest campaign in the country. In fact, the ANC did not endorse the Sharpeville protest.[47] As history records, on the day of the massacre residents of Sharpeville and, subsequently, Langa embarked on a peaceful anti-pass campaign led by the ANC breakaway party, the PAC.[48] In terms of the burning of passbooks, Paul Von Blum argues that, for several years, blacks protested the pass system. Several protests occurred where people burned their passbooks or turned them in to the authorities.[49] Although the

[43] A. Levy, & A. Weingrod, *Homelands and diasporas: Holy lands and other places.* Stanford University Press.California.(2005).p.170.
[44] H. Melber, "Namibia's Past in the Present: Colonial Genocide and Liberation Struggle in Commemorative Narratives". *South African Historical Journal.* Vol.54.No.1.(2005).p.99.
[45] Anon, Observe Sharpeville Day-Call. *Diamonds Field Advertiser*. 21 March 1990.
[46] Ibid.
[47] J.Kunnie, *Is Apartheid really dead? Pan-Africanist working-class cultural critical perspectives.* Taylor & Francis. New York.(2000).p.25.
[48] K.B.Shai, & O.Ogunnub, South Africa's health system and human rights: A critical African perspective. *Journal of Economics and Behavioural Studies*. Vol.10.No.1.(2018).p.69.
[49] P. Von Blum, "Resistance, memory, and hope". *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies.* Vol.6.No.4.(2005).p.5.

ANC leaders did burn their passbooks, it happened long after the massacre.[50] Albert Luthuli, the ANC's national leader, protested by publicly burning his passbook only in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre.[51] It can thus be argued, drawing from Peter Carrier, that memory is a frail entity, hindered by blanks and misrepresentations, and, therefore, vulnerable to potentially equivocal meanings produced by commemoration events.[52]

The *Sowetan* newspaper of 22 March 1990 reported that during the 30th anniversary of Sharpeville, violent incidents occurred in Natal, Pretoria, and the Free State, with cars, trains and houses damaged. In Natal townships, Umlazi specifically, barricades were set up to prevent public transport, such as taxis and buses, from taking commuters to work. Houses were burned down, and cars were either set ablaze or damaged. The communities of KwaMashu, Lamontville and Inanda held spontaneous rallies and marches in an attempt to keep the commemoration small and controllable.[53] There were further reports of intimidation of those who tried to report at their places of work as they were turned back.[54]

In Stanger, Inanda, Clermont and Wyebank, police dispersed commemorative marches by residents, while police vehicles were stoned in the process.[55] It can be assumed that residents stoned police vehicles due to South Africa's painful history of the police's excessive use of force against protesters, with the Sharpeville Massacre being a perfect case study. Police brutality in South Africa is a legacy of the past. The apartheid regime had built up for its support and survival, a system of policing which was militaristic in its structure and highly authoritarian in its culture, functioning as an instrument of control and guided by the singular purpose of meeting any challenge to the apartheid structure. Police stationed in townships were meant to respond decisively to any breakdown of law and order rather than provide security for the citizens.[56] This culture of brutality and use of excessive force is still on-going despite the end of apartheid in South Africa.[57]

[50] R. Suttner, "The Road to Freedom is via the cross' just means' in Chief Albert Luthuli's life". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.62.No.4.(2010).p.710.
[51] S. Chetty, An alternate reading of a charismatic figure: Scott Couper, Albert Luthuli: bound by faith. *Historia*.Vol. 5.Iss.2.(2012).p.493.
[52] P.Carrier, "Historical traces of the present: The uses of commemoration". *Historical reflections/réflexions historiques*.Vol.22.No.2.(1996).p.438.
[53] Anon, Stayaways, rallies mark the anniversary. *The Cape Times*.22 March 1990.
[54] Sowetan reporter, Violence Mars Heroes Day. *Sowetan*.22 March 1990.
[55] A.Baleta, Major centers hard hit by Sharpeville stayaways. *Business Day*.22 March 1990.
[56] G.P. Joshi, Police Brutality in South Africa. https://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/programs/aj/police/papers/gpj/police_brutality_in_south_africa.pdf. (Accessed on the 18.10.2022).
[57] S.Yesufu, "The continuity of police brutality in post-apartheid South Africa". *ScienceRise*.Vol.79.No.2.(2022).p.21.

Works of scholars – such as Rozena Maart David Baker, Leslie Swartz, Aliki Saragas and Mongezi Menye.[58] – have compared the Sharpeville and Marikana massacres and identified some similarities between the two. The Marikana Massacre recalls the Sharpeville memories of the 1960s and evokes the same kind of political and policing symbolism of police and communities in conflict.[59] It can be argued that police brutality has in turn forced the majority of South Africans to perceive the average police officer as an "oppressive enemy", while the police also view some communities as posing a threat.

In Mamelodi, next to Pretoria, a large crowd turned up to observe Sharpeville Day. During this commemoration, speakers urged workers to take interest in labour matters affecting them. This call was sparked by the fact that, earlier in the year, the ANC, SACP and COSATU formed a pact known as the Tripartite Alliance, which marked the process of change within labour organisations.[60] Devan Pillay contends that the alliance was aimed at pursuing the strategy of national democratic revolution; however, this resulted in COSATU gradually moving away from a more robust social movement unionism towards a narrower form of party-led political unionism.[61]

Speakers during this service further stressed that the grievances which had led to the Sharpeville shooting still existed. The statement suggested that the current labour practices were not favourable. In 1960, the PAC demanded a guaranteed minimum wage of £35 ($98) a month for all Africans.[62] Another speaker at a commemorative rally held in Soshanguve, Donsie Khumalo of COSATU, reminded his audience of the significance of a well-developed historical consciousness by stating

[58] For more see R.Maart, "Philosophy born of massacres. Marikana, the theatre of cruelty: The killing of the kaffir". *Acta Academica*. Vol.46.No.4.(2014).p.1-28. A.Saragas, "Documenting Trauma: An Analysis of the Construction of Traumatic Collective Memory in the First and Last Scenes of the Documentary, Mama Marikana". Unpublished master's. Dissertation. University of Cape Town. Cape Town.(2015). L. Swartz, *From Sharpeville to Marikana: The changing political landscape for mental health practice in a violent South Africa*. In Lindert.J, & Levav. I, Violence and Mental Health. Springer, Dordrecht.(2014). M.Menye,"Exploring the Continuities and Discontinuities in South African Political Violence: The Sharpeville, Bhisho and Marikana Massacres". Unpublished master's dissertation Nelson Mandela University.Port Elizabeth.(2018).

[59] D.Baker, *Police, Picket-Lines, and Fatalities: Lessons from the Past.* Palgrave Macmillan.New York.(2014).p.16-35.

[60] S.Ashman, "The social crisis of labour and the crisis of labour politics in South Africa".*Revue Tiers Monde.* No.224.(2015).p.225.

[61] D.Pillay, "The Enduring Embrace: COSATU and the Tripartite alliance during the Zuma era". *Labour, Capital, and Society*. Vol.44.No.2.(2011).p.58.

[62] South African History Online, Anti-Pass campaign. https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/anti-pass-campaign. (Accessed on the 18.10.2022).

that, ."…It is important for black people to know where they came from and where they are going to, for them to make the right decisions about the future".[63]

Donsie Khumalo was pointing to the whole process of becoming aware of the past within the present that is dynamic and constantly changing, both on a collective and an individual level.[64] Historical commemorations, such as the anniversary observance of the Sharpeville Massacre, constitute an important element in the process of social memory, whilst also playing an important role in creating a historical consciousness. According to historian and cultural theorist, Allen Rauche, historical consciousness is an awareness of a person's current socio-political position being conditioned by a string of historical events of the past, events of a cultural, social and political nature.[65]

Although Nathalie Popa defines historical consciousness as a disposition to engage with history so as to make meaning of the past human experience for oneself (in other words, to make the historical past one's own),[66] Maria Grever and Robbert-Jan Adriaansen argue that modern historical consciousness understands the past to be essentially different from the present, and cannot accept tradition as a prescriptive guide for future action because contemporary demands are not the same as demands in the past.[67] At another rally held in Soweto, Cassim Saloojee of the UDF, addressing predominantly ANC-supporting schoolchildren, used the platform to call for peace among political organisations so that those who lost their lives in the Sharpeville and Uitenhage massacres would not have died in vain.[68] As Moeketsi Letseka observes, there had been ideological tensions between the radical Africanist BCM and the Marxism-Leninism- inclined SACP and COSATU.[69]

In early 1990, with the unbanning of liberation movements, the already-existing tensions between the ANC and the IFP escalated. Prior to this period, there was prevailing low-level political violence and the IFP enjoyed strong support, particularly in Natal where it originated. During this

[63] M.Mkomo, Sharpeville remembered. *Sowetan.*22 March 1990.
[64] M. Grever, & R.J. Adriaansen, historical consciousness: The enigma of different paradigms". *Journal of Curriculum Studies.* Vol.51.No.6.(2019).p.814.
[65] G.A. Rauch, The concept of history.*Historia*.Vol.35.(1990).p.15.
[66] N.Popa, "Operationalizing historical consciousness: A review and synthesis of the literature on meaning making in historical learning". *Review of Educational Research*. Vol.92.No.2.(2022).p.173.
[67] M. Grever, & R.J. Adriaansen, "Historical consciousness: The enigma of different paradigms". *Journal of Curriculum Studies.* Vol.51.No.6.(2019).p.822.
[68] Anon, Stayaways, rallies mark anniversary. *The Cape Times*.22 March 1990.
[69] M. Letseka, "Liberalism vs. Marxism-Leninism and the future of education in South Africa". *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences.* Vol.4.No.3.(2013).p.67.

period, however, the IFP viewed the ANC's advancement into its constituencies with growing suspicion. Local politicians became gradually prepared to engage in political strategy to assert their power and they made public declarations to protect their members serving as councillors, including providing armed resistance through traditional weapons and modern arms. These actions in turn militarised what was originally a conflict over local governance.[70]

According to Guelke, what was previously a low-intensity local conflict quickly escalated into a nationalised civil war.[71] The year 1990 further signalled the start of a new form of political violence on the Reef, which some social commentators regarded as a cautious policy of "ethnicizing political differences" on the part of political leaders.[72] Violent political conflict amongst the ANC, the state and the IFP engulfed many of the townships surrounding Johannesburg from the mid-1980s up until the 1994 elections.[73]

Following the 30th anniversary observance of the Sharpeville Massacre by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), a COSATU-affiliated trade union movement, the Premier Mine in Cullinan near Pretoria terminated the mine-level recognition agreement between itself and the NUM. The breakdown in relations was as a result of NUM members' refusal to negotiate with the management on a mutually acceptable form of commemorating the Sharpeville Massacre. According to the management of Premier Mine, the union disrupted production with the unilateral decision to stage a stay-away from work in memory of the Sharpeville victims.[74]

In 1991, COSATU and NACTU did not call for a stay-away but endorsed their members' right to observe the 31st anniversary of the Sharpeville shooting.[75] Jerome Barrett and Anne Finbarr Mullins contend that stay-aways were not simply a demonstration of strength, but were designed to facilitate changes in the Labor Relations Act.[76] Therefore, this thesis argues that Sharpeville

[70] S. Van Baalen, "The Microdynamics of conflict escalation: The case of ANC-IFP fighting in South Africa in 1990". *Pax et Bellum Journal*.Vol.1.No.1.(2014).p.17-18.

[71] A. Guelke, "Interpretations of political violence during South Africa's transition." *Politikon*. Vol.27.No.2.(2000).p.241.

[72] For more on political violence, see B.M. Xeketwane, "The relation between hostels and the political violence on the Reef from July 1990 to December 1993: A case study of Merafe and Meadowlands hostels in Soweto". Unpublished master's dissertation.University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(1995)

[73] G.Kynoch, "From the Ninevites to the hard livings gang: Township gangsters and urban violence in twentieth-century South Africa". *African Studies*. Vol.58.No.1.(1999).p.57.

[74] Citizen Reporter, NUM not recognised at mine after stay away. *The Citizen*.23 March 1990.

[75] Citizen Reporter, Thousands stay away to observe Sharpeville. *The Citizen*.22 March 1991.

[76] J. T. Barrett, & A.F.Mullins, South African trade unions: A historical account, 1970-90". *Monthly Labor Review*. (1990).p.29.

anniversaries were not only used to remember the Sharpeville dead but also deployed as a platform to address labour issues.

Besides stay-aways and work stoppages, there was reported violence that characterised the commemoration of the 39th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. For instance, in areas such as Ikageng, next to Potchefstroom, ideological tensions, which had existed since the 1980s between the BCM and the ANC, degenerated into violence when a mob of at least 200 people wearing ANC T-shirts disrupted a Sharpeville commemoration service organised by Azapo. In Bekkersdal, the same violence took place, leaving four people dead and one blinded.[77]

In parliament, Miley Richards, the leader of the House of Representatives and Labour Party, told parliamentarians before the start of parliamentary business that his party identified itself fully with the hopes and aspirations of the African section of the black community. It should be noted that the Labour Party was formed in 1965 as an anti-government party. It was also a prominent political party amongst Coloured people, and since its formation has adopted an anti-apartheid policy stance. However, in 1984, it became close to the ruling apartheid NP and cooperated with its erstwhile opponent.[78] Reflecting on Robert Sobukwe and the Sharpeville Massacre, Richards told the parliamentarians that:

> ….The memory of Robert Sobukwe is alive with us today, the day of Sharpeville, which is a record of the sins of apartheid…The events in Langa will eternally be created in our hearts and our minds. We can never forget the harshness and wickedness of the police action which resulted in death and injury…. However, although we do not forget, we will have to learn to forgive in preparation for the day of reconciliation….[79]

A move to observe a minute's silence for the victims of the massacre was also held in the House of Delegates, formerly the Chamber of Deputies, reserved only for Indians in the tricameral parliament of apartheid South Africa, which existed from 1984 to 1994. Gerd Behrens, drawing from the UDF's regional executive in the Western Cape, considers this House a powerless dummy body, filled with well-paid puppets and representing everything UDF rejects. It was, according to Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the process of political symbolism, providing a kind of all-inclusive

[77] SAPA, Feud flares between UDF and Azapo. *The Cape Times.* 23 March 1990.
[78] R.H. du Pre, "Confrontation, cooptation, and collaboration: The response and reaction of the Labour Party of South Africa to government policy:1965–1984". Unpublished doctoral thesis. Rhodes University.Grahamstown.(1994).p.ii-iii
[79] Anon, Record of apartheid sins. *The Citizen.* 22 March 1990.

sociability that only takes place at cocktails, in dining rooms and on standing committees.[80] In a move without notice, the Central Rand representative in the House, Roy Padiachey, told the gathering that it should pay respect and tribute to all who lost their lives in the fight against apartheid, including those who had died in Sharpeville. Padiachey further moved a motion to adjourn the day's parliamentary business; however, the motion was rejected.[81]

In 1991, as Ali Khangela Hlongwane observes in commemorations of the 1976 Soweto Uprising, Themba Molefe also witnessed in the commemoration of Sharpeville that observance of Sharpeville has underscored the division within the liberation movements. He reported that during this year, as with the previous year, the PAC, ANC and Azapo had organised separate rallies in the same area. Members of these movements passed by one another on the streets, sometimes jeering one another as they went to separate commemoration events. During this year's commemoration, Azapo was the only organisation that called for a nationwide stay-away, while the ANC, PAC, NACTU and COSATU felt that there was no need for a stay-away since 21 March is generally regarded as a holiday. However, they endorsed their members' right to commemorate Sharpeville Day.[82]

The United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA), formed in Durban on 1 May 1986 by Mangosuthu Buthelezi in direct reaction to the formation of COSATU, issued a statement, saying that it took cognisance of Sharpeville Day, but that since it is not a paid holiday it was not a good idea to stay away from work. The statement requested that those who wanted to go to work should not be intimidated or threatened.[83] In observing the 31st anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1991, Azapo adopted the theme "Peace in the Townships, Commemoration of the Fallen Heroes and Popularising a United Front for a Constituent Assembly".[84]

During this year, Azapo and PAC held joint rallies and called for a stay-away, which was endorsed by the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) and the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) on condition that students would commemorate the day at school. During this day, Azaso's publicity secretary, Sipho Maseko, released a statement indicating that even student organisations outside the BCM family were in support of the commemoration of this day. He further noted that

[80] G. Behrens, "The other two houses: The first five years of the House of Representatives and Delegates". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Cape Town.Cape Town.(1989).p.2.
[81] SAPA, Silence for Sharpeville dead. *The Cape Times*.22 March 1990.
[82] Citizen Reporter, Thousands stay away to observe Sharpeville. The *Citizen*.22 March 1991.
[83] T. Molefe, Divisions in Movements. *Sowetan*.21 March 1991.
[84] M. Tsedu, Peace and unity theme for service.*Sowetan*.21 March 1991.

commemoration within schools was a shift from traditional forms of involvement by students. In 1992 COSATU, SACP and the ANC organised a commemoration rally in Grahamstown, with a procession through the main streets of the town. Here observances of the Sharpeville Massacre included soccer matches, choral singing, poetry reading and drum majorette.[85] Ana Hofman maintains that memories only exit if we shape them into words, images, and sounds, which in turn communicate them within the social environment.[86]

The hosting of the 32nd anniversary of the massacre in this area is very significant. The Grahamstown Standard Bank National Arts Festival is regarded as South Africa's biggest arts festival. The festival started with the Market Theatre's production of *The Good Woman of Sharkville*, an adaptation of Brecht's *The Good Woman of Setzuan*, set in a fictional shantytown called Sharkville, with the obvious connotation of Sharpeville, the site of the 21 March 1960 massacre.[87] In 2014, the Grahamstown National Arts Festival celebrated its 40th anniversary. During this year, Mpumelelo Paul Grootboom's *Protest*, which addresses contemporary problems, was staged. Megan Lewis contends that Act 1 of the play, which climaxes with a mass of protesters being gunned down in a rain of bullets, is reminiscent of the Sharpeville Massacre or Soweto Uprising decades before.[88]

In 1993, the Azapo held a commemorative rally in Kopanong Community Centre, Dobsonville, Soweto, to mark the 33rd anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. Gillian Eagle observes that the unbanning of liberation movements and the release of political prisoners in 1990 did not mark a decrease but an escalation in violence, both on the part of the state and its opponents. This decade before the 1994 elections was transformed into a nightmare as the country moved into a period of unprecedented violence.[89]

During the period under review in this chapter political violence became a dominant and pervasive feature of national politics and society and was central to the national scene, leaving large numbers killed and maimed. According to André du Toit proliferation of political violence was endemic in

[85] Herald Reporter, Sharpeville Day rally in Grahamstown today. *Herald*.21 March 1992.
[86] A. Hofman, Introduction to the Co-Edited Issue 'Music, Affect and Memory Politics in Post-Yugoslav Space. *South-eastern Europe.* Vol.39.No.2.(2015).p.145-184.In Kovačič. M, *C*reating atmospheric coherence through commemorative rituals, singing partisan songs, and rehearsed effect". *Narodna umjetnost*.Vol.58.No.2.(2021).p.72.
[87] A.J. Kuharski, Performance Review. Standard Bank National Arts Festival. *Theatre Journal.* Vo.l.49.(1997).p.53.
[88] For more on the play, see M. Lewis, "South Africa's 40th anniversary National Arts Festival". *Theatre Journal* Vol.67.No.1.(2015).p.104 -109.
[89] G. Eagle, Violence in South Africa: On the increase in the 1990s".*Critical Health.* No.41.(1992).p.6.

the black townships.[90] Hence, at this rally, Molatlhegi Tlhale, Azapo's deputy political education officer, called on black youths to openly associate themselves with the Azanian National Liberation Army. He told this audience that black people were tired of being victims of state violence and were prepared to use any means to defend themselves.[91] Much of the horrific post-1990 state instigated violence happened in the Vaal Triangle, in contrast to the political violence that had consumed much of Natal and parts of Zululand during the 1980s.[92] This decade saw the 1991 Sebokeng night vigil Massacre also known as Nangalembe Massacre, the 1992 Boipatong Massacre.

According to Kerry Cullinan and Professor Malema in 1992, between January and June, 244 people were killed and 215 injured Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Boipatong, Bophelong. Evaton, Orange Farm and Palm springs.[93] This political violence were not, however limited the Vaal region, as there were state instigated, criminal and vigilante violence. Gary Kynoch observe that during this period hostels, political parties, taxi wars ANC-IFP violence, ANC-PAC/AZAPO violence, state security forces, self defence units , characterised acute violence in and around Johannesburg as well, especially on the East Rand townships of Katlehong,Thembisa and Thokoza.[94]

According to G T du Preez and Anastasios Ladikos, a total of 231 people have been killed and 434 injured in violent attacks on commuters on Reef suburban trains. They argues that even the Goldstone Commission was unable throw direct light on who was behind repeated massacres on commuter trains on the Reef.[95] Drawing from Jeremy Seeking's *Inkatha and the Origins of 'Hostel' Violence on the Witwatersrand, 1990-91* (1991), André du Toit maintains that by the mid-1990s these violent confrontations had dripped over to the Transvaal, with local civil wars between inhabitants and hostel tenants in townships on the West Rand and in the Vaal Triangle.[96]

[90] A. du Toit, *Understanding South African Political Violence A New Problematic*?. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. Geneva.(1993).p.6-7.
[91] Anon, Azapo wants new armed struggle. *The Citizen*. 22 March 1993.
[92] D. Bonnin, "Township violence and the end of apartheid: War on the Reef by Gary Kynoch. (review)". *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa.* Vol.104.(2020).p.154.
[93] K. Cullinan. & P. Malema, "Triangle of violence". *Work in Progress Incorporating new era*. No.84.(1992).p.11.
[94] For more on violence on the Reef see G.Kynoch, *Township violence and the end of apartheid: War on the Reef.* Boydell & Brewer.Ltd.Suffolk.(2018).
[95] A. Du Preez, & & Ladikos, "The phenomenon of violence with specific reference to violence on trains in South Africa: 1992-1993". *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology & Victimology.* Vol.9.Iss.1.(1996).p.133.
[96] A. du Toit, *Understanding South African political violence: A new problematic?* United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.Paper.43.(1993).p.10.

Tlhale further told the crowd that Azapo would not participate in the current multi-lateral talks, known as CODESA. He further told Azapo commemorators that, "…We prefer a bipolar arrangement where the liberation movements sit on one side and the regime on the other…."[97] This was in the context of nearly 200 delegates who met in 1992 at Kempton Park to initiate the process of discussing modalities for a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa. Among those absent were delegates from the PAC, Azapo and the Conservative Party (CP). To make this process more inclusive, the PAC and other white political parties were encouraged to participate in the bilateral meetings; however, Azapo rejected a multi-party process which had as the main actors the ANC and the apartheid government.[98]

In 1993 both the ANC and the IFP signed an agreement aimed at preventing violence during commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre. At an IFP Sharpeville Massacre commemoration rally, Mangosuthu Buthelezi repeated his plea for an open discussion with Nelson Mandela for the sake of peace. According to David Everatt, this call by Buthelezi was indeed a repeated call, after 140 people were killed in two days of fighting. Buthelezi, in a televised news interview, asserted that there was no hope of stopping the violence until joint commemorative rallies were held. [99] At the Kopanong Community Centre in Dobsonville, Soweto, Azapo held a commemoration service which was addressed by Pandelani Nefolovhodwe with the theme: "…Voting is a betrayal of the victims of Sharpeville as the land is still in whites' hands…."[100]

Azapo's theme of this year was a clear indication of its intentions concerning the 1994 elections, which it did not participate in.[101] According to Thabisi Hoeane, Azapo boycotted the 1994 elections because it felt that the negotiated political settlement that resulted in the formation of the GNU was defective due to its power-sharing nature,[102] and it argued for the defeat of the apartheid system and not discussion with the settler regime.[103] Azapo also maintained that the interim constitution was

[97] Anon, Azapo wants new armed struggle. *The Citizen*. 22 March 1993.
[98] G. Devenish, "The interim constitution in the making. *Journal for Contemporary Roman-Dutch Law*. Vol.60.No.4.(1997).p.623.
[99] D. Everatt, *Analysing political violence on the Reef, 1990 to 1994*. In Greenstein R, *The role of political violence in South Africa's democratization.*Community Agency for Social Enquiry.(2003).p.141.
[100] I. Motsapi, Parties to stage rallies. *Sowetan*.21 March 1994.
[101] C. M. Twala, "This was no election, it was a census': The IEC declaration of the April 1994 general election as free and fair in South Africa – a complex process?". *New Contree*. No.51.(2006).p.87.
[102] T. Hoeane, *Struggling to Represent the Left: The Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organization, and the Independent Democrats*. In Piombo. J, & Nijzink. L, *Electoral politics in South Africa: Assessing the first democratic decade.* Palgrave Macmillan.New York.(2005).p.192.
[103] R. Southall, "South Africa's 1994 election in an African perspective". *Africa Insight.* Vol.24.No.2.(1994).p.89.

designed to keep white people rich and happy at the expense of the deprived black majority.[104] On 27 April 1994, five weeks before the elections, F.W. de Klerk issued a commemorative statement whereby he reflected on the memory of Sharpeville. Speaking as an NP leader of his party, de Klerk stated:

> …The events of Sharpeville 34 years ago constituted a dark page in South African history. They symbolised an era of racial and political conflict. I pray as we stand only five weeks away from South Africa's first non-racial election, that this anniversary may become a symbol of not only remembrance but also of reconciliation. Many nations have had their identities forged in a past of conflict and bloodshed. Although we can never forget the past which carried with it pain and suffering to many, a new page has been turned, and a new chapter is beginning. Let us bury the racial animosities of the past and join hands in our march to the new South Africa. Let the memory of those who died at Sharpeville, and all others who died as a result of a conflict of the past, be an inspiration for the new beginning, not a reason for dwelling in the past….[105]

5.3 COMMEMORATIONS BY THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

On 2nd February 1990, F.W. de Klerk (1936-2021), the last president of the apartheid regime, announced the unbanning of the liberation movements and the release of political prisoners. The disbanding of the ANC, PAC, SACP and a number of subsidiary organisations[106] was a move that came as a surprise to the exiled leaders of these liberation movements.[107] It was also an announcement which set the tone and defined the character of the transitional period.[108] However, the announcement of the unbanning of liberation movements was received by some of the liberation movements with a pinch of salt. According to Kwandiwe Kondlo, the PAC reacted by stating that the unbanning of the PAC and other liberation organisations held no meaning for them. Its president, Zephania Mothopeng, is reported to have said that as far as the PAC was concerned, it did not recognise the apartheid government and, therefore, did not recognise the unbanning of the PAC.[109]

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[104] M.Tsedu, Azapo kept the flame burning. *Sowetan*.23 March 1994.
[105] Political correspondent, Sharpeville a new beginning. *The Citizen.* 21 March 1994.
[106] M. Ngoepe, & S. Netshakhuma, "Archives in the trenches: Repatriation of African National Congress liberation archives in the diaspora to South Africa*". International Journal on Recorded Information.* Vol.18.(2018).p.56.
[107] K. Johnson, "Liberal or liberation framework? The contradictions of ANC Rule in South Africa". *Journal of Contemporary African Studies.*Vol.21.No.2.(2003).p.332.
[108] K. Kondlo, "From the fringes to fossils: The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the negotiated transition to democracy in South Africa, 1990–1994".*Journal for Contemporary History.* Vol.42.No.1.(2017).p.43.
[109] Ibid.p.46.

A few weeks after the unbanning of the liberation movements, the Vaal branch of the PAC held its first-ever open internal commemoration rally after thirty years of being viewed as illegal in South Africa. They were joined by survivors of the massacre, the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), AZAPO and thousands of Vaal residents. The 21 March 1960 incident was re-enacted with the staging of a symbolic march to the Sharpeville police station where the shooting took place.[110] According to Danaé Panchaud, a re-enactment is a form of public commemoration of a shared remembrance of historical events and a tool to engage and mobilise an audience who did not live through such commemorated events, such as a massacre, as well to reframe and reclaim history.[111]

At the Vaal, a memorialisation process was further conducted through a short prayer service before proceedings moved to George Thabe Stadium for the main commemoration rally. The day started with the memorialisation ritual of "grave visitations and cleaning", which has been a tradition since the 1960s. During this process, contestations between the PAC and the UDF surfaced. During the memorialisation ritual of grave cleaning, the struggle for political hegemony, symbolical and political ownership of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre dead snowballed into political intolerance. It manifested in arguments as to who had the right to clean the graves. It was only when both parties agreed to divide the graveyard into two areas that confrontation was narrowly avoided.[112]

At George Thabe Stadium, volatile tension between the PAC and AZAPO marred the joint commemoration and made newspaper headlines such as "Hidden tension burst into a rage"[113] and "AZAPO, PAC 'skirmish' on Sharpeville Day".[114] Political commentators and observers described this tension as a sign of ideological hostility. The PAC perceived the chanting of AZAPO members as provocative and then ordered AZAPO to take down their banners and flags hoisted at the stadium.[115] The media were prevented from recording the subsequent scuffle, but the ideological tension was confirmed by Oscar Malgas, a PAC member, who told reporters:

[110] L. Kumalo, Vaal residents march on police station.*Sowetan*.22 March 1990.
[111] D.Panchaud, *Critical reenactment as a memorial and activist practice*. https://danaepanchaud.net/index.php/research/critical-reenactment/. (Accessed on the 19.09.2022).
[112] S. Memela, Political division marred Sharpeville Day. *City Press*. 25 March 1990.
[113] C. Moodley, Hidden tension burst into rage. *Weekly Mail.* 5-11 April 1990.
[114] SAPA, Azapo, PAC 'skirmish' on Sharpeville Day. MB2103170390.21 March 1990
[115] Ibid.

> PAC would not compromise on the significance of this day. Sharpeville marks the change in South African politics as a result of a programme of action initiated by Sobukwe. It would be unfair for us to let other organisations ride on the crest wave of the day for their own propaganda purposes.[116]

It can, therefore, be argued that the statement uttered by Malgas was an indication of the PAC's claim of ownesrhip over the Sharpeville memory. Responding to the alleged scuffles, the PAC Secretary, Benny Alexander, later known as Khoisan X, refuted the claims and defended the PAC's actions by stating that the allegations were unfortunate and that he was not aware of such incidents during the rally. He also expressed his surprise at the AZAPO leadership for taking the matter to the press, instead of trying to resolve it with the PAC. He further made it clear that the incident was not indicative of the PAC's attitude towards AZAPO.[117]

On the other hand, Machone Marumo, the Chairperson of the AZAPO Vaal branch, said that PAC should apologise to AZAPO and the media. He noted that AZAPO regarded the matter in a very serious light, given the fact that it had been invited to the event and featured in the programme of the day. However, Marumo alleged, the AZAPO leadership was overlooked when it was their turn to address the crowd. He further said that the incident was an attempt by the PAC to coerce AZAPO into its ranks.[118] He told the newspaper reporters that not all the people killed on 21 March 1960 in Sharpeville were members of the PAC. and that its call for unity among all liberation movements was an exercise in futility as the PAC did not practise its talk of unity.[119] In response to the PAC's unfortunate actions, commentators reported that South Africans and the world at large were saddened to learn that members of both parties failed to use the worth of this day as a rallying point for unity and that Sharpeville residents also voiced their disappointment that political organisations were fighting over the rights to honour the dead before calling on their leaders to address the problem urgently.[120]

During the commemoration rally, the PAC indicated its opposition to the negotiated settlement currently underway and headed by the ANC. According to Kwandiwe Kondlo, since its unbanning, the PAC had always displayed anti-negotiation sentiments. He argued that in the early 1990s the PAC was stuck on the radical traditions of the rhetoric of national liberation ideology,

[116] S. Memela, Political division marred Sharpeville Day. *City Press*.25 March 1990.
[117] C. Moodley, Hidden tension burst into rage. *Weekly Mail*.5-11 April 1990.
[118] SAPA, Azapo, PAC 'skirmish' on Sharpeville Day.MB2103170390.21 March 1990.
[119] S. Moses, Azapo humiliated by PAC. *Sunday Times*.25 March 1990.
[120] Ibid.

intensification of the struggle on all fronts, the return of land to its rightful owners and the establishment of a socialist order.[121] This resulted in the emergence of two opposing factions within the PAC. One group called itself the Revolutionary Watchdogs. It opposed negotiations and advocated that the country's political crisis could only be settled through armed struggle. According to Nkondlo, this group was numerically insignificant when compared to the radical "left" majority, even though it commanded a strong influence.[122]

During the commemoration, the PAC, through Jafta Masemola, one of its stalwarts and a Robben Islander, denounced the transitional negotiations by telling PAC supporters that:

> The impending negotiations were tantamount to collaboration. There was never been a single dispossessor in the world who had dispossessed himself out of power. It would be a great mistake for the black majority to enter into negotiations before making any achievements in their liberation struggle.…whites would never negotiate themselves out of power.[123]

Reiterating the PAC's policy on land repossession, Masemola made the following statement to reporters during the commemoration rally in Sharpeville:

> It would be foolish for blacks to sit around the same table with their dispossessors and (negotiate) over their dispossessed goods, because, in such a political settlement, the dispossessors would always remain on top, even after the removal of apartheid.[124]

Outlining the PAC's anti-negotiation sentiments and views on the multiparty compromise negotiations underway, the PAC president, Zephania Mothopeng, and Benny Alexander told commemorators that:

> PAC stood against negotiations because the idea of the white government negotiating was an insult to the dignity of the black majority. PAC did not want only flag freedom, but it wanted real fundamental change based on the repossession of land and the black majority rule. The PAC believed in the total overthrow of predominantly white political oppression. PAC's ideals were to rally and unite Africans under African nationalism, to overthrow white domination, to establish a socialist democracy, unite Africa, and to project African personality.[125]

[121] K. Kondlo,"From the fringes to fossils": The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the negotiated transition to democracy in South Africa, 1990–1994". *Journal for Contemporary History.* Vol.42.No.1.(2017).p.46.
[122] Ibid.p.47.
[123] SAPA, Azapo, PAC 'skirmish' on Sharpeville Day. MB2103170390. 21 March 1990.
[124] S. Moses, Azapo was humiliated by PAC. *Sunday Times.*25 March 1990.
[125] S.Memela, Political division marred Sharpeville Day.*City Press*. 25 March 1990.

Philipa Garson observes that the PAC had consistently criticised the negotiations in the form of the CODESA as an undemocratic, unwieldy body plagued by structural problems in the absence of a neutral convener. It wanted to discuss nothing more than transitional arrangements for constituent assembly elections and not be bogged down by talks around the interim government or violent debates which it believed can only detract from the transfer of power to the black majority.[126] The PAC was quick to maintain that the movement would negotiate with the administration only when Africans could negotiate on an equal footing. During this transitional period, while the ANC suspended its armed struggle, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) continued on that course with amplified dynamism.[127] The other group was referred to as *Amazambane* (Potatoes) because it favoured the compromise negotiations which, according to them, were inevitable;[128] hence, Kwandiwe Nkondlo argues that the PAC moved closer to multi-party negotiations in 1993.[129]

In another commemorative rally held in Umtata, Transkei, the PAC acknowledged and praised Bantu Holomisa for calling for a referendum to test the people's views on reincorporation into South Africa. According to Richard Humphries and Khehla Shubane, the referendum was held in 1989 to gauge attitudes toward a return to South Africa, even though broader South African politics became entangled. They contend that the unbanning of the ANC and the PAC in 1990 further cemented these close links and the reincorporation of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei (TBVC) states into South Africa. The debate thrown up by Holomisa soon became linked to a wider debate about a new constitution for South Africa. By implication, the views of Transkei would be to surrender its apartheid-derived status against the background of constitutional debates on the regionalism issue.[130]

[126] P.Garson, The PAC enters the fray. *Africa Report*.Vol.1.(1992).p.20.
[127] A.A. Lipede, "The socio-economic and political roots and consequences of Pan African Congress (PAC) militancy". *Journal of Eastern African Research & Development*.Vol.24.(1994).p.156.
[128] Children of the soil: The rise of Azanyu. A documentary film about AZANYU's response to the political transition in South Africa from 1990 to 1996.p.191. https://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/1802/Section%20Two.pdf?sequence=9&isAllowed=y. (Accessed on the 20.09.2022).
[129] K. Kondlo, "From the fringes to fossils": The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the negotiated transition to democracy in South Africa, 1990–1994". *Journal for Contemporary History*. Vol.42.No.1.(2017).p.46
[130] R. Humphries, & K. Shubane, Transkei: Referendum, reincorporation and new regionalism. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. Vol.11.No.2.(1992).p.109.

The PAC further called on Holomisa to mediate between the ANC and the PAC. According to the PAC, unity before negotiations was important. The PAC's internal secretary told the crowds that Holomisa could do better than Desmond Tutu in facilitating such talks and bringing the two bodies together as Desmond Tutu had constantly ignored the PAC during his trips abroad.[131] Following the 31st anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, both the PAC and the ANC held a landmark meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe. Describing this historic meeting, one western diplomat reflected thus:

> The ANC is shifting away from a western agenda to a more Africanist one palatable to its militant rank and file. This should contain a clear message for [President Frederik] de Klerk: The honeymoon with the ANC is over.[132]

On 1 April 1991 John Battersby wrote an article in the *Christian Science Monitor* where he stated: "The African National Congress has moved closer to an arch-rival in a move that could promote black unity but delay negotiations with the government over a new constitution…"[133] Following the top-level meeting in Harare, both the PAC and the ANC issued a joint media statement demanding that an elected constituent assembly draft a new constitution and rejecting the apartheid-proposed idea of a multiparty conference. The statement further stressed the need to maintain sanctions.

In 1991, a few days before the 21 March Sharpeville Day observance, the PAC announced that, for the first time, it would re-enact the Sharpeville Massacre, following the memorialisation process of cleaning the graves.[134] Re-enactment is regarded as a means of engaging with the past in order to promote cultural understanding in the present as well as a gesture of witnessing and mourning. Furthermore, historians such as Robin George Collingwood, Edward Palmer Thompson, Michel Jean Emmanuel de La Barge De Certeau, and David Lowenthalre regard the memorialisation process of re-enactment as a historiographical tool with the possibility of furthering historical understanding by acknowledging the essential otherness of historical agents and conveying this awareness through compassionate and segregated studies of the liminal and the everyday.[135] In a commemorative rally held at Sharpeville Community Hall, Clarence Makwetu, the PAC president,

[131] Sowetan correspondent, Holomisa wants PAC, ANC to clear the air. *Sowetan.*11 September 1990.
[132] J. Battersby, "ANC shifts agenda away from the government towards demands of its militant supports". *The Christian Monitor*. 19 April 1991. https://www.csmonitor.com/1991/0419/19082.html.(Accessed on the 20.09.2022).
[133] Ibid.
[134] M. Tsedu, Peace and Unity theme for services. *Sowetan*. 21 March 1991.
[135] V. Agnew, Introduction: What is re-enactment? *Criticism.*Vol.46.Iss.2.(2004).p.329.

called for a united front by pleading with the leaders of rival groups (referring specifically to the ANC) to put aside their differences and focus, instead, on the overthrow of white domination.

It is worth mentioning that the idea of a patriotic or united front originated from the PAC and Azapo leadership with the support of Nelson Mandela, and was inspired by the Zimbabwean model.[136] Its aim was to increase the bargaining power of the liberation forces, allowing them to demand from the apartheid government a set of minimum conditions. However, after its 1992 congress, Azapo rejected the idea of CODESA as it viewed that such gatherings would include disgraced bantustan leaders who had worked together with the apartheid regime and were generally viewed as sell-outs of the ideals of radical transformation. The ANC at a later stage rejected the conditions put forward by Azapo and the PAC as these were much weaker organisations. According to Reddy, the ANC translated its cultural and political capital into a hegemony by deciding instead to proceed without the support of these forces, and what it accomplished was a series of compromising agreements which produced a negotiated settlement and later the 1994 elections.[137]

Makwetu, in his statement, was referring to the Patriotic Front conference scheduled for 21 March in Johannesburg to mark the 31st anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1991. The conference was, however, postponed to April as both the PAC and Azapo had earmarked the date for the nationwide Heroes Day and Sharpeville Day commemorations. It would have been impossible for these organisations to attend the conference as their leaders would have been scattered across the country observing the day.[138] Referring also to the formation of the Patriotic Front, Makwethu made reference to the ANC, stating that it should forget about its "little kingdom" and concentrate instead on the overthrow of white domination.

The PAC also used this day to focus its message on the land question. This was against the backdrop of the apartheid government's repeal of the Natives Land Act of 1913. According to Harvey Feinberg, the move was significant as it was the first major piece of legislation that

[136] E. Mantzaris, PAC politics after CODESA. *Indicator South Africa*. Vol.9.No.3.(1992).p.21.
[137] T. Reddy, "Black consciousness in contemporary South African politics". In Kagwanja. P, & Kondlo. K, *State of the Nation: South Africa*.HSRC Press.Cape Town.(2008).p.93.
[138] S. Nyaka, Sharpeville marches will delay unity talks. *The Sunday Star*.10 March 1991.

contained the legal structure of apartheid.[139] Addressing PAC members in a crammed Sharpeville community hall, Makwethu told the crowds: "The land was taken from us by force of arms, and it is still being maintained by the sword."[140]

Makwethu further stressed that land laws had played a significant role in destroying African property rights and entrenching white privilege. He decried the lack of compensation for Africans who were being forced off their lands. He also claimed that what was being witnessed under the so-called repeal of the Land Act was the dressing up of land apartheid in new clothes as the repeal of the Land Act did not imply the return of lands to their rightful owners.[141] In 1992, at George Thabe Stadium – during an emotionally-charged 32nd-anniversary commemoration dominated by anti-CODESA slogans such as "One CODESA, One Bullet", "Down with CODESA, Down; Trample on CODESA Trample" – the PAC's president, Makwetu, accused CODESA of entrenching grand apartheid. He mentioned that CODESA was designed to undermine the decision of the Patriotic Front (PF).

In 1994, the 34th anniversary of the massacre was held in Cape Town's Grand Parade and addressed by Patrica De Lille, Mpazarno "Brigadier" Yonana, an Apla commander who replaced Sabelo Phama, Achmat Cassiem of the radical Muslim group Qibla, and Philip Kgosana, who led the 21 March 1960 demonstration in Cape Town. During the rally, De Lille told commemorators, who were mainly bussed from Langa, that the PAC was fighting to reclaim entirely lands which belonged to the African people. She affirmed that the PAC wanted to end white authority and was not ready to share power with the white minority. She further conveyed the PAC president Clarence Makwetu' s directive that supporters of his organisation should start "measuring the land inch by inch".[142]

[139] H.M. Feinberg, "The 1913 Natives Land Act in South Africa: Politics, Race, and Segregation in the Early 20th Century". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies.* Vol.26.No.1.(1993).p.66. For more on the Native Land Act of 1913 in South Africa, see S. Saunders, "Land Reform in South Africa: An Analysis of the land claim process".Unpublished master's dissertation.Potchefstroom University for Higher Christian Education. Potchefstroom. (2003). & R. Hall, "The legacies of the Natives Land Act of 1913". *Scriptura: Journal for Contextual Hermeneutics in Southern Africa*. Vol.133.No.1.(2014).

[140] P. Laurence, Unite to end white rule, argues PAC chief. *The Star*. 22 March 1991.

[141] Ibid.

[142] E. Moloinyane, & D. Cruywagen, PAC not prepared to share. *The Argus*.22 March 1994.

Philip Kgosana, in his brief address to the commemorators, started by paying tribute to all the fallen heroes of 1960, promising that their blood had not been "spilled in vain". He further reflected on the violence going on in the country. André Pelser and Chris de Kock note that in 1994 alone, South Africa was marked by unparalleled episodes of inter- and intra-community violence and that political and criminal violence started escalating precisely at the point of peaceful negotiations towards political change, which resulted in 2,476 fatalities.[143] Kgosana condemned the violence among black political groups, boasting that in 1960 he led more than 60,000 people from Langa to the Grand Parade without anyone breaking a window.[144] Kgosana noted: "…Today people are necklacing others in the name of the struggle…the PAC does not do that as there has always been a discipline in the organisation …"[145] In his address to the crowd, Mpazarno "Brigadier" Yonana, referencing the ANC's stand during the 1960 demonstration, submitted:

> There were complaints from some organisations when the PAC launched its anti-pass campaign that it was sending people to the slaughterhouse. But today, the same organisations take part in commemorations because it' election time.[146]

Yonana went on to claim that APLA was the only organisation that "forced the regime to the negotiation table."[147] It is, however, a well-established fact that the apartheid government was forced into negotiations by several internal and external factors such as years of violent internal protests, weakening white commitment to maintaining apartheid, transnational economic and cultural sanctions and workers' strikes which all contributed to the fall of white minority rule. According to Zee Ngema, black South Africans did put an end to apartheid. He argues that the Sharpeville Massacre, the Soweto Uprising and the murders of Steve Biko, David Sibeko, Victoria Mxenge, Chris Hani and so many other heroes were the reasons why apartheid fell.[148]

Following its unbanning in the early 1990s, the PAC adopted a tradition that signified the observance of Sharpeville Day as a day of solemn reflection and mourning the dead. As a liberation movement turned into political party, the PAC continued the memorialisation process characterised by night vigils with the survivors and descendants of the dead, early morning cemetery visitations

[143] A. Pelser, & C. de Kock, "Violence in South Africa: A note on some trends in the 1990s". *Acta Criminologica*.Vol.13.No.1.(2000).p.81.
[144] E. Moloinyane, & D. Cruywagen, PAC not prepared to share. *The Argus*.22 March 1994.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Z. Ngema, Black South Africans Ended Apartheid, Not F.W. de Klerk. https://www.okayafrica.com/south-africa-opinion-deklerk-politics/. (Accessed on the 17.09.2022).

and attendance of church services - a tradition popularised by the Black Consciousness Movement from the 1970s. Katherine Verdery argues that the presence or absence of real bodies may play a crucial role in lending authority and authenticity to any memorialisation of the dead; in fact the concreteness, materiality, 'thereness' of actual bodies can be critical to their symbolic efficacy.[149] By paying particular attention to memorialisation process at the cemetery as a focal point, the thesis advances an argument that it was the PAC strategy to draw legitimacy from the presence of the actual bodies in the cemetery as a significant site and its authoritative contribution to the liberation struggle in South Africa.

In terms of commemoration rallies during this period the PAC used anniversary observances of the Sharpeville Massacre during this short transitional period as a source of inspiration for the continuation of armed confrontation with the apartheid regime. According to Tshepo Lephakga, APLA attacks during the 1990s increased, following the declaration of 1993 as *"The Year of the Great Storm"* by Sabelo Phama, its Chief Commander.[150]

Over and above the escalation of attacks on whites by APLA, Nancy Clark and William Worger observe that fourteen thousand people had been killed in politically motivated incidents during this period [1990-1994], a death toll way far higher than in any period in the South Africa's twentieth-century history.[151] The PAC's armed forces were, however, disbanded and integrated into the South African National Defence Force in June 1994 following the pivotal elections of 27 April 1994 which assumed great symbolic significance in the history of South Africa.[152] The day also provided a platform to criticise and mobilise against the transitional arrangements between the ANC and the apartheid government policy directions in the form of CODESA.

[149] K.Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies. Reburial and Postsocialist Change*. Columbia University Press.New York.(1999).p.27.

[150] T. Lephakga, "Apla, and the Amnesty Committee of the TRC? An Ethical Analysis of the Amnesty Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa". *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*.Vol.44.No.1.(2018).p.10.

[151] N. Clark, & W.Worger, *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of apartheid*.(4thed), Taylor & Francis Group.London & New York.(2022).p.142.

[152] A.Mawson, "Organizing the first post-apartheid election: South Africa, 1994". *Innovations for Successful Societies*. Trustees of Princeton University. Princeton.(2010).p.4.

5.4 COMMEMORATIONS BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, THE STATE AND ALIGNED MOVEMENTS

The year 1990, as mentioned earlier, witnessed the release of political prisoners. Upon his release from prison, Nelson Mandela read Ingrid Jonker's poem, *The Child Who Was Shot Dead by Soldiers in Nyanga*, to the masses who had come to hail him in Cape Town.[153] During this year, the ANC-aligned UDF and COSATU jointly organised Sharpeville commemorations across the country. Thousands packed the Sebokeng Stadium to listen to commemoration speeches by Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni (who were all part of the ANC internal leadership), Popo Molefe (General Secretary of the UDF) and Patrick Terror Lekota (publicity secretary). In his address to the crowd, Walter Sisulu paid a moving tribute to the victims of the massacres by reflecting on the events of the day as well as their significance to the liberation struggle in South Africa. In his address, he had this to say:

> We are gathered here to honour our heroes who paid a heavy price in their fight for freedom. It is exactly 30 years ago today that many people were massacred for demonstrating peacefully against passing laws. This is the day we will never forget; when people were killed in cold blood; of course not forgetting the Langa massacre where 43 people we killed and countless numbers were injured….The massacre of our people in Soweto, Gugulethu, Kwazakhele…the list is endless and will never be forgotten. We should ensure that this massacre is not repeated.[154]

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, contestations between the PAC and the UDF erupted in Sharpeville over the commemoration of the memory of Sharpeville. During the memorialisation ritual of grave cleaning, the struggles for political hegemony manifested in arguments as to who had the right to clean the graves. When both parties agreed to divide the graveyard into two areas, the tension was resolved and confrontation was narrowly avoided.[155]

At another commemoration event held in Soweto, the UDF leader Cassim Salojee called on the commemorators to consolidate structures destroyed by the apartheid government and its security forces.[156] Ineke van Kessel notes that in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the UDF regrouped with the new umbrella federation of trade unions, COSATU, to form a broad alliance, the Mass

[153] S. Pendlebury, P. Henderson, & L. Jamieson, "Unsettling Notions of Participation: A View from South Africa". In Tisdall. E.K.M, Gadda. A.M, & Butler.U.M, *Children and Young People's Participation and Its Transformative Potential Learning from across Countrie*s. Palgrave Macmillan. New York.(2014).p.130.
[154] Anon, PAC says ANC wrong to negotiate with Nats. *The Star*.22 March 1990.
[155] S. Memela, Political division marred Sharpeville Day. *City Press*.25 March 1990.
[156] L. Kumalo, Vaal residents march on police station.*Sowetan*.22 March 1990.

Democratic Movement (MDM), which Kessel argues was successful in reconstructing a popular protest movement. After the unbanning of the liberation movements, the UDF lapsed into inactivity and was finally disbanded in 1991.[157]

Salojee further emphasised the need for the ideologically divided political parties to honour the Sharpeville dead by closing ranks, stating thus: "…there must be harmony among political parties so that those left dead after the Sharpeville Massacre would not have perished in hopelessness....[158] In one such commemoration, rally held in Galeshewe, Sibongile Punch Nxumalo, the Publicity Secretary of the UDF, used the occasion to counter the PAC's master narrative of the origin and significance of the Sharpeville Massacre by situating the massacre within the ANC campaign.

The ANC used the 31st anniversary of the massacre to launch its signature campaign for a constituent assembly and interim government during its nationwide rallies to observe the Sharpeville Massacre and the 16 June Soweto Students Uprising.[159] In its 8th January 1991 policy statement, the ANC announced that mass involvement in negotiations was crucial and that the signature campaign was a strategy to impose its views on the apartheid government through orchestrated "mass struggle".[160]

At a commemoration held at George Thabe Stadium in Sharpeville, Joe Slovo, SACP chief and ANC NEC member, addressed the crowd of commemorators. This year, the ANC rally, held in the open stadium, was disrupted by heavy rains which also hampered planned commemorative activities. Just as in 1960, both Tom Lodge and Philip Frankel attested to the rain that fell as the massacre.[161] Many witnesses to the Sharpeville Massacre recall the rain that fell after the tragedy, which washed the blood off the streets. Immediately after the massacre, the rains came down and cleaned the despair from the streets.[162] David Smith, a journalist with *The Guardian* newspaper who witnessed the massacre, wrote:

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[157] I. van Kessel, *Beyond our wildest dreams": The United Democratic Front and the transformation of South Africa.* University Press of Virginia.Virginia.(2000).p.xvii.

[158] Ibid.p.2.

[159] T. Molefe, ANC begins drive to back its demands.*Sowetan*.21 March 19991.

[160] T. Lodge, *The African National Congress Comes Home*. African Studies Seminar Paper.University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(1992).p.16.

[161] For more, see T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press. (2011), and P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press.New Haven.(2001).

[162] Within Sharpeville, the story of the rain that fell immediately after the massacre is repeated by almost every survivor and is part of Khulumani's storytelling during "Imbawula".

> People were shot. We went there and found people lying all over the ground. But something amazing happened. There was a black cloud. For 15 minutes it rained heavily after the shooting. It washed all the blood.[163]

During Slovo's address, it began raining and he deftly made a compelling comparison between the rains of 1960 and 1991, telling the crowd:

> Today, even the heavens are retelling us of the massacre which occurred in Sharpeville 31 years ago. We all know that when the people's real history is written, the name of Sharpeville will symbolize the start of the conclusion of race rule. Although Sharpeville was a defeat, it was here that the seed of the coming victory was planted and Sharpeville taught us it was no longer possible to struggle in the old ways. Another language found in response to the government's killing and massacre was the language of the AK 47 and Bazooka.[164]

At that point, the ANC's 31st Sharpeville Massacre anniversary rally ended as torrential rains began to fall and all efforts to restart the rally failed as even the address system broke down. Slovo himself was, according to *The Citizen* of 22 March 1991, heard asking the organisers to call off the rally because the speakers would not be heard by the commemorators amidst the lightning and thunder which lit up the sky.[165]

The 32nd anniversary commemorations in 1992 took place after the Witwatersrand police held talks with the ANC delegation to discuss safety for the ANC supporters who would be attending the Sharpeville commemorations. The police gave assurances that they would do everything in their power to protect all citizens including the ANC supporters. The police, however, requested all the people, including the leaders, to exhibit tolerance and obey the law.[166]

During this anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, members of the ANC and their supporters staged a symbolic march to the police station about two kilometers away. They did this with clenched fists, singing freedom songs as they passed the shooting scene near the police station. In this same year, Oliver Tambo received the freedom of Vereeniging from commemorators gathered at Dlomo Dam to observe the Sharpeville commemoration. Louisa Ntho, a survivor of the

[163] David Smith, Sharpeville 50 years on: At some stage all hell will break loose. *The Guardian*. 19 March 2010.
[164] P. Laurence, Unite to end white rule, urges PAC chief. *The Star* 22 March 1991.
[165] M. McGhee, Rain cuts short Sharpeville rally. *The Citizen.*22 March 1991.
[166] Citizen Reporter, Police and ANC discuss Sharpeville celebrations. *The Citizen.*12 March 1992.

massacre, handed Tambo a plaque bestowing on him the Freedom of Vereeniging. In his acceptance speech, Tambo said it was an honour to have the Freedom of Vereeniging bestowed on him. It should be noted that Oliver Tambo had a close relationship with the residents of Sharpeville. Suzan Tshukudu, an official of PAC's Sharpeville branch job Tsolo's girlfiend,[167] was a younger sister of Adelaide Tambo, making her Tambo's sister-in-law.[168]

In his commemorative speech, flanked by Walter Sisulu, Jay Naidoo, Chris Hani and Cyril Ramaphosa, Tambo paid tribute to the victims of the massacre, noting that the massacre marked a turning point in the struggle against colonial apartheid. Without mentioning any contribution to the PAC or at least some from of credit, Tambo only noted that, "…the 1960 incident had brought about a legacy to fight apartheid and oppression. It inflamed the hearts of South Africans throughout the country. However it was sad to many comrades still fall victim to those who spread death and destuction. …"[169]

Reflecting on the violence, Gillian Eagle argues that the unbanning of the liberation movements in February 1990 created an expectation of a decrease in violence – both on the part of the state and its opponents – which unfortunately did not materialise as there followed a period marked by unprecedented violence which, in the first six months of 1992, accounted for 1,181 deaths across the country.[170] Tambo told the commemorators that it was "sad that many comrades still fall victim to those who spread death and destruction".[171] Walter Sisulu also took to the podium to address the crowd. In his speech, he referred back to the role the residents of Sharpeville played in the struggle against apartheid, stating that, "… Sharpeville triggered the conscience of people, it precipitated international attention on apartheid and oppression and it propelled the national liberation to where we are today…"[172]

[167] Admin, The Sharpeville Leader: Nyakane Tsolo. By Mama Gladys Nzimande-Tsolo - widow of Nyakane Tsolo. *Uncensored* 21 March 2012. https://uncensoredopinion.co.za/mothopeng-an-indefatigable-revolutionary-leader/. (Accessed on the 18.03.2022).
[168] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven.(2001).p.45.
[169] SAPA, Sharpeville recalls the massacre of 1960. *Sowetan*.23 March 1992.
[170] G. Eagle, Violence in South Africa: On the increase in the 1990s. *Critical Health.* No.41.(1992).p.6
[171] Ibid.p.6.
[172] SAPA, Sharpeville recalls Massacre of 1960.*Sowetan*.23 March 1992.

On the 17th of March 1992, the apartheid government held a whites-only referendum. Voters were not asked to decide on any specific constitutional proposal but to endorse the process of negotiations.[173] According to Lawrence Schlemmer, almost 69% of the voters, in an 85% poll, recommended a continuation of talks between major parties that would lead to a new, inclusive constitution for South Africa.[174] Commenting and reflecting on the whites-only referendum that had been concluded, Walter Sisulu told the crowd that, "…There was no reason anymore why an interim government should not be in place by the end of June and a legitimately elected constituent assembly by the end of 1992…"[175]

Sisulu's wish did not materialise. On the 17th of June 1992, in Boipatong, a few kilometres from Sharpeville, a key moment in South Africa's transition to democracy occurred. On this day, an armed group with close links with the IFP carried out what James Simpson describes as an orgy of slaughter, hacking, stabbing and shooting thirty-eight people to death in their homes, among them a nine-month-old baby, a child of four and twenty-four women, one of them pregnant.[176] The vile incident came to be referred to as the 17 June 1992 Boipatong Massacre.[177] Following the massacre, the ANC called an emergency National Executive Committee meeting. Following the meeting, it released a statement describing the incident as "one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the actions of the F.W. de Klerk regime."[178]

The Boipatong Massacre interrupted the process of political reform in South Africa as the main actor in the CODESA, the ANC, fell short of endorsing a military solution, while the PAC and Azapo pledged to cooperate and unite their liberation armies to fight the regime. Instead, the ANC opted to boycott the talks on political reforms and called for mass action against the apartheid regime.[179] Rafiqul Islam observes that one factor distinguishing the Boipatong Massacre from previous massacres was the display of militancy among the blacks. The anger and passion at the

[173] J. Rantete, & H.Giliomee, "Transition to Democracy through Transaction?: Bilateral Negotiations between the ANC and NP in South Africa". *African Affairs*. Vol.91.No.365.(1992).p.525.
[174] L. Schlemmer, CODESA after the referendum. *Indicator South Africa*. Vol.9.No.2.(1992).p.7.
[175] SAPA, Sharpeville recalls the massacre of 1960. *Sowetan*.23 March 1992.
[176] J.G.R. Simpson, "Boipatong: the politics of a massacre and the South African Transition". *Journal of Southern African Studies.* Vol.38.No.3.(2012).p.623.
[177] For more details on the Boipatong Massacre, see J.G.R. Simpson, "The Boipatong Massacre, and South Africa's democratic transition". *African Studies Collection*. Vol.35.(2011).
[178] Statement of the Emergency Meeting of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, 23 June 1992.In Simpson. J.G.R, "The Boipatong massacre and South Africa's democratic transition". *African Studies Collection.*Vol.35.(2011).p.40.
[179] M. R. Islam, After the Boipatong massacre: Legitimacy of violent resistance? *Alternative Law Journal.* Vol.17.No.5.(1992).p.207.

funeral of the Boipatong victims held at Sharpeville Vuka Cemetery signalled a noticeable shift from conciliation to confrontation in the reform strategy of blacks.[180]

As part of the consequences of this mass killing, the ANC listed a range of demands that the apartheid regime would need to meet if negotiations were to resume. One of the conditions was the termination of all covert operations (including hit squad activity), the creation of a democratically-elected and sovereign constituent assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution, the establishment of an interim Government of National Unity an end to the apartheid regime's campaign of terror against the people and the democratic movement, suspension and prosecution of all security personnel involved in violence as well as an end to repressive activities in the self-governing or independent states.[181] With the backing of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the United Nations Observer Mission, the Commonwealth, and the European Community (EC), the ANC resumed talks in 1993.[182]

With the looming first national elections for the national assembly and the provincial councils to be held under a universal franchise on 27 April 1994, the ANC used the 33rd anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre as a platform to launch its election campaign. The campaign consisted of door-to-door voter education as well the dissemination of its policies on health, job creation, education, among others, in addition to a membership recruitment drive. The ANC also organised ten Sharpeville Massacre commemoration rallies across the country.

South Africans went to the polls in April 1994 with the understanding that the elected government would form a constituent assembly, one of whose tasks would be to fine-tune the interim constitution adopted by the outgoing parliament at the end of 1993. South Africa's transition to democracy was not a revolution in the classic, radical sense; it was rather a negotiated settlement among opposing parties that resulted in a representative government based on universal franchise.[183] The result of the elections was the establishment of a government of national unity

[180] Ibid.p.207.
[181] J.G.R. Simpson, The Boipatong massacre and South Africa's democratic transition. *African Studies Collection.* Vol.35.(2011).p.40-41.
[182] L. Boulle, & A. Rycrof, "Mediation: Principles, Process, Practice," *Journal of South African Law.* Vol.1.(1998).p.159. Also see, J.G.R. Simpson, "Boipatong: The Politics of a Massacre and the South African Transition". *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol.38.No.3.(2012).p.623-647.
[183] J. Wilmot, & D. Caliguire, "The New South Africa: Renewing Civil Society". *Journal of Democracy*. Vol.7.No.1.(1996).p.57.

which emerged as the institutional manifestation of the settlement among the parties.[184] Therefore, in 1994, South Africa memorialised and commemorated the Sharpeville Massacre for the last time under the colonial apartheid system that had been in place since 1960. In reflecting on this significant milestone, Ronnie Mamoepa, an ANC leader, wrote:

> The 34th anniversary of Sharpeville would see its observance under the apartheid system. The commemoration of this day in 1994 would take place in the context of a major advance by the democratic forces to create peace, democracy, and freedom in South Africa. Throughout its history, our country has known no peace. The only history our country knows is that of racism, abject poverty, unemployment, deprivation, disease and massacres: Bonteheuwel, Bondelswart, Sharpeville, the June 16 Student Uprising, Maseru, Matola, etc. It is in this context that the ANC appeals to all our people to vote. The multi-party negotiations forum has earmarked April 27 as the day of the country's ever democratic elections.[185]

During the 34th anniversary of Sharpeville Day, the ANC kick-started its electioneering campaign in Mabopane's Odi Stadium. During this commemorative rally, Nelson Mandela used the day to reflect on the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation established in terms of the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act, No 139 of 1991.[186] This five-member commission of inquiry was to investigate all the factual circumstances relating to the incidents that happened on 26th March 1990, where 12 people were shot dead and 281 injured by the police, while at least 8 policemen were stoned in Sebokeng, Boipatong, Sharpeville and Evaton.[187]

In December 1992, de Klerk discharged 23 senior commanders of the military intelligence in response to evidence uncovered by the Commission.[188] Jonathan Klaaren argues that the Commission's reports were not obligatory, although the findings were supported by the major political parties such as the ANC.[189] At this rally, Nelson Mandela centred his speech on reports emanating from the Goldstone Commission which incriminated senior police generals in Third

[184] Ibid.p.57.
[185] R. Mamoepa, Let us end this bloody history of inhumanity. *City Press.* 20 March 1994.
[186] M. Shaw, "The Goldstone Commission in the public eye". *Indicator S.A.*Vol.11.No.1.(1993).p.55.
[187] T.S. Thipanyane, "The Goldstone Commission Report". *South African Journal of Criminal Justice*. Vol.3.No.3.(1990).p.304.
[188] J. Klaaren, *Institutional Transformation and the Choice against Vetting in South Africa's Transition*. Justice as Prevention: Vetting Public Employees in Transitional Societies.(2007).p.16. https://wiser.wits.ac.za/sites/default/files/SA-final.pdf. (Accessed on the 22.09.2022).
[189] Ibid.p.16.

Force activities. He told the crowd that indemnity for a security force and police officers was only possible for those members who confess their criminal activities.[190]

In another commemoration rally held at Langa (Uitenhage), both Gregory Rockman, an election candidate of the ANC, and the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU) addressed the crowd. In his address to the crowd, Rockman made reference to the Goldstone Commission by stating that the POPCRU was aware that since 1993, 30 guns had been sold to the IFP.[191] He further took swipe at de Klerk, criticising his police force for being responsible for the shootings. In 1995, those observing Sharpeville Day referred to de Klerk as a devil disguising as a champion of democracy. The rally was also addressed by John Gomomo, the President of COSATU, and Nosiviwe Mapisa, Secretary-General of the ANC Women's League. The ANC performed the memorialisation process of visiting the cemetery and laying wreaths on the graves where 29 people who were were killed by the police while commemorating Sharpeville Day in 1985 were laid to rest.[192]

In Sharpeville, the ANC held one of the biggest ever events under apartheid rule dubbed "Never Again". In the lineup of those who addressed the rally were Nelson Mandela and Tokyo Sexwale, as well as the top leadership of both SACP and COSATU.[193] At the rally, Mandela scolded the rally organisers for the chaotic conditions at one of the biggest election rallies yet in Sharpeville and attended by about 75,000 supporters. Referencing the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 and aligning with the theme of the day, Mandela told the crowd: "There shall never be a Sharpeville again."[194]

[190] Sowetan reporters, & SAPA, PAC vows to return land. *Sowetan.* 22 March 1994.
[191] The Argus correspondent, FW "prostitute in new dress crowd is told. *The Argus*. 22 March 1993.
[192] Ibid.
[193] I. Motsapi, Parties to stage rallies.*Sowetan*.21 March 1994.
[194] Ibid.



Figure 5.1. Nelson Mandela wearing the *Isithwalandwe,* bestowed on him by the ANC during the 34th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre commemorations (Image by Spiegel 19.03.2010).

Before delivering his speech, Mandela thanked supporters for their turnout but described the ANC's 34th Sharpeville Day commemoration rally as a chaotic event despite the rally being the ANC's biggest yet in Sharpeville. Mandela then turned his attention to the looming first multi-racial general elections scheduled for 27th April and the ANC's electioneering campaign. He is reported to have said:

> ANC wants a better life for all. That includes houses, education, and medical care. ANC opponents say the ANC is being over-ambitious. What they mean by this is that providing social services to blacks will be too costly. But the ANC is determined to go ahead with its plans whether its opponents like it or not. The National Party has never cared for the masses of this country.[195]

Mandela further inducted the crowd on the voting procedure: how to locate the logo or face of the party on the ballot paper and put the cross beside the face.[196] On 27 April 1994, a few weeks after the 34th anniversary of Sharpeville, South Africa's first universal suffrage election got underway. The election was widely hailed as a "miracle", marking a shift from colonial-racial despotism to

[195] P. Bulger, *Further on Address*. MB2103171993. 21 March 1995.
[196] Ibid.

non-racial democracy elaborated around one of the most liberal-democratic constitutions globally.[197]

In a similar Sharpeville commemoration held in Langa, Tony Yengeni, the then MK commander, addressed the rally. He reflected on the first and second Wallis interim reports released on 18 March 1994 and mandated to ascertain whether there were any incidents of violence arising from causes other than the political rivalry between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Yengeni told the crowd: "…Those who murdered, maimed, and massacred our people should come out and apologize. Then we can have national reconciliation. We don't want vengeance…"[198] Predicting the memorialisation and commemoration of the anti-apartheid and anti-colonial liberation fighters through material culture, Yengeni further told his audience:

> A new government should erect a national memorial bearing the names of those South Africans killed in dirty tricks operations. We must never forget our past. Even the comrades killed overseas must be reburied in South Africa.[199]

Yengeni's prediction came to pass when in 2000 Freedom Park, on Salvokop Hill outside Pretoria, was conceptualised to commemorate all South Africans who gave everything in the struggle to end apartheid. It was, as mandated by Nelson Mandela, the natural outcome of the TRC process that occurred after the abolition of apartheid.[200] It was officially launched in 2000 and the first phase began in July 2003 and was completed in March 2004. It consisted of the 697m-long Wall of Names, forming part of the S'khumbuto and inscribed with the names of those who played significant roles during the eight conflicts in South Africa's history, amongst other features. The Freedom Park Trust made an appeal for the nomination of names to be included on the Wall of Names as part of a public participation process.[201] According to Michele Eileen Jacobs, the Wall of Remembrance is the most controversial and contested aspect of all the park's elements. There is, however, a space containing the names of those killed in the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre.[202]

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[197] R. Southall, Opposition in South Africa: Issues and Problems. *Democratization.* Vol.8.No.1.(2001).p.1.
[198] E. Moloinyane, & D. Cruywagen, PAC not prepared to share. *The Argus*.21 March 1994.
[199] Ibid.
[200] NLA Bagale GREENinc Momo JV, The Freedom Park Garden of Remembrance.(2007). https://www.greeninc.co.za/the-freedom-park-garden-of-remembrance. (Accessed on the 25.09.2022).
[201] G. Baines, Site of struggle: The Freedom Park fracas and the divisive legacy of South Africa's Border War/Liberation Struggle. *Social Dynamics*. Vol.35.No.2.(2009).p.336.
[202] M.E. Jacobs, "Contested monuments in a changing heritage landscape: The interface between the Voortrekker Monument and Freedom Park, //hapo Museum: Pretoria". Unpublished master's dissertation University of KwaZulu-Natal. Pietermaritzburg.(2014).p.78.

The ANC won a resounding victory at the polls, securing 62.6% of the votes cast and winning 252 out of the 400 seats in the National Assembly – just narrowly short of the two-thirds majority required to write the final constitution unilaterally.[203] Tom Lodge describes the election as a "democratic breakthrough";[204] Beth Strachan, as an epic moment in South African history;[205] Jan Venter and Nicky Grobler, as a perfectly staged-managed transition of power and transformation of South Africa at the socio-political level.[206] The election results brought about the ANC-led government, termed the Government of National Unity (GNU), having won the elections by a landslide though falling short of a two-thirds majority that would have allowed it to write the final constitution without reference to the views of other political parties in the GNU.[207]

On 9 May 1994, the National Assembly unanimously elected Nelson Mandela president of South Africa.[208] On 10 May 1994, Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as the president of South Africa in an event that brought down the curtain on a decades-long armed struggle against apartheid following the Sharpeville Massacre.[209] From 1994 to 2004, the ANC constantly upped its performance to 69.69%. Considering the floor-crossing,[210] it boasted of 74.25% of the national assembly representatives on the eve of the elections in 2009.[211]

The 27th of April became a significant day in relation to the memory of the Sharpeville Massacre. On this day, the democratic constitution, branded alternately as the interim or transitional constitution, came into existence. This transitional constitution ultimately gave way to a final constitution signed in Sharpeville in 1996, as a symbolic gesture and in memory of the sacrifices made by those who died or were injured during the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre.[212] At the opening of

[203] A.J. Christopher, *The Atlas of Changing South Africa*. Routledge. New York.(2001).p.204.
[204] T. Lodge, *South African Politics since 1994*. David Philips Publishers. Cape Town & Johannesburg (1999).p.2.
[205] B. Strachan, *South Africa's Founding Democratic Election 1994: A Select and Annotated Bibliography*. Electoral Institute of Southern Africa.Johannesburg.(2005).p.iv.
[206] J.C.M. Venter, & N. Grobler, "South African national elections, 1994-2009: Contextual comparison". *Journal for Contemporary History*. Vol.35.No.3.(2010).p.11.
[207] A. Guelke, *Rethinking the Rise and Fall of Apartheid*. Palgrave Macmillan.New York.(2005).p.185.
[208] N. Clark, & W. Worger, *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid.* Routledge. London & New York. (2022).p.142
[209] M. Evans, "Mandela, and the televised birth of the rainbow nation". *National Identities*. Vol.12.No.3.(2010).p.317.
[210] According to N.P.K. Masemola, *Floor-crossing and its political consequences in South Africa.* Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) Occasional paper number 44, June (2007).p.1. Floor crossing' was a process whereby elected representatives at various government spheres are provided a window of opportunity to switch party allegiances and loyalties and still retain their legislative seats.
[211] S. Booysen, *The ANC and the Regeneration of Political Power, 1994-2011*. Conference proceedings: One Hundred Years of the ANC: Debating Liberation Histories and Democracy Today. Johannesburg.(2011).p.3.
[212] C. Goredema, "The quest to consign apartheid to the dustbin of history: Procedural human rights in criminal justice in the final constitution of South Africa". *Zimbabwe Law Review*.Vol.13.(1996).p.88.

the General Assembly, Nelson Mandela reflected on the long walk to freedom and the Sharpeville Massacre, which shook the suburban complacency of the Afrikanerdom. He did this by giving recognition to Ingrid Jonker. According to Maria Paola Guarducci, in his first speech to the newly elected democratic parliament of South Africa on May 24 – and in the presence of a rather bewildered audience of predominantly male politicians – Nelson Mandela recalled the figure of Ingrid Jonker's *The Child* (1963), who was shot dead by soldiers at Nyanga.[213] The poem was in response to the turbulence provoked by the Sharpeville Massacre.[214]

It can therefore be argued that Mandela memorialised victims of the Sharpeville Massacre as this poem was written in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre and remains by their own admission the most powerful literary reference to the events at the heart of Tom Lodge's *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences,*[215] underlining the synthesis of cultures in the new South Africa.[216] It reads:

The child who was shot dead by soldiers at Nyanga

The child is not dead the child lifts his fists
against his mother who shouts Afrika!
shouts the breath of freedom
and the veld in the locations of the cordoned heart.
The child is not dead Not at Langa
nor at Nyanga nor at Orlando
nor at Sharpeville
nor at the police post at Philippi
where he lies with a bullet through his brain
the child is present at all assemblies
and laws giving the child peers through
the windows of houses
and into the hearts of mothers this child
who only wanted to play in the sun at Nyanga
is everywhere the child grown to a man
treks on through all of Africa the child grown
into a giant journey over the whole world without a pass![217]

(Ingrid Jonker)

[213] P. Guarducci, "Mandela in/and Poetry". *Altre Modernità*.No.12.(2014).p.59.
[214] D. Hirson, *Worlds in One Country: A Brief Survey of South African Writing - Nineteenth to 1994*.Jacana Media.(Pty).Ltd.Johannesburg.(2011).p.50
[215] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences.* Oxford University Press. New York.(2011).p.190.
[216] F. Chipasula, & S. Chipasula, *The Heinemann Book of African Women's Poetry.* Heinemann Educational Publishers.Oxford.(1995).p.191.
[217] R. Barnard, "Speaking Places: Prison, Poetry, and the South African Nation". *Research in African Literatures.* Vol.32.No.3.(2002).p.156.

The year 1994 marked the beginning of continued contestations over the memory of Sharpeville, which remains heated on every anniversary of the massacre. Ali Khangela Hlongwane and Sifiso Ndlovu observe that post-1994 era had indeed brought development, shifts and continuity of past practices in the observance of the Sharpeville Massacre and commemoration of other significant historical events such as the 1976 Soweto students revolt.[218] They further argue that, "… The contestation on naming and the way various historical events should be commemorated has itself given rise to rich public debate in post-apartheid South Africa …"[219]

In September 1994, the government of national unity announced a new set of public holidays, sparking a feeling of anger in some sections of civil society and a sense of betrayal within the PAC because Sharpeville Day was excluded from the new set of public holidays. Upon announcement of the public holidays, the PAC issued a statement, stating: "…We need not tell the government what emotional baggage this day holds for the majority of South Africans, who were victims of apartheid …"[220]

During the memorial of Zeph Mothopeng (1913–1990),[221] Nelson Mandela commented on the controversy surrounding the omission of the anniversary of Sharpeville Day as a public holiday, saying that the matter would be revisited.[222] This oversight was of grave concern to political parties and South Africans in general because, as far back as March 1994, there were speculations and expectations that, by 1995, 21 March was likely to be a new public holiday in the country. This public holiday would not only celebrate the Sharpeville Massacre (1960) but also the Langa Massacre (1985).

On 15 September 1994, Nelson Mandela announced that South Africa was going to get another paid public holiday on Sharpeville Day, thereby bringing the total number of official holidays to twelve. He mentioned to the senate that the exclusion of Sharpeville from the national calendar was a serious omission which his cabinet had rectified. He indicated that due to concerns from the PAC

[218] A.K. Hlongwane, & S. Ndlovu, *Public History and Culture in South Africa: Memorialisation and Liberation Heritage Sites in Johannesburg and the township Space*. Palgrave Macmillan. Switzerland. Cham.(2019).p.96.
[219] Ibid.p.96.
[220] Anon, Rethink on holidays. *City Press*. 11 September 1994.
[221] For more on Zeph Mothopeng, see A.K. Hlongwane, "To independence now! Tomorrow the United States of Africa: The story of Zephania Lekoame Mothopeng (1913 to 1990)".Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(2002).
[222] SAPA, Mandela calls for groups to join national unity government. MB 1009155394. 10 September 1994.

his cabinet took the decision to include Sharpeville in the national calendar.[223] There were both positive and negative concerns raised by business and trade union movements over the inclusion of Sharpeville in the national pay holiday calendar. On its part, COSATU welcomed the decision, stating:

> By deciding to declare March 21 Human Rights Day, the Government will not only ensure that the massacre will be commemorated but that the whole nation will focus every year on the importance of human rights. It would be appropriate if the government introduced an educational programme to ensure that Human Rights Day was not only symbolically observed but used as an occasion to entrench human rights culture in South Africa.[224]

The National Party criticised the inclusion of the days in the national calendar, stating that the original list of public holidays was a product of compromise by all parties within the government of national unity. According to the National Party, if an additional day had to be included in the calendar it should be 12 May, which is Ascension Day, and not 21 March.[225] The Chamber of Mines reacted to the announcement by stating that although it recognised the rights of all people within the country to commemorate the day of significance, the inclusion of Sharpeville carried with it significant consequences for the mining industry in terms of production loss, changes in work practices and increased cost.[226]

It should be stated that as far back as 1990, the National Productivity Institute had raised concerns about the number of public holidays in South Africa. It noted that most employees believed that South Africa observed too many public holidays. The Institute suggested that a country of South Africa's stature should not have more than seven public holidays on its annual calendar.[227] The South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (SACCOLA) had in 1990 raised concerns over the discrepancies between the official calendar and public holidays and the actual pattern of observance by black political organisations in particular. It acknowledged the fact that in South Africa there were ten officially designated holidays, while days which were traditionally observed by black political parties – including 21 March Sharpeville Day, 16 June Soweto

[223] C. Whitfield, The 12th holiday will be Human Rights Day: Concern over a public holiday. *The Star.*16 September 1994.
[224] Ibid.
[225] Political correspondent, Sharpeville Day is public holiday. *The Cape Times.*15 September 1994.
[226] J. Rantao, Concern over public holidays. *The Star*.16 September 1994.
[227] Political correspondent, Workers' public holiday should be halved. *The Cape Times.*10 April 1990.

Students Uprising and 19 October Black Wednesday (commemorating the ban of the BCM and the death of Steve Biko) – could be included in the revised national calendar.[228]

The *Cape Times* of 19 March 1995 published a lengthy statement made by the ANC the previous day. The article stated that the ANC made no reference to the Langa Massacre which occurred in 1985 and killed at least 20 people, injuring several more.[229] Only Sharpeville Day was regarded as more than just an anniversary. It has been a national day – the national day of democratic and anti-apartheid South Africa – almost on the level of Bastille Day in France or Independence Day in the United States of America. Based on the fact that 21 March commemorates the catastrophic killings and apartheid, it could become a day of compassion; at the same time, it could be a day to commemorate the founding of a free society. In this way, becoming both a day of remembrance and rebirth.[230]

During the 56th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, the Northern Cape premier, Sylvia Lucas, explained to the audience the decision to rename Sharpeville Day as Human Rights Day and why it is commemorated in a celebratory and festive tradition instead of continuing with the pre-1994 solemn and grave patterns advocated by the BCM and the PAC. It can be argued that celebration and commemoration are central to the political projects of various ideological descriptions and persuasions. As mentioned in the previous chapter, "commemoration", by its definition, means to remember, honour or show respect to a person or event. This can be done through a special action like a ceremony or celebration, but commemoration can also occur through the creation of material culture such as memorials and artistic expressions such as music performances. Mabel Berezin is of the view that commemorations speak to the past and are venues of official history-making. They further mark events, persons and days as important to an on-going public narrative of the national and local polity.[231]

[228] Ibid.

[229] For more on the Langa Massacre, see R.J. Thornton, "The shooting at Uitenhage, South Africa, 1985: The context and interpretation of violence." *American Ethnologist*. Vol.17.No.2.(1990).p.217-236 & R.J. Thornton, *The Shooting at Uitenhage, 1985: The Context and Interpretation of Violence.* In Manganyi, N.C, du Toit. A, *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan. London.(1990).p.1-28.

[230] Political correspondent, New public holiday for old. *The Cape Times.* 19 March 1995.

[231] M. Berezin, "The Festival State: Celebration and Commemoration in Fascist Italy". *Journal of Modern European History* Vol.4.No.1.(2006).p.60.

According to Wilma Kotzé, the term "commemorative" implies celebration in memory of something or someone. It asks us to mirror and think of, and to rejoice in doing so.[232] According to Mabel Berezin, festivities and celebrations characterising the official Sharpeville massacre observance engage the public in rites of collective spectacle as they assume many forms from the purely celebratory to the commemorative and are present-oriented. She contends that they aim to promote community and solidarity among groups in public spaces as they further contribute to the ongoing feeling of belonging to the state. They are also entertaining as they have the capacity to create the feeling of festivity.[233] Mareike Späth and Helihanta Rajaonarison contend that commemoration and celebration make up two poles of a continuum on which the valence memory-making can be placed. They also allow for diverging narratives and keep the nation's sentiments between mourning and rejoicing in balance.[234] In her speech to the audience, Sylvia Lucas had this to say:

> This democratic government declared 21 March as Human Rights Day in South Africa. The entire month of March is commemorated as Human Rights month in order to remind us about the sacrifices that accompanied the struggle for liberation and also to celebrate the achievement of democracy in South Africa. The renaming of Sharpeville Day was in line with the imperatives of a new and democratic government as espoused by our constitution and in particular the Bill of Rights. The value addition of this day to all South Africans is to emphasize the ANC government's commitment in ensuring that every person who resides in South Africa enjoys their rights. This is the tragic history of why we are here today. It is a day of celebration, but similarly, it should be a day of mourning and once again we declare that never, but never again will one race be dominant over the other. Not in this South Africa that we, the ANC, and our partners have sacrificed for.[235]

Although the Sharpeville Massacre did get significant attention on this day, the massacres in Langa-Cape Town (1960) and Langa-Uitenhage (1985) were unfortunately overlooked. In an SABC interview, Thandolwethu Sipuye highlighted that when South Africans in particular recall 21 March post-1994, it centres around the Sharpeville Massacre, although, historically, 21 March has

[232] W. Kotzé, "Charlotte Searle commemorative lecture". *Professional Nursing Today*. Vol.19.No.2.(2015).p.8.
[233] M. Berezin, "The Festival State: Celebration and Commemoration in Fascist Italy". *Journal of Modern European History*. Vol.4.No.1.(2006).p.60.
[234] M. Späth, & H. Rajaonarison, "National days between commemoration and celebration: Remembering 1947 and 1960 in Madagascar". *Anthropology Southern Africa*. Vol.36.Vol.1-2.(2013).p.47.
[235] Human Rights Day 2016. Speech by the Premier of the Northern Cape, Ms. Sylvia Lucas at the commemoration of Human Rights Day. Rietvale Primary School.Ritchie. 21 March 2016. http://pstf.ncpg.gov.za/index.php/about-us/executive-council/152-media-room/office-of-the-premier/news-and-speeches/1304-human-rights-day-2016. (Accessed on the 29.09.2022).

always been remembered as Sharpeville-Langa Day because people were also killed in Langa on that day and in many other places across South Africa, including in the rural areas that were part of the PAC's Positive Action Campaign. The state of emergency that was declared on 30 March 1960 was as a result of the march organised by the PAC and led by Phillip Kgosana.[236]

According to Nigel Worden, a History professor at the University of Cape Town, the renaming of March 21 and June 16 – which commemorate the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 and the Soweto Uprising of 1976 – was a clear move by the government to broaden its appeal beyond that of black struggle supporters. Worden observes, however, that the name change has angered many people who hold the view that the renaming of this day as a point of anti-apartheid history is being diluted in the public memory.[237] Paul Maylam, a historian at Rhodes University, notes that PAC leaders further claim that the ANC, by renaming this day Human Rights day, has appropriated the memory of Sharpeville for its own political advantage at the expense of the PAC.[238]

The renaming of Sharpeville Day as Human Rights Day at the outset of the post-apartheid era prompted the PAC leadership to speak about the ''hijacking of our history".[239] Following the renaming of this day, the *Mail and Guardian* of 17 March 1995 reported that the government's decision to rename Sharpeville Day as Human Rights Day had exasperated the PAC. One reason the PAC put forward for their opposition was that Sharpeville Day had been, for 35 years, an unofficial stay-away day for black South Africans marking the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre.[240]

Saul Dubow contends that, on many accounts, the Sharpeville Massacre was a key "turning point for modern African history".[241] According to Joseph Cooper, many years after the killings, the horror of that day is still ingrained in the psyche of a generation. It also served as a turning point in

[236] T. Sipuye, *True History of Sharpeville Must Be Told* - SABC Interview. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sna-k9_ECro. (Accessed on the 26.09.2022).

[237] N.Worden, "Public history in the new South Africa". *Perspectives on History*. 01 February 1996. https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/february-1996/public-history-in-the-new-south-africa. (Accessed on the 29.09.2022).

[238] P. Maylam, *A tragic turning-point: Remembering Sharpeville fifty years on.* Talk given at the Faculty of Humanities Rhodes University. 23 March 2010 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/remembering_sharpeville.pdf. (Accessed on the 29.09.2022).

[239] S. Marschall, "The Memory of Trauma and Resistance: Public Memorialization and Democracy in Post-apartheid South Africa and Beyond". *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*. Vol.11.No.4.(2010).p.373.

[240] A.Mapoma, PAC angry over name change. *The Mail and Guardian*. 17 March 1995.

[241] S. Dubow, "Were there political alternatives in the wake of the Sharpeville-Langa violence in South Africa, in 1960?". *Journal of African History*.Vol.46.(2005).p.119.

the freedom struggle of the black majority in South Africa at the height of the apartheid regime.[242] In their recently published book *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (2022), Nancy Clark and William Worger observe that old people in Sharpeville still remember vividly the events of that day while the young people seem less interested though they know their history and congregate every day outside the Sharpeville memorial mostly because of the strong Wi-Fi signal.[243]

According to Luvuyo Mthimkhulu Dondolo, Sharpeville Day was declared a public holiday post-1994 and renamed Human Rights Day. Dondolo argues that the day has been de-politicised and de-historicised. The Sharpeville Massacre is dominated by the memory of it as the place where the new constitution was signed in December 1996. The Sharpeville Massacre is replaced by a post-1994 event in the making of a "new" South Africa.[244]

5.5 CONCLUSION

The chapter analysed the various commemorations at the twilight of the apartheid era. This is the period of constitutional transition, covering the years from 1990 to 1994. From 1990, commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre continued under relaxed laws, such as the freeing of political prisoners and the unbanning of liberation movements. The chapter also highlighted how the memorialisation and heritage commemoration took place in the context of heightened political violence, perpetrated by agencies of the apartheid government, such as the police and the Third Force. The Boipatong, Bisho and Sebokeng massacres, as well as the assassination of Chris Hani, nearly saw the country on the brink of civil war. The chapter examined how this day was observed under a climate of countrywide stay-away actions called by liberation movements to force the apartheid government to accede to the demands of the liberation movements, with many companies reporting a 100% rate of absenteeism among workers. This chapter showed how this four-year period culminated in the first elections, with the Sharpeville commemorations used as a platform to launch electioneering campaigns.

[242] J. Cooper, "Sharpeville, Cizre, and Pristina". *C Theory*.(2015).p.4-12. https://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/ctheory/article/download/14772/5646?inline=1/. (Accessed on the 30.09.2022).

[243] N.Clark, & W.H. Worger, *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*.Routledge.London & New York.(2022).p.159.

[244] L.M. Dondolo, *Apartheid spatial plan heritagisation and museumification of the past at Vilakazi Street in Soweto.* In Myambo.M.T, *Reversing Urban Inequality in Johannesburg.* Routledge. London.(2018).p.101.

The chapter also highlighted that, during these years, commemorations occurred along political lines and the joint observances by the PAC and AZAPO were short-lived. In the years that followed, the two organisations held separate Sharpeville commemoration rallies and events. It further demonstrated how from the early 1990s the ANC, even before it became the ruling party after the 1994 elections, had already embarked on concerted efforts to neutralise the Sharpeville Massacre by spicing its commemorations with musical performances, thereby creating an atmosphere of celebrations and festivities, as opposed to the expressions of grief and loss. Finally, this chapter discussed how the transitional period witnessed the adoption of an interim constitution and the declaration of Sharpeville Day as a public holiday – a move that was welcomed by others, particularly the PAC. The following chapters will highlight how the PAC became unhappy with the rebranding of this day as Human Rights Day, as opposed to Sharpeville Day or Heroes Day.

CHAPTER SIX

CONTESTATIONS, COMMEMORATIONS AND COUNTER-COMMEMORATIONS: 1995 to 1999

"We meet here today, to rededicate ourselves to the cause of Africa, to establish contact beyond the grave, with the great African heroes and assure them that their struggle was not in vain."[1]

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter described the socio-political context under which memorialisation and commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre took place. It highlighted that the milieu of this period is regarded as a transitional period, which started in 1990 with the unbanning of liberation movements, the return of the exiles and the release of political detainees. This period stands as one of the significant political events of the last century, signifying a turning point in the history of South Africa. It was a period characterised by pre-negotiation talks between the ANC and NP that began in 1990, the National Peace Accord and Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), which ended with the 1994 first democratic elections. The current chapter critically analyses the reflections and reactions by political analysts, scholars and Sharpeville residents to the naming of 21 March as Human Rights Day, replacing what the PAC historically called Sharpeville-Langa Day and the BCM-aligned movements referred to as Heroes Day.

The post-1994 South Africa's political order brought about a "memory boom" phenomenon characterised by a plethora of tangible markers of past colonial apartheid brutality and intangible forms of struggle against all systems of subjugation. Ali Khangela Hlongwane argues that this "arena of societal struggles over memory" has manifested itself in various ways, ranging from commemorations of Human Rights Day, which during the struggle years was commemorated as Heroes Day or Sharpeville Day by some South Africans with different political inclinations.[2] Henceforth, in the second half of the 1990s, Sharpeville Massacre commemorations took place in

[1] M. Pheko, Sobukwe: A leader who walked the political talk to the finish.17.July.2014. https://www.pambazuka.org/pan-africanism/sobukwe-leader-who-walked-political-talk-finish. (Accessed on the 18.04.2022).

[2] A.K.Hlongwane, "Commemoration, memory, and monuments in the contested language of black liberation: The South African experience". *Journal of Pan African studies*. Vol.2.No.4.(2008).p.136.

the context of a Government of National Unity (GNU), which was in charge from 1994 to 1996.[3] During this period, the commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre took different forms and traditions after the declaration of the day as a public holiday. According to Michelle Sikes et al., collective memory is derived by way of a wide range of commemorative forms that carry political meaning, including official holidays.[4] Upon being declared a public holiday, 21 March changed from the informal name of Sharpeville Day or Heroes Day.[5] The GNU mandate was to establish a discontinuity between the politics of the past and the politics of the present.

Sharpeville was first omitted in the originally proposed national calendar as it was suggested for consideration as a commemorative day, not a public holiday. Justification has been the need for rationalisation of public holidays and the development of a balanced package,[6] and, according to Nigel Worden, to broaden their appeal beyond that of black resistance supporters.[7] It was, however, consecrated after an outcry from the PAC.[8] Following its inclusion in the national calendar, there have been raging criticisms and contestations regarding the name change. Paul Maylam observes that Sharpeville and the memory of the Massacre are sites of contestation in the South African political arena.[9]

Political parties such as the PAC and BCM preferred the day to remain Sharpeville Day or Heroes Day. Ali Khangela Hlongwane and Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu contend that the contestation on naming and how various historical moments should be observed has given rise to rich public debate in post-1994 South Africa.[10] The PAC got furious and expressively criticised that decision: "asking us to replace Sharpeville Day and June 16, 1976, will be asking the African masses to forget their

[3] S.Booysen, *The African National Congress and the Regeneration of Political Power*. Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(2011).p.300.
[4] M.M. Sikes, C. Mark-Thiesen, & M.A.Mihatsch, *The Politics of Historical Memory and Commemoration in Africa.* Walter de Gruyter.Berlin.(2022).p.4.
[5] Own emphasis
[6] S.Marschall, "Public holidays as *lieux de mémoire* nation-building and the politics of public memory in South Africa". *Anthropology Southern Africa*. Vol.36.No.1-2.(2013).p.13.
[7] N. Worden, *Public history in the new South Africa*. American Historical Association.1996. https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/february-1996/public-history-in-the-new-south-africa.(Accessed 17 March 2022).
[8] Political Correspondent, Sharpeville Day is public holiday. *The Cape Times.*15 September.1994.
[9] P. Maylam, Remembering Sharpeville fifty years on.26 March 2010. https://www.ru.ac.za/latestnews/archives/2010/2010-03-261622.html. (Accessed on the 17.03.2022).
[10] A.K.Hlongwane, & S.M.Ndlovu, *Public History, and Culture in South Africa: Memorialisation and Liberation heritage sites in Johannesburg and the township space.*Palgrave Macmillan.Cham.(2019).p.96.

history".[11] In joining this public debate regarding the name change, Sipho Seepe argues that before the 1994 elections, black people had the purest understanding of the meaning of Sharpeville Day and the 16 June 1976 Soweto Students Uprising. These days were commemorated with the pride and reverence appropriate for such historical moments.[12]

Both these historic days, Seepe argues, were declared unofficial holidays before the democratic government came into existence in 1994, and renaming them cannot be in the interest of South Africans' liberation agenda. He laments that it is disturbing and despicable that silly debates on whether these days should be celebrated or commemorated are entertained in the new South Africa. He further points out that South Africans are the only people in this world who display this kind of pathology. He concludes by asking, "Imagine the Jewish people debating about whether they should celebrate their own oppression and marching in celebratory songs to Auschwitz or some other death camps?"[13]

Two South African veteran journalists jumped onto the contestation bandwagon in putting forward their views against the name change of Sharpville Day. Joe Latakgomo questioned the philosophy behind changing the name to Human Rights Day. According to him, the post-1994 period inaugurated changes to the South African calendar of holidays. Latakgomo says;

> "We renamed Sharpeville Day in March Human Rights Day. The justification by some was that while Sharpeville was a reminder of the past Human Rights Day was more of a commitment to the future to ensure that we should never again experience the horror of events like the Sharpeville Massacre. Philosophically, it makes sense. But in terms of impact, nothing can remind people of past horrors more than to commemorate an event. That commemoration would send out a message that such an incident would never happen again".[14]

Following observance of the Soweto Student uprising, renamed 'Youth Day' commemoration, Mondli Makhanya expressed his opinion by stating the following in terms of the name change from Sharpeville Day to Human Rights Day:

[11] A. Lutchka, PAC is Angry, *Weekly Mail*. 17-25 March 1995. In N.Worden, *public history in the new South Africa*. Feb.1996. *Perspectives on History*. https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/february-1996/public-history-in-the-new-south-africa. (Accessed on the 17.03.2022).
[12] S.Seepe, Challenge of spotting distortions in the media. *The City Pres*s.31 May 1998.
[13] Ibid.
[14] J. Letakgomo, Change needs more than a day. *The Daily News*. 22 December 1998.

> "Symbolic days in South Africa come and go and they are treated like ordinary weekends. People merely observe the holiday without [as] much as a second thought as to the meaning of the day. Rallies and commemoration services organized by political parties are poorly attended,[…] Most people just [go] about their normal business and passed the day shopping and drinking. There was no pausing to remember that it was on that day that the tide began to turn against apartheid and that it was the events of that day that expedited the collapse of the apartheid system".[15]

Despite these name change objections and debates from some members of civil society, including journalists, political analysts and academics, this chapter analyses the philosophical underpinning of the ruling elite's decisions to change the name, as well as rejection and disassociation with the name change by the opposition parties, such as the PAC, BCM adherents and the Sharpeville community's sectors. According to Thando Sipuye, a PAC member and associate at Robert Sobukwe Trust, the Sharpeville Massacre commemorations, turned and sanitised as Human Rights Day celebrations by the ANC and government, by extension erases the painful memory of the ordinary masses of those massacred in Sharpeville. They remain the nameless '69' whose dead bodies are today's sites of political contestation. He argues that the Human Rights Day celebrations constitute false narratives in which the state ensures writing out PAC leaders and their historic contributions to national memory.[16] On the other hand, Unathi Sonwabile Henama and Lwazi Apleni contend that the commemoration events at Sharpeville have become a national day of embarrassment as protests by the PAC claim that the history of the PAC's contribution to the anti-pass protests at Sharpeville is downplayed by the state.[17]

This chapter analyses the commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre memory by the ANC and, by extension, the GNU, which has an intrinsic paradox that tries to gain authority over the Sharpeville memory or even control it, as well as counter-commemorations, which, according to Ágnes Erőss, aim to challenge the narrative of official commemoration by other political parties.[18] It demonstrates that official commemorations that started during this period have not happened

[15] M. Makhanya, SA's milestone days are ignored. *The Star*.19 June 1998.
[16] T.Sipuye, Bastardizing Bantu Biko and his legacy is cheap politics! *Mayihlome News*.(2018). https://mayihlomenews.co.za/bastardizing-bantu-biko-and-his-legacy-is-cheap-politics/. (Accessed on the 18.03.2022).
[17] S. Henama, & L. Apleni, *Heritage Preservation for Tourism Consumption in The Global South: The Case of South Africa and St. Helena in The Atlantic Ocean.* Culture, People and Technology: The Driving Forces for Tourism Cities Proceedings of 8th ITSA Biennial Conference 2020. (2020).p.315.
[18] Á.Erőss, "In memory of victims": Monument and counter-monument in Liberty Square-Budapest". *Hungarian Geographical Bulletin.*Vol.65.No.3.(2016).p.241.

without ideological divisions and contestations and that Sharpeville memories are not peacefully and universally shared.

Jay Winter argues that all nationalist movements present forms of their history and construct political myths that organise stories about the past to rouse action in the present.[19] Through an abundance of evidence that I have collected, this chapter explores issues of struggle over meaning, disputes about what happened, who was involved and how events should be interpreted, which, according to Elizabeth Miller-Smith, reveal a great deal about group dynamics and identity politics.[20] It analyses hegemonic discourse emanating from the contestations of the memory and meaning of the Sharpeville Massacre during this period. According to James E. Young, 'collective memory is constructed, and commemorative events are facilitators of that memory'.[21] Natalia Krzyżanowska argues that commemorations remain the tool of symbolic power, endorsing symbolism and axio-normativity in urban spaces[22] such as Sharpeville.

Drawing from Sanford Levinson's *Written in Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies* (2018) and Sergiusz Michalski's *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997* (1998), Anna Cento Bull and David Clarke argue that those with political power within a given society organise public space to convey desired political lessons. This hegemonic function of public commemorative events is most often associated with the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in which emerging bourgeois democracies in capitalist nation-states sought to establish the dominance of their values in an explosion of "memorymania".[23]

This chapter further examines the counter-commemoration, mainly by the PAC, which draws legitimacy from the presence of the actual bodies in the cemetery[24] and the responsibility for orchestrating the events that led to the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. Its observance events challenge dominant historical narratives by presenting equally valid, yet often marginalised

[19] J. Winter, "The Generation of Memory: Reflections on the "Memory Boom" in Contemporary Historical Studies". *Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*. Vol.1.No.0.(2007).p.369

[20] E. Miller-Smith, *Gazing at the Golden Age: The Role of Perspective in Counter-Memorial Display.* Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Kansas. Kansas City.(2019).p.9.

[21] N. Krzyżanowska, "The discourse of counter-monuments: the semiotics of material commemoration in contemporary urban spaces". *Social Semiotics*. Vol.26.No.5.(2016).p.465.

[22] Ibid.p.465.

[23] A. C. Bull, & D. Clarke, "Agonistic interventions into public commemorative art: An innovative form of counter-memorial practice?". *Constellations*. Vol.1.No15.(2020).p.1.

[24] S.Marschall, "Pointing to the Dead: Victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.60.No.1.(2008).p.120.

perspectives. It (the PAC) does so by staging the less celebratory events thereby disrupting the central historical narratives of the state, providing a voice for those whose memories have been side-lined, and enhancing historical consciousness and understanding of the historical event that is being commemorated.

Annual counter-commemorations as displayed by the PAC are best described by Natalia Krzyżanowska, who argues that they aim to bring to the fore and critique what is often forgotten, omitted or silenced by the collectivity, especially in relation to its collective history in the official narratives of the past, making a virtue of what would otherwise be deemed a difficult or inconvenient past.[25] They further locate arguments in the public sphere that seek to discount, amend or re-inscribe the past in alternative ways that directly challenge the idea that a single public memory is possible.[26] Therefore, counter-commemorations cater for many deficiencies of traditional forms of remembrance. They also respond well to the need for multiple (collective as well as individual, localised as well as displaced) modes of commemoration in contemporary urban loci. They also allow commemorating highly complex past events and occurrences that carry many interpretations and, therefore, many diverse needs for different types and forms of commemoration.[27]

This chapter also examines the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), a court-like body assembled in South Africa in 1995. The TRC held its first hearing in 1996 to deal primarily with the challenges of what to do with a violent and racist history and how to structure a transition from a past of conflict to a future of peace.[28] Katharine Richards and Richard Ashby Wilson observe that in periods of transition after political violence, truth and reconciliation commissions are one method for successor governments to document past abuses of human rights. These attempts to redress are

[25] N. Krzyżanowska," The discourse of counter-monuments: the semiotics of material commemoration in contemporary urban spaces". *Social Semiotics*. Vol.26.No.5.(2016).p.471.

[26] R.M. Mandziuk, Commemoration, and Controversy: Negotiating Public Memory Through Counter-Memorials. International Society for the study of argumentation.Proceedings.(2010).Rozenberg Quarterly.(2010). https://rozenbergquarterly.com/issa-proceedings-2010-commemoration-and-controversy-negotiating-public-memory-through-counter-memorials//.(Accessed on the 18.04.2022).

[27] N. Krzyżanowska, "The discourse of counter-monuments: the semiotics of material commemoration in contemporary urban spaces". *Social Semiotics*.Vol.26.No.5.(2016).p.466.

[28] T. Goodman, *Performing a "new" nation: the role of the TRC in South Africa*. In Alexander. J.C, Giesen.B, & Mast. J.L, *Social Performance Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual.* Cambridge University Press.Cambridge.(2006).p.171.

termed “transitional justice” and include trials, reparations, lustration and observances such as days of remembrance, memorials and museums.[29]

Historical memory was at the core of TRC processes of healing, reconclliation and reparations following the long struggle against colonial apartheid.[30] On the other hand, the Wessels Commission of Inquiry, set up in 1960 “to investigate and report on the occurrences in the Districts Vereeniging namely at Sharpeville Location and Evaton and Vanderbijlpark, province of the Transvaal, on 21 March 1960” as its terms of reference.[31] According to Brian Martin, drawing from Phillip Frankel, the apartheid regime established this commission swiftly, to assure the global community about its concern and to catch the victims while they were still in a state of shock and, therefore, less able to testify effectively.[32]

During its hearings, Sharpeville residents’ evidence was referred to only rarely, and their voices were marginalised whilst it reiterated the police’s evidence. It could not reasonably make any claims to ‘truth-seeking’; it created a space in which victims could not speak truth to power, concealed more than it revealed the truth, whitewashed the massacre, and witnesses were subjected to strong pressures from the PAC to follow a “party line”. They were further treated as vessels of information from which to extract facts. The overall reliability of their testimony was questioned when it did not conform to the strict legal codes of admissible evidence, and their individual and subjective experiences were not acknowledged.[33] Even though the police lied without fear of any punishment, destroyed, hid and fabricated evidence,[34] the Wessels Commission’s report absolved the police of accountability for the firings in the face of what was deemed to be a dangerous crowd but never named a responsible shooter, either in the crowd or among the police.[35] Brian Martin argues that as a state-sanctioned institution, the Wessels Commission’s report conclusion neglected

[29] K.Richards, & R.A.Wilson, “Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. *Anthropological perspectives”.The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. (2017).p.1-2.

[30] J.Corredora, M.E.Wills-Obregonb, & M. Asensio-Brouardd, Historical memory education for peace and justice: definition of a field. *Journal of Peace education*. Vol.15.No.2.(2018).p.169.

[31] J.Corredora, M.E.Wills-Obregonb, & M. Asensio-Brouardd, “Historical memory education for peace and justice: definition of a field”. *Journal of Peace education*. Vol.15.No.2.(2018).p.169.

[32] B.Martin, *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Lanham.(2007).p.13.

[33] C.A.Lester, “Truth in the Time of Tumult: Tracing the Role of Official ‘Truth-seeking’ Commissions of Inquiry in South Africa, from Sharpeville to Marikana”. Unpublished master’s dissertation.University of Cape Town. Cape Town.(2016).p.70-78.

[34] B.Martin, *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.Lanham.(2007).p.13.

[35] M. Menye, “Exploring the continuities and discontinuities in South African political violence: the Sharpeville, Bhisho, and Marikana massacres”. Unpublished master’s dissertation. Nelson Mandela University.Port Elizabeth.(2018).p.41.

a range of factual evidence to authorise an official verdict that supported the narrative sanctioning the state killings. It was, however, presented as 'the truth', posited as official history.[36] Four decades after its release, Philip Frankel discovered that its overall findings are so densely unintelligible, so ridden with double-talk, qualifications and refutable logic that it defied legal reasoning and ordinary comprehension.[37]

On the other hand, the TRC marked a turning point and a major milestone in the political history of the South African nation,[38] which cannot be overlooked in the analysis of the memorialisation and commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre. More significantly, it broke new ground globally as the first Truth Commission to afford human rights hearings for victims of the crimes associated with the oppressive apartheid regime.[39] Its tasks, more importantly, began spanning the period March 1960, marking the period between the Sharpeville Massacre and crimes committed by right-wing Afrikaners surrounding the democratic election in April 1994.[40]

According to Caroline Hlekiso, the TRC process was memorialisation in itself.[41] Memorialisation in this context encompasses a range of processes to restore contested memory and remember the wrongdoings of the previous regimes.[42] Sabine Marschall argues that the state-supported process of memorialising apartheid violence victims in the form of the TRC was propelled by an ideologically-driven political dynamic that involves a hierarchical ranking of victims, the state-endorsed remembrance of certain victims and the convenient forgetting of others. The practice of selectively remembering victims attests to continuity with the commemorative pattern of previous South African governments.[43]

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[36] C.A.Lester, "Truth in the Time of Tumult: Tracing the Role of Official 'Truth-seeking' Commissions of Inquiry in South Africa, from Sharpeville to Marikana". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Cape Town. Cape Town.(2016).p.70-78.

[37] P.Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. In Martin.B, *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.Inc.Maryland.(2007).p.13.

[38] V. Jardine, "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: success or failure". Unpublished master's dissertation.University of Pretoria.Pretoria.(2008).p.1.

[39] Khulumani Support Group, Remembering the Sharpeville & Langa Massacres: 21 March 2020 – a reflection on how much more has to be attended to. 16 March.2020. https://khulumani.net/reparations/remembering-sharpeville-langa-massacres-much-more-reflection/2020/03/16/. (Accessed on the 20.04.2022).

[40] V.Reddy, Truth, and Reconciliation Commission. *South African Human Rights Yearbook.* Vol.8.No.1.(1997).p.268.

[41] C.Hlekiso, *The need for memorialization in South Africa.* The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.https://www.ijr.org.za/2018/12/10/the-need-for-memorialisation-in-south-africa/. (Accessed on the 20.04.2002).

[42] S.P.Tunamsifu, "Memorialisation as an often-neglected aspect in the consolidation of transitional justice. Case study of the Democratic Republic of the Congo". *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*. Vol.18.No.2.(2018).p.37.

[43] S. Marshall, *Landscape of memory: Commemorative monuments, memorials and public statuary in post-apartheid South Africa*.Brill. Leiden & Boston.(2010).p.62.

Thando Sipuye further argues that the TRC sustained a theatrical crisis of selective amnesia and partisan rememberings of history prevalent in post-apartheid South Africa. Sipuye observes that Nyakane Tsolo, who led the march and was detained for agitation on 21 March 1960, was not mentioned anywhere in the TRC's report, was not requested, nor did he offer testimony at the TRC.[44] Sipuye concludes that the omission of Nyakane Tsolo during the hearing was a deliberate silencing of a critical narrative surrounding the Massacre and its staged memorialisation process rendered him an insignificant figure in the annals of South African history, erasing him from the public memory around the massacre; an unbearably ambiguous figure, barely known, remembered or celebrated.[45]

On the other hand, just like history and memory, memorialisation is necessarily subjective and selective, unintentionally and, from time to time, intentionally. Memorialisation can be limited to those marginalised by the distribution of power in society, such as ethnic minorities, women or both. It is not immune to hegemonic ideologies, prevailing power dynamics in society and political opportunism. Memorialisation is thus political, and the politics of memorialisation are disadvantageous to how it is instigated and received.[46]

Lastly, the TRC released the remaining two volumes of its seven-volume report on March 21, 2003, during the 43rd anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre.[47] During the symbolic ceremony marking the report's release, Hlengiwe Mkhize, the TRC Commissioner, provided the context and significance of the Sharpeville Massacre in relation to the TRC processes and handing over the report as a memorialisation process by stating that, "It was appropriate that the final report would be released on March 21 when the victims of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre would be remembered."[48] Infused within the TRC analysis, this chapter further analyses the role of the Khulumani in Sharpeville as a vehicle for the memorialisation process, advocacy for reparations

[44] T.Sipuye, Bastardizing Bantu Biko, and his legacy is cheap politics!. *Mayihlome News*.(2018). https://mayihlomenews.co.za/bastardizing-bantu-biko-and-his-legacy-is-cheap-politics/. (Accessed on the 22.04.2022).

[45] Ibid.

[46] A.Stonehouse, *The Politics of Memorialisation in Namibia: Reading the Independence Memorial Museum*. Unpublished master's dissertation.University of Cape Town.Cape Town.(2018).p.34.

[47] M.Shore, *Religion and Conflict Resolution: Christianity and South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*. Ashgate Publishing Limited.Surrey.(2009).p.103.Also see K. L. Martin, "Tackling the Question of Legitimacy in Tackling the Question of Legitimacy in Transitional Justice: Justice: Steve Biko and the Post-Apartheid Reconciliation Process in South Africa". *College Undergraduate Research Electronic Journal*.(2015).p.12.

[48] K. Mamaila, TRC report may address reparations. *The Star*.18 March 2003.

and reconciliation, and collective healing from the trauma of the political violence experienced by the Massacre survivors and their descendants, as well as other atrocities committed by the state machinery apparatus during the 1980s and 1990s, a period referred to as the Vaal Uprising.

This chapter examines the hearings, reparations and recommendations as acts of memorialisation, as this inculcated remembrance of the Massacre through orality and language in the TRC processes of its members. It further examines their weekly memorialisation activities at the Sharpeville police station as part of the healing process, as well as how major political parties parade Khulumani members to stoke support in their commemoration rallies for publicity and political point-scoring – what Ana Milošević calls "political currency".[49] These members are often seen being guests in official Human Rights Day anniversary celebrations and counter-commemorations of Sharpeville Day by the PAC and other parties, such as the Democratic Alliance, among others.

This chapter further examines the symbolism involved in Nelson Mandela signing the South African Constitution at Sharpeville in 1996, which was the product of protracted negotiations. It was approved on 11 October 1996, thereby giving South Africa the status of federal democracy.[50] Proudly referred to as the "birth certificate" of a new South Africa, the adoption of the Constitution in 1996 was a major turning point in this country's history.[51] On a hot, dusty day on 10 December 1996, Emily Sauter observed thousands of South Africans in a ramshackle stadium in Sharpeville, witnessing Nelson Mandela sign into law the new Constitution of the new South Africa,[52] the day that also marked International Human Rights Day. Following the signing, the week of 17 to 21 March was named National Constitution Week.[53]

[49] A.Milosevic, *Can memorials heal the wounds?*. Observing Memories. The magazine of the EUROM *The European Observatory on Memories*.(2018).p.58.

[50] R.P. Inman, "Understanding the Democratic Transition in South Africa". *American Law and Economics Review*.(2013).p.2.

[51] H. Mohamed, South Africa's Constitution is a roadmap for the future. https://www.sheriffs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/SA-Constitution-by-Adv-Mohamed-1.pdf. (Accessed on the 22.04.2022).

[52] E. Sauter, "The constitution of South Africa".*The Journal of International Communication*. Vol.21.No.2.(2015).p.189.

[53] South African History Online. *The First Draft of the Constitution is published.* https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/first-draft-constitution-published. (Accessed on the 22.04.2022).

According to Unathi Sonwabile Henama and Lwazi Apleni, since the Constitution's signing, 10 December has also become an annual commemoration event in Sharpeville.[54] The significance of the signing, according to George Barrie, was that it marked the end of a six-year battle in which competing visions of the new South Africa clashed.[55] In articulating his vision for the new South Africa during the signing ceremony, Mandela said, "Out of the many Sharpevilles which haunt our history was born the unshakeable determination that respect for human life, liberty, and wellbeing must be enshrined as rights beyond the power of any force to diminish. Now, at last, they are embodied in the highest law of our rainbow nation."[56]

Before signing the Constitution, a few metres from the site, which had been well-known within the community but not formally marked, Mandela unveiled a small memorial stone, the first legal memorial in Sharpeville, as the beginning of a series of attempts to memorialise the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre publicly. He further performed the memorialisation ritual of laying a wreath on this memorial. In Sharpeville, this memorial began the hegemonic framing of memory through the politics of naming extended to the actual memorial structure.[57] Sabine Marschall argues that these memorials are not primarily solemn for the dead but monuments glorifying resistance, intended to forge a sense of collective identity among the living.[58]

6.2 NON-POLITICAL AND GRASSROOTS FORMS OF THE SHARPEVILLE DAY COMMEMORATION

Commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre not only encourage those who attend to remember who they had been by visiting their graves, laying wreaths ceremonies of what had happened to them but also remember them in a particular way. Post-1994 saw different patterns of commemoration activities over time and the dispersal, perseverance of, and commitment to cultural memory throughout Sharpeville. Kris Brown and Adrian Grant note that cultural memory represents display, memorialisation processes and ceremonies, and organising calendars marking

[54] S. Henama, & L. Apleni, *Heritage Preservation for Tourism Consumption in The Global South: The Case of South Africa and St. Helena in The Atlantic Ocean.* Culture, People, and Technology: The Driving Forces for Tourism Cities Proceedings of 8th ITSA Biennial Conference 2020.(2020).p.316.

[55] G.N.Barrie, "Ubuntu ungamntu ngabanye abantu: the recognition of minority rights in the South African constitution". *Journal of South African Law*.No.2.(2000).p.271.

[56] D.S. Will, non-racialism versus nationalism: contrasting solutions to conflict in South Africa and Israel/Palestine. *Journal for Peace Research*. Vol.25.Iss.2.(2000).p.256.

[57] S.Marschall, "Pointing to the Dead: Victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal.* Vol.60.No.1.(2008).p.11.

[58] S. Marschall, "Memory, and Identity in South Africa: Contradictions and Ambiguities in the Process of Post-apartheid Memorialization". *Visual Anthropology*. Vol.25.No.3.(2012).p.190.

periods of communal or ideological importance.[59] They further argue that such commemorations are social activities noticeable in the public face, capturing events in public space, but also indoor events outside of private recollection, as well as open recollections that are observed by wider community members.[60]

According to Brown and Grant, commemorations can take the form of exhibitions, memorial lectures, storytelling, sports tournaments, church services, film screenings, water-based activities, plaque unveiling, memorials unveiling and music sessions, to name a few.[61] On the other hand, memorialisation can take the form of communities reclaiming a denied historical past at a local level, including reclaiming their denied dead, as was the case with the victims of the Massacre whose family members could not view them. They can also take the form of church services, concerts, reburial, etc. They might take place on a date the organisers or participants deem appropriate or be organised to occur on the same date every year, for example, Human Rights Day or Sharpeville Day; the organisers may be individuals, civic groups, political parties, churches or the state.[62]

The observations by the above-mentioned scholars became the norm in the post-1994 memorialisation and commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre.[63] Although people perceive the concept of commemoration as a performance or political ritual act done only at specific times or which has to abide by specific routines, in Sharpeville, both memorialisation and commemorations extend from these times and routines. Krista McCracken argues that community-based memorialisation and commemorative projects can also be a form of healing and restorative justice and can positively impact a community while teaching powerful lessons about history and place.[64] For example, beads-making and weakly healing meetings held on Fridays bring together Khulumani members to Sharpeville police station [site of conscience], where, through artwork, singing, praying, trauma counselling and staged drama rehearsals, memory healing takes place.

[59] K.Brown, & A.Grant, "A Lens Over Conflicted Memory: Surveying 'Troubles' Commemoration in Northern Ireland". *Irish Political Studies*. Vol.31.No.1.(2016).p.140.
[60] Ibid.p.142.
[61] Ibid.p.144.
[62] Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, *Memorialisation and Reconciliation in Transitional Southern African Societies.* Research report written as a part of the Southern Africa Reconciliation Project by a group of social scientists from Zimbabwe. Research contributions were made by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and its partners in Angola. Mozambique, Malawi, Namibia, Zimbabwe. July. 2005.(2005).p.2.
[63] Own emphasis.
[64] K.McCracken, Community Engagement in Commemoration. 12 May 2014. *Activehistory.ca.* https://activehistory.ca/2014/05/13380/. (Accessed on 25.04.2022).

Other examples of non-political commemorations first occurred on 20 and 21 March 1998. On these days, the Pretoria State Theatre staged the concert called *Sharpeville: "Never Again",* which memorialised the victims and survivors of the Sharpeville Massacre in song. Nomsa Manaka, an acclaimed choreographer, raised the curtain with a special dance based on the Sharpeville incident. Miriam Makeba, affectionally known as *Mama Afrika*, and Hugh Masekela chronicled their music careers, which spanned four decades.[65] During this event, the concert organiser, Peter Tladi, said: "The concert offered music lovers a unique opportunity to reflect on and commemorate while savouring the talent and mastery of Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba. Sharpeville: "Never Again" was a trip down memory lane with a rich history to learn from."[66] Responding to the question from the media about his reflections and the significance of Sharpeville Day, Hugh Masekela said:

> "Sharpeville was the first incident to turn apartheid heavily around … we want to make sure it never happens again to us to be oppressed not only by white people but also, by blacks … this is more than a commemoration; it is to make our people vigilant and warn them not to become complacent."[67]

Hugh Masekela, for whom this concert was particularly significant, as he recalled the fallen heroes of Sharpeville, among whom he counted friends and relatives, used this event to pay tribute to his father. His parents were residents of Sharpeville for decades. His father, Thomas Masekela, a health inspector and well-known sculptor in Sharpeville, enjoyed a close relationship with the people of Sharpeville until his death in 1961. In his own words, Hugh Masekela responded, "We commemorate this place every year. It has a strong personal connection to me, not just because of my father but also because of my relatives who were killed and friends who were imprisoned."[68]

In 1999, following political speeches during Sharpeville commemorations by the PAC and the state-sanctioned Human Rights Day celebration, the attendees of these two functions rushed to Vereeniging's Dickinson Park for a music festival dubbed *Sharpeville Never Again,* featuring South African top musicians, such as Hugh Masekela and Letta Mbuli which was a sequel to the first

[65] For more on Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba see, L. Dalamba, "Writing Against Exile: A Chronotopic Reading of the Autobiographies of Miriam Makeba, Joe Mogotsi, and Hugh Masekela*"*. Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Kwazulu Natal.(2006). & R. Cueva, "Hugh Masekela: the long journey 1959-1968".Unpublished master's dissertation. State University of New Jersey.New Jersey.(2020).

[66] V. Pokwana, Two giants-will-tell it like it was. *The City Press*. 8 March 1998.

[67] Ibid.

[68] S. Dlamini, Bra Hugh remembers long-dead friends. *City Press*. 21 March 1999.

concert series that was staged at the State Theatre in Pretoria in 1998.[69] Other artists and groups graced the occasion, such as the Afro-jazz band Kutu, the African Jazz Herbs and the Sizwe Zako jazz band. During this concert, Hugh Masekela paid tribute to the Jazz Epistles, the band he formed with Jonas Gwangwa, Dollar Brand and Kippie Moeketsi. Reflecting on the day, Peter Tladi, an event organiser, writes:

> "There have always been functions and gatherings to mark the tragedy that left more than 60 women, children and men dead after being shot in the back. But the spirit that envelops the occasion in the new South Africa is one of pain… This concert offers music lovers a unique opportunity to remember and commemorate while savouring the talent and mastery of Hugh and Letta. We have no doubt this will be a day to remember.[70]

According to Peter Makurube, a *Mail and Guardian* journalist, the concert was a sort of homecoming for Hugh Masekela, stating it is common that Sharpeville residents are always keen to point out the Masekela homestead to anyone visiting the area, and Sharpeville residents refer to him as *homeboy*. Hugh Masekela further stated that this music gathering concert, which he dubbed the Heroes Day concert, was meant to help heal old wounds, which the 21 March 1960 left the Sharpeville residents with physically and emotionally deep wounds. For him, the Sharpeville residents would engage in a long process of healing through music as they recalled the darkest day in their history; however, this time, thirty-nine years later, they danced their blues away with a thrilling concert. Based on Peter Makurube's healing character of this kind of concert, this thesis advances the argument that they are, in fact, a memorialisation process in their own right. Therefore, memorialising communal trauma presses awareness of the visible and invisible wounds precipitated by horrible acts and "rescue[ing] them from forgetfulness".[71]

Organisations such as the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, the United States Institute of Peace Working Group (USIP), the European Observatory on Memories (EUROM) and the Centre for the Study of Violence & Reconciliation (SCVR), as well as memory studies such as Ana Milosevic's *Can memorials heal the wounds?* (2017), Christine Roberts-Yates, Thomas M. Hawley, Judy Barsalou and Victoria Baxter's *The Urge to Remember The Role of Memorials in Social Reconstruction and*

[69] S. Molakeng, Disgruntled artists from body. *Sowetan.* 8 March 1999.
[70] S. Memela, Commemorating Sharpeville in song.*Sunday World.*14 March 1999.
[71] S.Arel, "The power of place: Trauma recovery and memorialization". *Stellenbosch ecological Journal.*Vol.4.No.2.(2018).p.26.

Transitional Justice. (2007) and Lisa Moore's *(Re)covering the Past, Remembering Trauma: The Politics of Commemoration at Sites of Atrocity.* (2009), among others, stress the importance of grassroots memorialisation in public spaces, which intends to preserve memories of victims of past violations as part of a healing process, act as symbolic reparation, and a mechanism of preventing further atrocities. They further argue that it can also satisfy the need for honouring individuals who suffered, disappeared or were killed and serves as an umbrella concept encompassing a range of processes to restore contested memory and, as with the Sharpeville Massacre, to remember the transgressions of the colonial apartheid administration.[72]

From 2009, Zwane Street and Seeiso Street, Sharpeville's main roads, became the makeshift sites of grassroots memory activism. The Sharpeville police station was erected in the mid-fifties on Zwane Street, and this is the site where the bullets were fired on 21 March 1960. These two Sharpeville streets serve as a system of locational orientation and a socio-political text of historical commemoration. According to Maoz Azaryahu, street names are a vehicle of commemoration, particularly spatial commemoration, merging history and the physical environment, instrumental in naturalising the commemorated past and are a common feature of modern political culture. Derek Alderman refers to commemorative street names as memorial arenas,[73] and, according to Nora, they are distinctive *"lieux de momoire*", meaning a physical place(s) where memory crystallises and secretes itself or the places where the exhausted capital of collective memory condenses and is expressed.[74]

Drawing from Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu, this thesis advances the argument that these streets inscribe political messages and commemorative meanings into many facets and settings of everyday urban life, thus making the past tangible and intimately familiar.[75] For example, Nyakane Tsolo was on the streets by 4:00 a.m., waking up and directing people to the

[72] S.P. Tunamsifu, *Memorialisation as an often-neglected aspect in the consolidation of transitional justice: Case study of the Democratic Republic of the Congo*. The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes. AJCR 2018/2. https://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/memorialisation-as-an-often-neglected-aspect-in-the-consolidation-of-transitional-justice/. (Accessed on the 17.04.2022).

[73] D.H. Alderman, "Street Names as Memorial Arenas: The Reputational Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King Jr. in a Georgia County". *Historical Geography*. Vol.30.No.2.(2002).p.100.

[74] P. Nora, *Les Lieux de Memoire.II: La Nations*.(1986).In Azaryahu. M, Environment and Planning D Society and Space. *Environment and Planning D Society and Space.* Vol.14.No.3.(1996).p.312. Also see E.A.Montaño, "Places of memory. Is the concept applicable to the analysis of memorial struggles? The case of Uruguay and its recent past*". Cuad.CLAEH*. Vol.4.(2008).p.1-26.

[75] R.Rose-Redwood, D.Alderman, & M.Azaryahu, *The urban streetscape as political cosmos.* In Rose-Redwood. R, Alderman. D, &.Azaryahu. M, *The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes: Naming, Politics, and Place.* Taylor & Francis Group. Oxfordshire.(2017).p.6.

main street, which is Seeiso Street, and around 6:00 a.m., the PAC task team were directing people to gather at the end of this street. In the mid-morning, the crowd became bigger as more people from other sides of the township joined the main crowd on Seeiso Street.[76] On that day, Phillip Frankel writes that, during mid-day, Sharpeville residents swelled around the police station, and some perched on the roofs of nearby houses in Zwane Street.[77] Drawing from Çelik et al. (1994), Schechner (2003), Hebbert (2005) and Butler (2015), Maoz Azaryahu argues that "street" can also become a place of memory as well as a space of political protest and revolutionary action.[78]

According to Michael Hebbert, human memory is spatial, and shaping space is an instrument for shaping memory. He contends that a shared space, such as a street, can be a locus of collective memory in a double sense. Firstly, it can express group identity from above through architectural order, monuments and symbols, commemorative sites, street names, civic spaces and historic conservation; and secondly, it can express the accrual of memories from below through the physical and associative traces left by interweaving patterns of everyday life The year 2009 marked an inaugural staging of the 'Imbaula storytelling' memorialisation process.[79] The concept of 'imbaula' storytelling derives from African oral tradition. Imbaula is a makeshift coal stove made from a large tin can with holes on the sides and designed to burn for a long time.

Emmanuel Matateyou contends that, ideally, the narration of the tales takes place at night after the evening meal. On the other hand, storytelling allows for a culture to pass knowledge, history and experiences from one generation to the next. Octavia Utley argues that many cultures in Africa have rituals of oral storytelling. According to her, storytelling, revealing ideas, themes, beliefs and facts that are widely spread, teaches important lessons about everyday life.[80] Simon Green, Katherine Kondor and Alicia Heys maintain that storytelling can also be understood as a type of

[76] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*. In Makaba. Z.AT, "Reflections on Nyakane Tsolo – a forgotten political figure in the struggle annals of South African history". Unpublished honours dissertation. North West University. Vanderbijlpark.(2020).p.48.

[77] P.Frankel, *An Ordinary atrocity: Sharpeville and in its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven & London.(2001).p.107.

[78] R.Rose-Redwood, D.Alderman, & M.Azaryahu, *The urban streetscape as political cosmos*. In Rose-Redwood. R, Alderman. D, &.Azaryahu, M, *The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes: Naming, Politics, and Place*. Taylor & Francis Group. United Kingdom.(2017).p.1.

[79] M. Hebbert, "The street as locus of collective memory". *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space.* Vol.23.No.4.(2005).p.594.

[80] O.Utley," Keeping the Tradition of African Storytelling Alive".Yale National Initiative. https://teachers.yale.edu/curriculum/viewer/initiative_09.01.08_u. (Accessed on the 20.08.2023).

memorialisation for the victims of large-scale human rights violations. Victims react to these circumstances by telling and retelling their stories in ways that give them agency and control.[81]

Zdena Mtetwa observes that in 2009, Sharpeville was a very busy township as the old residents of Sharpeville, who are mainly survivors of the Sharpeville Massacre of the Khulumani Support Group (discussed later in the chapter), made several fires in containers, [imbaula] at the sides of the roads,[82] mainly on Zwane and Seeiso Streets, thus making these two streets grassroots commemorative township streetscapes. During Imbaula storytelling, the history of Sharpeville unfolds, and the unsung heroes are celebrated in the form of storytelling. According to Zdena Mtetwa, this memorialisation process aims to pass on the history of Sharpeville to the young, to tell it like it was, memorialising what their blood was shed for. It is also an integral part of the healing process.[83]

Chioneso et al. argue that storytelling is a rich oral tradition that is an effective healing intervention.[84] For many of these Khulumani members, sharing their experiences through personal narratives brings new awareness and a sense of clarity to the painful past. These life stories express the importance of a massacre and how it impacts the lives of the survivors. What had been stated as the non-official observance of the Massacre by Khulumani has been recognised and incorporated into the annual build-up activities of the commemorations by the local municipality. Seren Friskie further contends that storytelling is a collective enterprise in which communities are supported, cultures are unified, and identities are formed.[85]

[81] S.T.Green, K.Kondor, & A.Heys, "Storytelling as memorialisation: Suffering, resilience and victim identities. *Oñati socio-legal series"*. Vol.10.Iss.2.(2020).p.580.

[82] Z.Mtetwa, The fire, and the crowd, a case study of Sharpeville. In Landman. C (ed), Oral history: Heritage and identity proceedings of the seventh, eighth, and ninth annual National Oral History Conference White River, Mpumalanga (2010) Mahikeng, North West Province (2011) & Mangaung, Free State (2012). University of South Africa.Pretoria.(2013).p.13.

[83] Ibid.p.13.

[84] N.A. Chioneso, C.D. Hunter, R.L. Gobin, S.M.Smith, R.Mendenhall, H.A.Neville, "Community healing and resistance through storytelling: A framework to address racial trauma in Africana communities". *Journal of Black Psychology*. Vol.46.No.2-3. (2020).p.103

[85] S.Friskie, The Healing Power of Storytelling: Finding Identity Through Narrative. *The Arbutus Review*. Vol.11.No.1.(2020).p.19.

6.3 THE ANC AND STATE-LED COMMEMORATIONS

The forms and processes of remembering and memorialising the Sharpeville Massacre have changed and continue to do so in the post-1994 political landscape. According to Ali Khangela Hlongwane and Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, the observance of this massacre from 1995 has been characterised by tradition, change and continuity.[86] On the other hand, different politically driven annual commemorations have become integral to the Sharpeville community's socio-political tradition due to the sheer number of anniversaries observed within this community. Besides the Sharpeville Massacre observed as Human Rights Day celebrations, the 1991 Sebokeng Massacre, the 1992 Boipatong Massacre, whose victims are buried in Sharpeville's Vuka cemetery, the 1984 Vaal Uprising and the signing of the 1996 Constitution, which Tom Lodge describes as "communal reflex", are commemorated within Sharpeville and its environs.[87]

However, other national calendar-driven days also add to the sheer volume of political commemorative days. These include Freedom Day on 27 April, Workers' Day on 1 May, National Women's Day on 9 August, Heritage Day on 24 September, and 16 December, commemorated as the Day of Reconciliation. It should be stated that commemorations of events such as the 1902 Peace Treaty of Vereeniging commemorating the Anglo-Boer War are also observed here.[88] These days are underpinned by the phenomenon whereby the ANC and the state, by extension, became the main drivers behind the commemoration events. As Noor Nieftagodien observes, "Once the ANC came to power, it instituted projects that justified why it was in power. They made it seem that it was inevitable that they would (come to power)."[89] According to Nieftagodien,

> "Those who are in power want to demonstrate this in various ways. Symbolically, they want to show they are in charge. In South Africa, a lot of names, even some of a politically neutral nature, had to go … it was inevitable. In the initial period of a new government, the party in power will try and impose its own history. But I think, by and large, we are past the renaming process".[90]

[86] A.K.Hlongwane, & S.M. Ndlovu, *Public History and Culture in South Africa Memorialisation and Liberation Heritage Sites in Johannesburg and the Township Space*. Palgrave Macmillan.Cham.(2019).p.79.
[87] R.E. Johnson, "The day that fell off the calendar': June 16, South African newspapers, and the making of a national holiday 1977-1996". *Journal of Southern African Studies*.(2016).p.5.
[88] L. Stanley, *Mourning Become...: Post/Memory and Commemoration of the Concentration Camps of the South African War*. Manchester University Press. Manchester.(2006).p.48.
[89] R.Joseph, "Naming history's forgotten fighters. South Africa's government is setting out to forget some of the alliance fought against apartheid. Some of them remain in prison". *Index on Censorship*. Vol.47.No.1.(2018).p.54.
[90] Ibid.p.54.

Therefore, the state-sponsored commemorations, or official commemorative rites, become events involving spectacle, offering an immersive entertainment experience to the crowds of commemorators. Narratives around reconciliation, social cohesion and nation-building have thus far dominated state-led commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre. David Chidester et al. further observe that a series of narratives, such as the Rainbow Nation, the African Renaissance and the New Patriotism, have supported post-1994 national policy.[91]

According to Ali Khangela Hlongwane, the post-1994 commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre has become a symbol of healing and reconciliation with the painful past.[92] He further argues that in South Africa, memorialisation and commemorations of the past by the ANC-led GNU have brought about a transformation of commemoration turned into monument(al) re-representation concerned with the 'national interest' to create jobs and develop local economies using the heritage of the liberation struggle side by side with the public pressures and national interests in symbolic reparations and social justice.[93] Drawing from Sara McDowell's *Armalite, the Ballot Box, and Memorialization: Sinn Féin and the State in post-Conflict Northern Ireland*.(2007), Kris Brown argues that commemorations can also be used to assert or demonstrate power and control in a geographic area, be it a local neighbourhood or the state itself.[94]

The state-led Human Rights Day celebrations became divided into two parts. One part is what Ali Khangela Hlongwane refers to as "government speak".[95] This is the part where the governing party writes itself into the history and legacy of the Sharpeville Massacre. Saša Babič and Jurij Fikfak observe that political leaders' speeches at national commemorations represent a special communication practice with the public, and those speeches are generally the central feature. Only part of an event commemorated is regarded as the central part of the event observed. In this context, it does so by using the platform of commemorations to pay tribute to the survivors and victims of

[91] D. Chidester, P.Dexter, & W.James, *Social cohesion in South Africa*. In. Chidester. D, Dexter. P, & James.W, *What should hold us together" Social cohesion in South Africa*. Human Sciences Research Council. Cape Town.(2003).p.308.

[92] A.K.Hlongwane, *The commemoration of Sharpeville*. 03.20.2014. www.sahistory.org.za/topic/commemoration-Sharpeville-extract-paper-Ali-hlongwane. (Accessed on the 17.04.2022).

[93] A.K.Hlongwane, "Commemoration, memory, and monuments in the contested language of black liberation: The South African experience".*The Journal of Pan African Studies*. Vol.2.No.2.(2008).p.135.

[94] K. Brown, *Political Commemoration: The inclusion dynamics of 'partisan commemoration*. The political settlements programme consortium.(2017).p.54.

[95] A.K.Hlongwane, "The Historical Development of the Commemoration of the June 16, 1976, Soweto Students' Uprisings: A study of re-representation, commemoration, and collective memory". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Witwatersrand.Johannesburg.(2015).p.253.

the massacre by laying wreaths at the Phelindaba cemetery, the tradition that has been followed by the BCM since the 1980s, while conveniently ignoring Nyakane Tsolo.

The year 1995 marked the first anniversary of Human Rights Day celebrations under democratic rule, coinciding with the 35th anniversary of Sharpeville Day. In 1994, South Africa returned to the Commonwealth of Nations as one element of its transformation.[96] As stated in Chapter two, South Africa left this organisation in 1961, following the Sharpeville Massacre and international pressure over its apartheid policies of racial separation. Desmond Tutu likened South Africa's return to the Commonwealth of Nations to "the return of the prodigal son".[97]

From 19 to 25 March 1995, Queen Elizabeth II [1952-2022] of England, together with the Duke of Edinburgh, paid a historic state visit to South Africa as the guests of President Nelson Mandela. This royal visit was the first of such since 1974.[98] During this visit, she addressed the newly formed parliament following the 1994 non-racial election, bestowing the Order of Merion, a top British honour, on Nelson Mandela, making him the first non-royal individual to call her by her name "Elizabeth".[99] The Queen also visited black townships, clinics and schools.[100] She further unveiled the memorial plaque of white sandstone at a solemn ceremony in Soweto's Avalon cemetery commemorating 607 men who lost their lives when the SS Mendi sank in February 1917 during the First World War. During this war, 616 South Africans, including 607 black troops serving in the South African Native Labour Contingent, died when the steamship sank in the English Channel on the way to France on 21 February 1917.[101] Following the unveiling, the queen met the families of the soldiers.[102]

[96] S.Mole, "Mandela and the Commonwealth".*The Round Table*.Vol.106.No.6.(2017).p.614.

[97] C.Tominey, Motlalepula: The Queen was renamed 'Rain Queen' after her 1995 tour of South Africa. *Express.* 11 March 2018. https://www.express.co.uk/news/royal/929957/Motlalepula-Queen-Elizabeth-Rain-Queen-1995-tour-South-Africa-Nelson-Madela. (Accessed on the 18.04.2021).

[98] P.Widdowson, *The Palgrave Guide to English Literature and Its Contexts: 1500-2000.* Bloomsbury Publishing.London.(2004).p.250.

[99] Z.Mulroy, Only one non-royal has been allowed to call the Queen by her first name. *The Mirror.* 30 June.2019. https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/only-one-non-royal-been-17278027. (Accessed on the 18.04.2021).

[100] Associated Press, Queen Elizabeth Arrives for Visit To South Africa. *The Spokesman-Review*. 20 March.1995. https://www.spokesman.com/stories/1995/mar/20/queen-elizabeth-arrives-for-visit-to-south-africa/. (Accessed on the 18.04.2021).

[101] For more on S.S. Mendi commemoration, see M. Manaka, "Lost in Memory? Black Commemoration of 'White Men's Wars". Unpublished doctoral thesis.University of Pretoria.Pretoria.(2022).pp.196-210.

[102] The Associated Press, South Africa - Queen Elizabeth II visit. *Associated Press Archives.*http://www.aparchive.com/metadata/youtube/do35b89949Seea40bcbc70698322b7.(Accessed on the 18.04.2022).

The queen was still in South Africa on 21 March 1995. This year, the main event of the state-led Sharpeville commemoration took the form of a church service at Saint George's Cathedral in Cape Town presided by Desmond Tutu, the archbishop of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, instead of a political rally. The service was attended by close to 1400 people and graced by Queen Elizabeth II, the head of the Commonwealth. In attendance were both President Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk, religious group leaders and members of the diplomatic corps. Special guests during this commemorative service were Yvonne Tshabalala and Isaac Boloang, survivors of the Sharpeville Massacre.[103] Following the protocol of the day, which included unveiling a plaque commemorating Queen Elizabeth II's visit and signing the visitors' book, the queen stated, "Today is the first time South Africa is celebrating its new Human Rights Day public holiday, which falls on the date of the Sharpeville Massacre 35 years ago."[104]

It can, therefore, be deduced that in the queen's mind, Human Rights Day and the Sharpeville Massacre were separate and that the declaration of 21 March as a public holiday named Human Rights Day by the ANC government, consciously or unconsciously marked the beginning of erasing Sharpeville Day from the people's consciousness. In Sharpeville, the ANC's commemoration was marked by violent political contestation despite no reported casualties. The commemoration event scheduled at the Dlomo Dam was cancelled due to a lack of organisation without properly informing the constituencies. The leadership decided to conduct a door-to-door voter education campaign, which disgruntled supporters. At midday, these disgruntled supporters made their way to George Thabe Stadium and fired shots, causing pandemonium as PAC members left and fled while Clarence Makwetu, its president, was still addressing his supporters.[105]

In 1996, the ANC-led government encapsulated "*Never Again"* in its Human Rights Day celebration advertisement posters. It should be noted that the ANC has used this theme since the early 1990s. It subsequently became prominent in the 1994 Sharpeville Massacre commemoration, which was used as a platform for the first non-racial election rally. According to Louis Bickford and Amy Sodaro, the theme or slogan 'Never Again' is the Holocaust's greatest mantra.[106] This expression, Tamara Hina argues, has been used repeatedly following mass atrocities of the

[103] T. Wentzel, Lets have true freedom. *The Argus*. 21 March 1995.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Reporter, ANC, PAC supporters clash at Sharpeville Day Rally. *Vaal Ster*. 27 March 1995.
[106] L. Buckford, & A. Sodaro, *Remembering Yesterday to Protect Tomorrow: The Internationalization of a New Commemorative Paradigm*. In Gutman. Y, Brown. A.D, & Sodaro. A, *Memory and the Future Transnational Politics, Ethics and Society*. Palgrave Macmillan.London.(2010).p.66.

twentieth century, and it represents the international commitment that no population will ever again be subjected to the horrors of genocide. Besides the Holocaust, it also appeared following the genocide in Rwanda in 1994.[107]

Jeffrey Blustein argues that it is also a necessary means to the success of several important goals, including securing reparations for the victims, providing therapeutic services for those affected by the wrongs, and preventing the repetition of violence and human rights abuses.[108] Drawing from Thomas Olesen's *Global Injustice Memories: The 1994 Rwanda Genocide* (2012), Lea David contends that commemorations intimately tied to a preventive vision of 'Never Again!' is an undertone that the suffering and sacrifices had not happened in vain.[109] David Rieff contends that the continuous commemoration of traumatic events such as the Sharpeville Massacre does nothing to promote catharsis or empower silenced voices in societies affected by political violence. Instead, commemoration pulls and picks at the 'wounds' of society so that they seldom have a chance to heal, and states and other role players who pursue a path of recollection as societal healing simply make matters worse.[110]

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela [1936-2018] and Peter Mokaba [1959-2002], the ANC's firebrands, were the main speakers during the 37th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre and the 2nd anniversary of Human Rights Day celebrations in 1997. According to Percy Makharamedzha, *City Press* newspaper journalist, the 1997 Human Rights Day celebration was low-keyed, with at least 600 people attending the event and most seemingly preferring to stay home and relax.[111] Reflecting on the 1960 anti-pass laws demonstrations in Sharpeville and paying tribute to the victims and survivors of the Massacre during this event, Madikizela-Mandela described the 1960 massacre as a turning point in the liberation struggle. She told the audience, "March 21, when police opened fire and killed 69 Sharpeville pass protesters was one of the finest hours in the liberation struggle".[112]

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[107] T.Hinan, "To Remember or To Forget? Collective memory and reconciliation in Guatemala and Rwanda. Totem" *The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology*.Vol.18.(2009-2010).p.13.

[108] J.Blustein, "Forgiveness, commemoration, and restorative justice: the role of moral emotions". *Metaphilosophy.* Vol.41.No.4.(2010).p.601.

[109] L. David, "The Emergence of the 'Dealing with the Past' Agenda: Sociological Thoughts on its Negative Impact on the Ground" *Modern Languages Open*. Vol.1.No.19.(2020).p.14.

[110] D. Rieff, *Against Remembrance*. In Brown.K., *Political Commemoration: The Inclusion Dynamics of Partisan Commemoration'.* Political Settlements Research Programme, Working Paper. Transitional Justice Institute Research Paper.No.19.Vol.1.(2018).p.1.

[111] P. Makharamedzha, Holomisa centre of attraction in Jozi. *City Press.* 23 March 1997.

[112] SAPA, Winnie calls for exposure of ANC informers. *The Citizen.*22 March 1997.

Both Madikizela-Mandela and Peter Makeba's political statements centred around rampant crime and violence in the country. Addressing national security, Mandela called for the names of police informers within ANC ranks to be exposed. She indicated that the National Intelligent Agency (NIA) was still run by apartheid-era personnel and intelligence was not being supplied to post-apartheid political leadership. She described NIA personnel, in her commemorative political speech, 'as shadowy intelligence, criminal syndicates, and covert counter-revolutionary third forces who had colluded to carry on the killings, destabilise the country's economy, and discredit ANC leaders"[113]. Reflecting on the recently published revelations to the TRC of apartheid-era human rights atrocities committed by the former security police, she further reiterated and echoed Peter Makeba's sentiments that F.W. de Klerk [1936-2021], the last president of the apartheid government, a former practising lawyer in Vereeniging and apartheid government member of parliament (MP) for Vereeniging,[114] as,

> "A bald-headed criminal dripping with the blood of innocent people who must be revealed for what he was. All enemies must be exposed, especially De Klerk…his cronies must never smell power again….ANC intended to stay in government forever".[115]

During this year, the *Sowetan* newspaper of 22 March 1998 reported that during the official commemoration, as speakers called for the crowds to continue honouring March 21, some survivors present collapsed in tears as the day was relived and they became overcome with emotion.[116] The 1998 Human Rights Day celebration, which coincided with the 38th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, was held at George Thabe Stadium graced by, among others, Deputy President Jacob Zuma and Gauteng Premier Mathole Motshekga, while in order areas such as Johannesburg Park Station, president Thabo Mbeki addressed thousands of youth. His message, after noticing a handful of whites, was to call upon them to make an effort to encourage their fellow white youth to be part of Human Rights Day celebrations, which was not only about the observance of Sharpeville's memory but also about the unity of the country's people – hence he called for all the racial groups in the country to embrace the day. Mbeki said,

[113] Ibid.
[114] D.Geldenhuys, & H.Kotz, FW de Klerk: a study in political leadership.*Politikon*.Vol.19.No.1.(1991).p.36.
[115] See, SAPA, Winnie calls for exposure of ANC informers. *The Citizen*.22 March 1997. & P Makharamedzha, & SAPA, Holomisa centre of attraction in Jozi. *City Press.* 23 March 1997.
[116] P.Motale, M.Shiba, & D.Kaibe, Tears on Human Rights Day. *City Press*. 22 March 1998.

> "I am saddened to see only a handful of white youths in the crowd. You must take it upon yourselves to go back to your schools and tell your white schoolmates that this day is not for blacks only but for all South Africans irrespective of colour or creed".[117]

Based on what Mbeki said during this event, it can be deduced that he was calling for increased political bonding and single, close national identity, as well as advocating for a type of observance described by Kris Brown as an "Inclusive Commemoration".[118] Brown observes that ethno-national commemoration of periods of conflict is a strong and communal commemoration of conflict, directed by political parties, endemic in deeply divided societies,[119] such as South Africa. In Soweto, the health minister, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, centred her commemorative speech around health matters, especially the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), which grew to rampant magnitudes during the term of President Nelson Mandela and South Africa's first democratic government (1994 to 1999).[120] In her address, Dlamini-Zuma told her audience that;

> "The government will make sure that people suffering are not discriminated against, and that will also have to apply to firms and insurance companies and that people should not discriminate against those who suffer from the disease because they could be carriers of the deadly virus as well".[121]

In a published journal, Zuma argues that the impact of HIV and Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) echoes through every facet of our society, crippling workforces and leading to unmanageable demands on our healthcare systems and to realise African Renaissance, which is threatened by this disease, African people should be freed from this scourge to deliver this vision.[122]

During this year (1999), the ANC-led government held several commemorative rallies across the country, the main being in Newtown Cultural Precinct in Johannesburg, under the theme "The right to equality". In attendance were President Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki, who later addressed

[117] Ibid.
[118] K. Brown, *Political Commemoration: The Inclusion Dynamics of 'Partisan Commemoration'*. Political Settlements Research Programme. Working Paper. Transitional Justice Institute Research Paper.No.19.Vol.1.(2018).p.4.
[119] Ibid.p.5.
[120] J. Campbell, "Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and South Africa's HIV/AIDS Past". *Africa in Transition*. 18 July 2012. https://www.cfr.org/blog/nkosazana-dlamini-zuma-and-south-africas-hivaids-past. (Accessed on the 23.04.2022).
[121] P. Motale, M.Shiba, & D.Kaibe, Tears on Human Rights Day. *City Press*. 22 March 1998.
[122] N. Dlamini-Zuma, "Foreign minister's budget vote address". *South African Journal of International Affairs.* Vol.7.No.2.(2000).p.190.

an ANC rally at Kwanobuhle in Uitenhage to commemorate the KwaLanga Massacre in 1985.[123] The relationship between KwaLanga and Sharpeville is that on 21 March 1985, coincidentally the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, police opened fire on a funeral procession between Uitenhage and KwaLanga in the Eastern Cape Province.[124] The KwaLanga massacre should not be confused with the Sharpeville-Langa Massacre of 21 March 1960; only three people were shot dead in Langa on that day, so this was not really a massacre in the true sense of the word.. Yew-Jin Fang argues that these mourners were oblivious that the apartheid state had earlier barred the funerals to circumvent any disturbances on the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre.[125] After the police opened fire, twenty mourners were killed, and twenty-seven more were injured, and afterwards, 239 people were arrested for protesting the killings.[126]

On 23 May 1999, Nelson Mandela returned to Sharpeville in his last public appearance in the Sedibeng District Municipality as a sitting president of South Africa, and in June left the office after serving only a single five-year term.[127] During this occasion, he was bestowed with the Freedom of the Lekoa-Vaal Metropolitan Council. He was honoured as such by the council as an expression of gratitude for recognising the victims and survivors of the Sharpeville Massacre that impacted the overall struggle for democracy in South Africa.[128] In his acceptance speech, Mandela told a largely Afrikaans audience that the responsibility of changing South African society "was all our problem, not just the ANC's", thereby addressing problems of a divided society emerging from political conflict and seeking ways of social cohesion, reconciliation, single identity, racial reconciliation and peace.[129]

At one Human Rights Day celebration event held in Johannesburg, the then Minister of Justice Dullar Omar told the ANC supporters attending the event that the removal of white minority rule in 1994 was an accomplishment at a political level, but for those who live in shacks and those who are

[123] P.Letsoalo, Human Rights events. *Sowetan.*19 March 1999.
[124] R.J.Thornton, "The shooting at Uitenhage, South Africa, 1985: the context and interpretation of violence". *American Ethnologist*. Vol.17.No.2.(1990).p.217.
[125] Y.J. Fang, "Reporting the same events? A critical analysis of Chinese print news media text". *Discourse and Society*. Vol.12.No.5.(2001).p.591.
[126] R. Goot, Should South Africa Be Named a Terrorist State. *Brooklyn Journal of International Law 15 Brook* Vol.15.No.3.(1989).p.818.
[127] C. Landsberg, *The Impossible Neutrality? South Africa's policy in the Congo War.* In Clark, J.F. (ed), *The African Stakes of the Congo War.* Palgrave Macmillan.New York.(2022).p.170.
[128] L. Mofokeng, *Sedibeng re-unveils the Democratic Constitutional plaque.* Sedibeng District Municipality.(2014).p.1.
[129] Own emphasis.

unemployed, things remained the same.[130] In his words, "1994 was only the beginning of the process of transformation but we cannot say we have achieved what those who were killed at Sharpeville died for."[131]

An analysis of Justice Dullar Omar can, therefore, be regarded as agreeing with Thando Sipuye, who, in an SABC interview on 21 March 2018, argued that South Africans have not attained human rights and democracy as both cannot co-exist in an unjust, unequal and corrupt society.[132]

June 1999 marked the second democratic national and provincial elections and signalled the end of the transitional power-sharing GNU, and in December 2000, local government elections completed this process.[133] These elections are also regarded as part of the consolidation process of South African democracy following the 1994 elections, commonly viewed as a "liberation" election from the tyranny of the apartheid system.[134] During the 1999 elections, the PAC's weak national standing declined further when it lost 43% of its national support, registering 71% of the national vote.[135] This was besides what Andrew Mokoena, a Sharpeville resident and self-confessed ANC supporter, told Themba Molefe in an interview: "Sharpeville is ordinarily PAC territory. The sad events of 1960 attest to that, but today things have changed, and this is because of the mass appeal of the ANC."[136]

6.4 THE PAC'S SHARPEVILLE-LANGA DAY COUNTER-COMMEMORATIONS: 1995 to 1999

During the 1995 commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the Sharpeville-Langa Day Massacre, the PAC planned 20 commemorative services throughout the country, with the main event held at the Sharpeville stadium. Similar to other political parties, the PAC used 21 March 1995 to kick-start its local government election campaigns.[137] The day further marked the memory of Robert

[130] Sowetan Reporters, What people died for 'still in evidence. S*owetan*.22 March 1999.
[131] Ibid.
[132] SABC News, *Historian Thando Sipuye on the Sharpeville Massacre*. 21 March 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RwoD8onv1zw. (Accessed on the 23.05.2022).
[133] K. Lanegran, South Africa's 1999 Election: Consolidating a Dominant Party System. *Africa Today*. Vol.48.No.2.(2001).p.81.
[134] R.P.Wessels, "The Cost of South Africa's 1999 National Elections - Too High a Price for Democracy?". Unpublished master's dissertation. Stellenbosch University.Stellenbosch.(2000).p.23.
[135] T. Hoeane, "Struggling to Represent the Left: The Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organization, and the Independent Democrats", In Piombo. J, & Nijzink.L, *Electoral Politics in South Africa. Assessing the First Democratic Decade.* Palgrave Macmillan. New York.(2005).p.197.
[136] T. Molefe, Sharpeville's history written in blood. *Sowetan*.07 May 1999.
[137] Daily News Correspondent, Human Rights Day low key. *The Daily News*.22 March 1995.

Sobukwe, a founding member of the PAC and the man who orchestrated the Anti-Pass campaign, which ended with the police killing of scores of people in Sharpeville, Vanderbijlpark, KwaLanga in the Eastern Cape, and other parts of the county. The PAC in the Western Cape observed this day by honouring Sobukwe's legacy, unveiling a commemorative plaque on Robben Island.[138] Sobukwe was jailed in the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre.. In 1963, after serving three years of his prison sentence, the apartheid parliament adopted and passed a provision in the General Law Amendment Act called the 'Sobukwe clause', which allowed the apartheid state to extend his incarceration at the end of each year without having to go to court thereby extending his sentence indefinitely.[139] He was kept in a house on Robben Island, where he lived by himself for six additional years until his term ended. Upon his release in 1969, he was banished to Kimberley for the last ten years of his life.[140]

In Sharpeville, remaining true to its tradition, the PAC's president, Clarence Makwethu, led his supporters on a grave cleaning ritual at the Sharpeville cemetery, followed by a procession to the Sharpeville police station. Here, its leadership inspected the police station through a walkabout and handed in a memorandum demanding the release and total liberation of Africans, which according to them, was what Robert Sobukwe symbolised in 1960 when he surrendered himself under the pass laws and hoisted the PAC flag.[141]

In other activities, its deputy president, Motsoko Pheko, embarked on a membership drive and addressed the congregation of the Sharpeville Catholic Church. Its secretary general, Maxwell Nemazivhanani, addressed pupils at the Lekwa Shandu Secondary School and, later in the afternoon, addressed students at the Vaal Triangle Technikon as part of the platform to call on the ANC government to release all of the PAC's African People Liberation Army (APLA) and the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) prisoners.[142]

In a rally held at the George Thabe stadium, Makwetu slammed the GNU for not meeting its promises, while appearing to praise the stand taken by Winnie Mandela, the Deputy Minister of

[138] City Press Reporters, Sobukwe to be honored. *The City Press*.19 March 1995.
[139] X. Mangcu, "Retracing Nelson Mandela through the lineage of Black Political Thought". *Transition*.No.112.(2013).p.103.
[140] G. Hayes, "On remembering Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe". *Transformation*: *Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*".Vol.106.(2021).p.69.
[141] T. Molefe, March 21 PAC services. *Sowetan*.20 March 1995.
[142] S. Johnson, A day to remember the innocent at Sharpeville. *The Weekend Star*. 19 March 1995.

Sports, Culture, Science, and Technology, in challenging the new government. Addressing several hundreds of people at the Sharpeville commemoration rally, Makwethu is reported to have said:

> [The] Government of National Unity was unable to meet its promises because minorities were dictating and holding majority parties to ransom. A year had barely passed since the country's first all-race election and members of the government drawn from the ranks of the oppressed had moved into big mansions in former so-called white suburbs. Robert Sobukwe had said the new South Africa should not have a lower Houghton for whites and a Soweto for Africans. Instead, there should be one Azania. It is with sadness that I see what is happening within our democratically elected government. Many promises had been made but little had been done to meet them. Before the elections, people had been promised jobs, free education, and free health care among others. Now the same people who made the promises were telling those who voted them into power to not have high expectations.[143]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the PAC welcomed the Government of National Unity's decision to declare 21 March a public holiday. However, in 1995, the PAC publicly announced its disappointment with the government for rebranding the day as Human Rights Day. In a contestation battle on the name change from Sharpeville Day to Human Rights Day and reflecting on this day being celebrated for the first time as Human Rights Day in 1995, Maxwell Nemadzivhanani joined the contestation debacle by stating that,

> The PAC is not antagonistic towards Human Rights Day although its feeling is that gross violation of human rights was committed on that day, this day should be for remembering those who died.[144]

Amin Luchaka, PAC Vaal regional executive member, also expressed the PAC's exasperation on the renaming of the day. Luchaka indicated that, over the past 35 years, 21 March had been an unofficial stay-way day for black South Africans, marking the observance of the massacre. This incident, which was globally condemned, began the process of South Africa's political and economic seclusion.[145] He further indicated that,

[143] Anon, Makwethu hit at government for promises. *The Citizen*. 22 March 1995.
[144] T. Mothibeli, A day to remember the innocents gunned down at Sharpeville. *WeekendStar*. 19 March 1995.
[145] A. Mapoma, PAC is angry. *Mail and Guardian*. 23 March 1995.

> Asking us to replace Sharpeville Day and June 16, 1976, will be asking the African masses to forget their history. It will be in the interest of our political opponents to rename these events because they were not the major role players. We will remember these two Africanist days that became the watershed for South Africa. It is these historical days that scared the regime out of its wits and started to kill apartheid.[146]

At another commemoration rally held in Mabopane, Ike Mafole, an executive committee member of the PAC's Mabopane branch, told the audience that the decision to rename the day Human Rights Day had watered down the event in the history of South Africa and that the change was a "historical distortion". Mafole further stated, "It was the Sharpeville Massacre that undermined the validity of nonviolence as a viable weapon of the struggle. Nonviolence was buried with the victims … the scars of the Massacre are still there."[147]

AZAPO, on the other hand, insisted on referring to this day as "Heroes Day", arguing that, during apartheid, people did not enjoy human rights. The people who put their lives down for liberty on this day committed a heroic act and should be remembered as such. Sabine Marschall argues that renaming Sharpeville Day as Human Rights Day remained a bone of debate for the PAC leadership as the self-declared guardians of the memory of Sharpeville for years to come.[148] Her assertion is prophetic as these contestations resurface annually during the anniversaries, as well as when this thesis was being written.

During the 36th anniversary of Sharpeville Day close to 1000 people attended the PAC rally at the Langa civic hall in Cape Town to listen to Philip Kgosana, a PAC stalwart at the PAC election campaign launch. As early as 20 March 1996, the PAC began a march from KwaLanga D flats to the graveyard and burial place of the three men who were shot and killed during the 1960 pass protests. At this election launch, the PAC said its campaign would focus on crime prevention and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), particularly the issue of obtaining more houses. During this commemoration rally, Philip Kgosana told his audience,

[146] Ibid.
[147] M. Kotlolo, PAC attacks the naming of holiday. *Sowetan*. 22 March 1995.
[148] S.Marshall, "Public holidays as lieux de mémoire: nation-building and the politics of public memory in South Africa". *Anthropology Southern Africa*. Vol.36.No.1-2.(2013).p.14.

> If the blood which was spilled is to have any meaning, the aspirations of the African people must be met. Two years have passed since the general elections, but the road to freedom is still long. We don't have homes, we live in squatter camps, we don't have land, our people cannot read or write, and we are starving … in the same way that the party had defeated the pass laws, we shall change the Western Cape. In the past two years, only 10000 new houses had been built in the country. There was no direction in the country's housing policy, and there would be more and more squatter camps every week.[149]

The year 1997 marked, according to PAC and AZAPO, a successful joint rally by both political parties. Both parties held what both considered a historic meeting in February where an agenda for co-operation and forging of a pact for elections was cautiously agreed upon. They also agreed to jointly commemorate days such as 21 March Sharpeville Day, 25 May Africa Liberation Day and the June 16 Soweto Student uprising.[150] They agreed to work together to improve the lives of the people – fighting crime and addressing problems of unemployment, homelessness, health and education[151] – and to jointly campaign for the release from prison of Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) and Apla fighters.[152] Both further agreed to use Sharpeville Day as a starting point of their collaboration and urged the public to observe this day in solemnity, dignity and prayer instead of spectacle.[153]

During this joint counter-commemoration rally, both Azapo's Mosibudi Mangena and Stanley Mogoba of the PAC, in their addresses to their supporters, rejected the name Human Rights Day and reiterated that nothing can satisfy the vast majority of South Africans other than renaming 21 March as Sharpeville Day. They further echoed their sentiments that both parties will continue commemorating 21 March as Sharpeville Day. As demonstrated in previous chapters, Black Consciousness affiliates refer to 21 March as Heroes Day or the day of martyrs, a tradition that has continued to this decade. On the other hand, the PAC calls it Sharpeville Day. For the PAC, 21 March has been and continues to be a day of rededication to the principle of unity, self-determination, economic empowerment and restitution of land, which are pillars on which the concept of liberation rests.[154] Joe Mdhlela, a *Sowetan* newspaper journalist, describes AZAPO and PAC sentiments as being caught up in liberation politics mode and as a matter of ideological

[149] D. Cavernelis, Sharpeville recalled at PAC election launch. *The Argus*. 22 March 1996.
[150] J.Mdhlela, PAC - Azapo joint, rally a sign of unity. *Sowetan*.25 March 1997.
[151] J.Malala, The Fate of Azapo delegates to be decided soon. *The Star*.24 February 1997.
[152] SAPA, Sharpeville Day renaming is disputed. *The Citizen*.20 February 1997.
[153] Ibid.
[154] J.Mdhlela, A matter of ideology.*Sowetan*.21 March 1997.

differences and political contestation.[155] Before holding the commemorative rally, both parties, joined by the Sharpeville Christian Association and the local Khulumani members, performed wreath-laying memorialisation at the graveyard, followed by another wreath-laying in the morning before proceeding to the 'killing field' in front of the Sharpeville police station.[156]

The year 1998 marked the 38th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre and the 20th anniversary of the death of the founding father of the PAC, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. During that year, the internal squabbles that deeply consumed the PAC in exile and beyond which, according to Kwandiwe Kondlo, were a manifestation of the crisis of leadership during the exile period (1960 to 1990) and rendered the PAC continuously in a state of crisis,[157] resurfaced. Kondlo argues that during this period, the PAC was characterised by internal strife caused by leadership conflicts, lack of accountability, ideological shifts and mutual mistrust.[158]

During this year, rival factions of the PAC held two separate commemorative rallies in KwaLanga, Cape Town, to observe the 1960 Sharpeville-Langa Massacre as it is the tradition of the PAC to include KwaLanga as three peaceful protesters were also killed there on 21 March 1960. A handful of PAC president Stanley Mogoba's supporters attended a commemorative meeting in a Methodist church, while another group supporting the ousted president, Clarence Makwethu, held its commemoration event outside the KwaLanga police station.[159] This group, which included a mini brass band and a platoon of kids robed in green paramilitary uniforms, as well as other followers wearing PAC t-shirts and carrying banners, sang and danced while a memorandum directed to the ANC government demanding the release of political prisoners, particularly the APLA forces, was handed over.[160]

According to Lephophotho Mashike, between 1994 and 2004, the PAC had been fighting for the release of 408 former APLA combatants from prison. These soldiers were part of political prisoners who had their application for amnesty rejected by the TRC Amnesty Committee, which stated that

[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.
[157] K.K.M. Kondlo, "In the twilight of the Azanian revolution". leadership diversity and its impact on the PAC during the exile period (1962-1990)". *Journal for Contemporary History*. Vol.30.No.1.(2005).p.25.
[158] K.K.M. Kondlo, "In the twilight of the Azanian revolution". leadership diversity and its impact on the PAC during the exile period (1962-1990). In Khumalo. T.S, "From Upoqo to Apla: the Pan Africanist Congress and its armed struggle". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Pretoria.Pretoria.(2020).p.61.
[159] SAPA, Rival-PAC groups gather in Langa. *The Citizen*. 23 March 1998.
[160] Ibid.

they had failed to fully disclose their military activities during the struggle days.[161] It should be noted that by 2015, although outside the scope of this thesis, more than 100 APLA soldiers were still incarcerated. During this year, the PAC submitted a memorandum to the African Union (AU) as part of its many campaigns to secure the release of its combatants.

Kate Savage argues that the release of political prisoners was highly politicised in South Africa, and from 1989, the ANC's prerequisite for negotiation with the South African government was the unconditional release of political prisoners. According to Kenneth Mokgatlhe, the PAC decided to suspend its armed struggle officially in 1993 as it was reluctant to enter into a new controversial deal with the apartheid government but carried on with the armed struggle,[162] arguing that only unrelenting guerrilla warfare would end white rule.[163]

Tshepo Lephakga contends that the APLA-Poqo attacks during the 1990s increased following the declaration of 1993 as "The Year of the Great Storm" by APLA's chief commander, Sabelo Phama. According to Lephakga, these attacks targeted white farmers with the aim, among other things, of seizing weapons, as well as random attacks at public places frequented by white civilians.[164] To many of the PAC soldiers, the TRC refused to grant them amnesty. The reasons provided by the TRC were that the offence for which amnesty was sought did not relate to an act or acts associated with a political objective as required by the Commission's Act, and some applicants refused to disclose specific acts or omissions for which amnesty was sought. The PAC adopted the stance that full disclosure would not be made before the TRC.[165]

On 10 March 1998, a few days before the Sharpeville-Langa commemorations, the PAC invited liberation movement members to march on Nelson Mandela in Pretoria to demand the immediate release of political prisoners, regardless of their political affiliation. With the unbanning of former liberation movements in the 1990s, Kenneth Mokgatlhe argues, the PAC officially suspended its

[161] L. Mashike, "Blacks can Win Everything, but the Army: The transformation of the South African military between 1994 and 2004". *Journal of Southern African Studies*.Vol.33.No.3.(2007).p.610. Also see, T.Lephakga, "Apla and the Amnesty Committee of the TRC? An Ethical Analysis of the Amnesty Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa". *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*.Vol.44.No.1.(2018).p.1-19.

[162] K.Mokgatlhe, More than one hundred APLA soldiers still in jail – PAC. *Politicsweb*. 29 April 2015.

[163] C.S. Wren, Johannesburg Journal; Not Just Anti-Apartheid, but 'No White Settlers'. *The New York Times*. 27 December 1989.

[164] T. Lephakga, "Apla, and the Amnesty Committee of the TRC? An Ethical Analysis of the Amnesty Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa". *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*.Vol.44.No.1.(2018).p.9.

[165] L. Coleridge, "The Amnesty Process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) with Specific Reference to Female Amnesty Applicants". *South African Journal of Psychology*. Vol.30.No.1.(2000).p.57.

armed struggle in 1993. In Sharpeville, the commemoration event was held in an open veld at the same place where the Massacre took place. It was preceded by an all-night vigil memorialisation process at Sharpeville's Phelindaba cemetery. In his address to PAC followers, Motsoko Pheko, the then deputy president, told his audience that 21 March would forever be mourned. He berated other parties for celebrating the massacre of Sharpeville residents on that day. Themba Molefe, a *Sowetan* newspaper journalist, observed during this commemoration event that he [Pheko] could hardly be heard by his followers.[166] According to Temba Molefe, a Sowetan newpapaer journalist, Pheko could not be heard as barely kilometre away the ANC held its Human Rights Day celebrations. The sound of poweful sound of Blondi Makahene who which socked into the ANC supporters resonated throughout the area.[167]

6.5 OTHER PARTIES AND OBSERVANCE OF THE SHARPEVILLE MEMORY

In 1997, Bantu Holomisa left the ANC-led official Human Rights Celebrations, the PAC, and Azapo's Sharpeville and Heroes Day counter-commemorations green with envy when he pulled in 15 000 people at his Sharpeville Day counter-commemoration rally at Driehoek Stadium in Germiston. Holomisa was expelled from the ANC in 1997 after his revelations at the TRC hearings.[168] The ANC leadership felt that he brought the party into disrepute and endangered party unity when he revealed that Stella Sigcau had accepted an R50 000 payment from former Transkei ruler Chief George Matanzima,[169] that Nelson Mandela had been given an estimated R500 000 by casino magnate before the 1994 elections,[170] and other issues about the Transkei homeland, and his refusal to retract his testimony.[171] His dismissal from the ANC thus provided a fertile ground for the birth of the United Democratic Movement (UDM), the second breakaway party from the ANC after the PAC in 1959.[172] At the time of his expulsion from the ANC, Holomisa was the second

[166] T. Molefe, PAC, ANC argues over Sharpeville.*Sowetan*. 23 March 1998.
[167] Ibid.
[168] M.Spocter, & R.Donaldson, *Mthatha (Umtata): From Tribal Buffer to Homeland Capital, to Regional Integrator*. In Lemon. A, Donaldson.R, & Visser.G, *South African Urban Change Three Decades After Apartheid Homes Still Apart?* Springer Nature. London.(2021).p.186.
[169] M. Musitha, "Investigating how Cyril Ramaphosa turned the fortunes of the African National Congress in the 2019 national elections: individualism versus collectivism". *Journal of Public Administration and Development Alternatives.*Vol.4 No.11.(2019).p.4.
[170] N.Kanhema, Africa's "Journalist of the Year" Suffers a South African Nightmare. *Press/Politics*.Vol.2.No.4.(1998).p.128.
[171] B.Holomisa, "American leadership in global crises: a South African perspective". *International Journal on World Peace*.Vol.24.No.3.(2007).p.83.
[172] K.B. Shai, T.S. Nyawasha, & E.A. Ndaguba, "[De] constructing South Africa's Jacob Zuma led ANC: An Afrocentric perspective". *Journal of Public Affairs*.Vol.18.(2018).p.6.

most popular leader within the ANC and possibly throughout the country.[173] In the Human Rights Day celebrations in KwaLanga, Steve Tshwete used the day to scornfully attack Bantu Holomisa for accusing the ANC MPs against the ANC of neglecting their mandate by stating that "Holomisa had enjoyed being treated as a celebrity by the ANC while this lasted. But now that he was out of the ANC, he was bitter."[174]

On the other hand, Holomisa used the day as a platform and springboard to launch the UDM. He further used the occasion to criticise border controls. Drawing from the *Sowetan* veteran journalist Mathata Tsedu, Martin Murray argues that post-1994 South Africa witnessed black foreigners streaming into this country for whatever reason. What followed was a hysteria that has seen the media playing up to the emotions, with these people being freely referred to as aliens.[175]

He further argues that during this period, South Africa has been assailed by tongue-tied fears and anxieties about an alleged alien invasion of illegal and unwanted immigrants.[176] Playing into the gallery of immigrants and turning the 21 March Sharpeville commemoration rally into an epicentre of anti-immigrant xenophobia, Holomisa said, "Illegal aliens were depriving South Africans of jobs and affecting economic development generally." He also spoke out against crime, saying both investment and job creation were threatened by the murder and robbery of businessmen, especially of foreign businessmen.[177]

It can, therefore, be argued, drawing from Martin Murray, that Holomisa ignored the standing ANC government policy, which granted amnesty to many illegal immigrants wishing to remain in the country, promised to relax the strict and racially biased immigration policies that had prevailed under apartheid and vowed to protect the rights of immigrants who had sought refuge, legally or illegally, in South Africa.[178]

During the 1998 anniversary commemorations, the BCM family of organisations held several rallies across the country. At one gathering, AZAPO held a candle vigil night memorialisation in

[173] M.Ndletyana, "The United Democratic Movement: a critical assessment". *Politikon.* Vol.26.No.2.(1999).p.180.
[174] P. Makharamedzha, Holomisa centre of attraction in Jozi. *City Press.*23 March 1997.
[175] M.J. Murray, "Alien Strangers in our Midst: The Dreaded Foreign Invasion and Fortress South Africa". *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue canadienne des études africaines*.Vol.37.No.2-3.(2003).p.442.
[176] Ibid.p.443.
[177] P. Makharamedzha, Holomisa center of attraction in Jozi. *City Press.* 23 March 1997.
[178] M.J. Murray, Alien Strangers in our Midst: The Dreaded Foreign Invasion and "Fortress South Africa". *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue canadienne des études africaines.* Vol.37.No.2-3.(2003).p.444.

remembrance of the slain BCM leader Onkgopotse Abram Tiro in Zeerust.[179] According to Mojuta Motlhamme, Onkgopotse Tiro died after a parcel bomb blast in Botswana, where he was in exile in 1974, after receiving a letter from the International Exchange University Fund that was intercepted by apartheid police intelligence and used to assassinate him.[180]

During the 1998 commemoration of 21 March, the state awarded R26 500.00 plus costs to AZAPO deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe in an out-of-court settlement for a police assault on 23 March 1986, 12 years prior, when Nefolovhodwe and the other three top AZAPO members were beaten and unlawfully detained following their address of the 21 March Sharpeville [Heroes Day] commemoration rally in Namakgale, an area located a few kilometres outside Phalaborwa (currently Mopani District Municipality in the Limpopo province of South Africa).[181]

On 27 April 1999, the day that marked Freedom Day in South Africa, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, the leader of the New National Party (NNP) went to Sharpeville accompanied by his party supporters and Jacob Mahlomola Tsolo, a PAC Sharpeville branch organiser and brother to Nyakane Tsolo who led the protest in 1960, as a guest of honour.[182] During this visit, Van Schalkwyk performed a symbolic memorialisation ritual of wreath-laying at the Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct's garden of remembrance, thereby continuing an exercise that can be considered as a counter-commemoration as the annual official memorialisation and commemoration had been concluded a month earlier on 21 March.

Ivor Powell describes the occasion as being mistaken for a scene from a different era, such as 1985, 1989 and even 1960. He observed that less than 100 people witnessed this occasion, a third of them vaguely embarrassed whites and a seemingly rent-a-toyi-toyi crowd of youths in new NNP sun visors and t-shirts.[183] Powell further observed the presence of a contingent of police officers, not to prevent things from getting out of hand, but to offer psychological support and to make whites feel safe in the unfamiliar terrain the political landscape of the new South Africa had led them into. In a

[179] For more on Onkgopotse Abram Tiro, see G.Tiro, Parcel Of Death - The Biography Of Onkgopotse Abram Tiro. Picador Africa. Johannesburg (2019). & M. Motlhamme, "A Social Biography of Onkgopotse Abram Tiro: The Influence of Dinokana in his Life 1945-1973".Unpublished honours dissertation. University of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(2018).

[180] M. Motlhamme, "A Social Biography of Onkgopotse Abram Tiro: The Influence of Dinokana in his Life 1945-1973". Unpublished honours dissertation.University of the Witwatersrand.Johannesburg.(2018).p.67.

[181] E.Maluleke, Azapo man wins damages for Lebowa police assault. *City Press*.11 October 1998.

[182] Anon, One man's flowers. *Eastern Province Herald*.30 April 1999.

[183] I. Powell, Selling whites a dubious notion. *Mail & Guardian*.20 April 1999.

speech to his audience, Van Schalkwyk said, “It is only when white South Africans understand the struggle of black South Africans to be free that they will really be free.”[184]

Van Schalkwyk further used the occasion to appeal to his audience and South Africans in general to use the memory of what happened in Sharpeville to foster reconciliation. Following this memorialisation process in Sharpeville, Van Schalkwyk performed another symbolic wreath-laying memorialisation ritual at the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging Monument in Vereeniging, which was signed at the end of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902.[185] Here, speaking in his mother tongue, he reminded his supporters, *“Ons het hard vir ons vryheid geveg*”, which translates as “We fought hard for our freedom.”[186]

In 1999, the BCM family of organisations in the form of the Socialist Party of Azania (SOPA) held a commemoration service at Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Rockville, Soweto. Regina Mundi was where political meetings were held and political activists took refuge from the police for different reasons during the height of the oppressive apartheid regime.[187] Ali Khangela Hlongwane argues that it is a site that is recorded in the political consciousness of many South Africans as a venue for political meetings, rallies, funerals and subsequent commemorations of the dead.[188]

In his address to the audience, Azapo’s Lybon Mabasa slammed the ANC government for celebrating the Sharpeville Massacre by dancing and singing, claiming that their efforts undermined the efforts and significance of the day to the masses. He further stated that the significance of March 21 was to commemorate the fallen heroes of the liberation struggle, not only from the day in question but also since 1652.

He warned that if the current trend of celebrating the day with singing and dancing continues, it will be difficult for future generations to understand what the liberation struggle was about. “Our people need time to reflect on the pain that was inflicted on them. The Truth and Reconciliation

[184] Ibid.
[185] T. Molefe, Sharpeville’s history written in blood.*Sowetan*.07 May 1999.
[186] Ibid.
[187] W.Oliver, & E. Oliver, Regina Mundi: Serving the liberation movement in South Africa.*HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*. Vol.72.No.1.(2016).p.7.
[188] A.K.Hlongwane, “The Historical Development of the Commemoration of the June 16, 1976, Soweto Students’ Uprisings: A study of re-representation, commemoration, and collective memory”. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(2015).p.124. also see SADET, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa. Soweto Uprising: New perspectives, commemorations and Memorialisation*. Unisa Press.Vol.7.(2017).p.203-206.

Commission has failed to heal them. Allow our people time to reflect on the past and say never again will such a deed happen."[189] Earlier during the deliberations, Ashraf Jooma stated that AIDS was a laboratory-developed disease brought to Africa to deplete the continent's population in furtherance of neo-colonialism.[190]

6.6 THE KHULUMANI SUPPORT GROUP AND THE SHARPEVILLE MEMORY

The Khulumani Support group began its activities as an initiative of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), a victim advocacy non-government organisation (NGO) that conducted critical, evaluative studies of the TRC and set up to provide counseling for people who were planning or had already given testimony to the TRC. Therefore, it generally tried to encourage people to go to the TRC despite their resistance.[191]

The Khulumani Support Group (Khulumani hereafter), meaning "speak out" in Zulu, was formed in 1995 at the same time as the TRC. It started in Cape Town as a trauma centre, where victims could share their experiences in small groups to ensure that their re-empowerment rested in their own hands and that victims of human rights abuses and their families were effectively represented in the TRC process by testifying survivors. According to the Archival Platform, Khulumani became a globally recognised movement spearheading healing and memory, the struggle for reparations and active citizenship in countries transitioning out of conflict.[192]

According to Nandi Makubalo, Khulumani is the largest social movement with a membership of over 100 000 people who are apartheid-era victims and their family members,[193] which is overwhelmingly African, female and poor, and well over double the number who made victim statements to the TRC.[194] It is also the only national membership organisation of identified victims and survivors of apartheid human rights violations in South Africa.[195] According to Wiseman

[189] T. Molefe, Sharpeville's history written in blood.Sowetan.07 May1999.
[190] Sowetan Reporters, What people died for 'still in evidence.*Sowetan*.22 March 1999.
[191] S.Marlin-Curiel, "The Long Road to Healing: From the TRC to TFD". *International Federation for Theatre Research.* Vol.27.No.3.(2002).p.281.
[192] Archival platform, "*A ground of struggle: four decades of archival activism in South Africa".* The Archival Platform.Cape Town.(2018).p.41.
[193] N. Makubalo, "A depiction of post-apartheid South Africa through the "eyes" of the Khulumani Support Group (KSG)". Unpublished master's dissertation. Ghent university.Ghent.(2021).p.4.
[194] P.Gready, *The Era of Transitional Justice: The Aftermath of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and beyond*. Routledge.Oxon.(2011).p.172.
[195] N.Bohler-Muller, "Reparations for Apartheid-Era Human Rights abuses: The ongoing struggle of Khulumani Support Group". *Speculum Juris*.Vol.1.(2013).p.5.

Chirwa, this organisation is a practical example of how collective memory is created, documented and preserved. Their activities include regular meetings to discuss their traumatic experiences. They also map out the strategies to follow in engaging the government in detailed consultations on issues of justice, reparation and physical protection, and the emotive support provided by the members of these groups to each other serves as psychological therapy in the national reconciliation process.[196]

Post-TRC, Khulumani has undertaken a new struggle for victims' full realisation of the "right to reparations" due to the government's half-heartedness in addressing the issues of reparations for the victims of gross human rights abuses. According to Khulumani, it took persistent advocacy on the part of the victims before the extremely reduced final compensation payments were handed to a limited number of some 17 000 individual victims.[197] Mia Swart argues that Khulumani, through its litigation and structural economic change, not only complements the work of the TRC concerning reparations but it picks up where the TRC left off by attempting to win substantial benefits for the victims of the apartheid government.[198] Locally, such as in the case of Sharpeville, Khulumani continues to play a significant role, mainly by focusing on what Villa-Vicencio and Du Toit call "unfinished business" of the TRC,[199] which includes the provision of a compassionate situation in which survivors can voice and recite their stories in a supportive environment within which they come to terms with their trauma, with the hope of being rehabilitated.[200]

An energetic Sharpeville branch of Khulumani has existed since 1995. It has three hundred Sharpeville residents on its database, a membership which, according to Tom Lodge, includes many of the survivors of the 1960 massacre but also people affected by more recent abuses, up to and including the 1992 massacre in nearby Boipatong.[201] Meeting fortnightly in the Catholic Church Hall at its inception within Sharpeville, Khulumani is currently holding the same meeting at the old police station where the shooting on that fateful day happened. It has an office and workshop-built

[196] W.Chirwa, "Collective Memory and the Process of Reconciliation and Reconstruction". *Development in Practice.*Vol.7.No.4.(1997).p.481.
[197] C.C. Byrne, *All that was lost, apartheid violence: thirty TRC participants speak*. Shereno Printers. Benoni.(2010).p.iv.
[198] M.Swart, "The Khulumani Litigation: Complementing the Work of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *Tilburg Law Review*.Vol.16.(2011).p.32.
[199] C. Villa-Vicencio, & F. du Toit, *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Ten years*. David Philip. Claremont.(2006).p.x.
[200] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville, and memory. Violence, memory, and commemoration: perspectives from Southern, East and Central Africa*. Birbeck College. 9th December 2001.(2001).p.20.
[201] Ibid.p.25.

structure where the group members produce and sell a range of well-crafted articles and murals mainly to local people as part of their memorialisation programme.[202]

Anna Fisk argues that knitting and crochet are part of the mourning process and commemoration, and the desire to weave demonstrates how craft is used to ritualise connection with the sacred, including the relationships between the self, place and the past. She further contends that the practice of craft making as material memorialising, demonstrates reactions to modernity that are in themselves distinctly modern.[203]

Recently, this memorialisation process is not only rooted in the Khulumani members in Sharpeville but is also connected with the very building (the old police station) in which the members met to do crafts together. Other activities include music, drama, sewing, beadwork, traditional arts and crafts performances, and comics to encourage social interaction and political conscientising of the young and old alike.[204]

Drawing from Ereshnee Naidu, it is evident that Khulumani's healing projects in Sharpeville memorialisation take various cost-effective forms that encourage ongoing interaction between survivors, thereby ensuring that memorialisation is a living process that engages the public dynamically, continually evolving to meet the changing needs of society.[205] One of their programmes is the preservation of the graves of the 69 victims of the shooting of 21 March 1960. According to its national director, Marjorie Jobson, the general feeling of the Sharpeville community is that Khulumani should take responsibility for maintaining these graves.[206]

These Khulumani members are also an integral part of both official and counter-commemorations. They are part of different political groups that, during this day, mobilise and contest commemorations to promote their particular versions of collective memory, thus advancing their

[202] M. Jobson, The Sharpeville commemoration: a view and concerns from Khulumani Sharpeville committee. Dr. Ben Khumalo-Seegelken. https://www.benkhumalo-seegelken.de/. (Accessed on the 28.04.2022).
[203] A.Fisk,"Stitch for Stitch, You Are Remembering": Knitting and Crochet as Material Memorialization". *Material Religion*.Vol.15.No.5.(2019).p.555-567.
[204] J.Brankovic, *People's Power" in the Age of Human Rights: Victims' Contributions to Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa.* In Ramírez-Barat. & Martina Schulze. M, *Transitional Justice and Education: Engaging Young People in Peacebuilding and Reconciliation.* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Göttingen.(2018).p.202.
[205] E.Naidu, *From memory to action. A Toolkit for memorialisation in post-conflict societies*. International Coalition of Sites of Conscience. New York.(2014).p.3.
[206] M. Jobson, The Sharpeville commemoration: a view and concerns from Khulumani Sharpeville committee. Dr. Ben Khumalo-Seegelken. https://www.benkhumalo-seegelken.de/. (Accessed 28 April 2022).

political interests and symbolic legitimacy.[207] They are invited as guests on the 21 March to be honoured, share their stories, and, at times, receive gifts from political parties. Jay Winter noted that anniversary commemorations can be considered the natural continuation of the mourning process by the survivors in an attempt to rebalance the socio-cultural harmony that has been thrown off balance.[208] Commemorative efforts by different political parties, regardless of their form, at some level honour the dead and, by doing so, provide comfort to the survivors.[209]

6.7 TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION AND THE SHARPEVILLE MEMORY

Truth commissions are one of several approaches to truth recovery, commemoration and healing.[210] Through truth commissions, victims and communities are publicly acknowledged to ensure that public commemoration of the histories and legacies of atrocities remains a vital component of the reconciliation processes. Drawing from Charles Taylor's paper presented at the 2002 Global Imaginaries symposium entitled "Justice, Memory, and Inclusion", Deborah Posel argues that truth commissions can be regarded as politics of regret that take the form of negative commemoration as they are associated with a valorisation of previously marginal voices, creating moments for their stories to be told and heard.

She further contends that the politics of negative commemoration is inseparable from the politics of victimhood and the 'victim consciousness' and truth commissions are occasions wherein negative commemoration can route its discourses and ethical imperatives into the politics of new democracies seeking to come to terms with recent histories of intensely violent and divisive conflict.[211]

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[207] H. Saito, *From Collective Memory to Commemoration. In Handbook of Cultural Sociology*. Routledge.London.(2010).p.633.

[208] J. Winter, Sites of Memory, *Sites of Mourning : The Great War in European Cultural History.* Cambridge University Press. New York.(1995).p.29.

[209] M.L.Bineham, *Special Operations Commemoration: Monuments, Memory & Memorialization practices of Elite Organizations*. United States Army War College.(2013).p.3.

[210] Sinn Féin, *Truth - A Sinn Féin Discussion Document*.(2003).p.1.

[211] D.Posel, "History as Confession: The Case of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *Public Culture*. Vol.20.No.1.(2008).p.123.

Furthermore, drawing from Aleta Norval, South Africa's TRC can be regarded as an important memory site that demands engagement, not inactivity and change, and not commemorating the past with a fixed identity.[212] Truth commissions prefer to use the term 'victim' instead of survivors, acknowledging that victims are perceived as acted upon rather than acting, suffering rather than surviving. They justify using the term victim by fluctuating the importance onto the perpetrators when dealing with gross human rights violations committed by perpetrators; the person against whom that violation is committed can only be described as a victim, regardless of whether he or she emerged as a survivor.[213]

The TRC was established by South Africa's post-apartheid parliament in 1995 through the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995. This not only marked a new era in post-1994 South African history but also led to universal interest with regard to peaceable conflict resolution and restorative justice. Vasu Reddy argues that the TRC phenomenon was unprecedented in South African history, given the country's turbulent history.[214]

Heidi Peta Grunebaum contends that the TRC has become one of the latest historically though dehistoricising institutional export "models" in a recent genealogy of such commissions for staging national ritual performances of acknowledgement of mass brutality and administrative violence.[215] Truth commissions are 'official' as they are established by new governments that want to distinguish themselves from the past and to show that they have state power behind them.[216]

Following its success and weaknesses, which, according to Matthew Burnett-Stuart, was indeed born with good intentions, but its mandate was narrowed to such an extent that its legacy was tainted with obvious limitations.[217] For example, most apartheid victims were not involved in the TRC process.[218] The perpetrators of gross human rights violations literally and metaphorically got

[212] A.J.Norval, "Memory, identity and the (Im)possibility of Reconciliation: The work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa". *Constellations*.Vol.5.No.2.(1988).p.260

[213] E.Coundouriotis, *Narrating Human Rights in Africa*. Routledge. New York. (2021).p.17.

[214] V.Reddy, "Truth, and Reconciliation Commission". *South African Human Rights Yearbook*. Vol.8.No.1.(1997).p.268.

[215] H.Grunebaum, *Memorializing the past everyday life in South Africa after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.* Transaction Publishers.New Brunswick.New Jersey.(2011).p.20.

[216] L.Bickford, "Unofficial Truth Projects". *Human Rights Quarterly*. Vol.29.No.4.(2007).p.1001.

[217] M.Burnett-Stuart, *A well-intentioned failure: South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*.p.1. https://www.academia.edu/6233182/A_well_intentioned_failure_South_Africa_s_Truth_and_Reconciliation_Commission. (Accessed on the 26.04.2022).

[218] R.Kesselring, *Bodies of Truth Law, Memory, and Emancipation in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Stanford University Press. Redwood City.(2017).p.1.

away with murder. Bryan Mark Urbsaitis argues that many of the perpetrators of apartheid's worst abuses were let off the proverbial hook of justice through the TRC's amnesty process.[219] In the case of the Sharpeville Massacre, the perpetrators have not been prosecuted for this crime.[220] The TRC failed because it lacked foresight. During its process and in its report, it failed to address the issue of reparations, the suing of perpetrators, the implementation of prevention measures for future abuses and the cultivation of a human rights culture, and the TRC process left it to the ANC-led government to deal with all these issues.[221]

The model and expertise of the TRC were, however, according to Annelies Verdoolaege, adopted and used in transitional justice processes in various countries such as Rwanda, Burundi, Lebanon, Northern Ireland, Morocco, Kosovo, Peru and the Balkans.[222] This commission was based on the concept of 'truth-telling' whereby the causes and the consequences of gross human rights violations were supposed to be disclosed through open public hearings. Khalil Gibran Muhammad argues that historical reckoning and truth-telling are new traditions of memorialisation that acknowledge past atrocities and are critical in moving toward restorative and reparative change.[223]

Public hearings aimed to create awareness around apartheid atrocities, averting further denial and silence. It was also an instrument to allow all South Africans to begin to buy into the collective narrative emerging from a scripted process of confession and testimony.[224] Its specific aim was also to establish what had been destroyed by the state to cover up violations of human rights or acts associated with a political objective.[225] According to Verne Harries, in July 1993, as the country edged, albeit inexorably, toward democracy, all government departments were instructed by the

[219] B.M.Urbsaitis, *Wounded healers & Reconciliation fatigue. The search for Social Justice & and sustainable development in South Africa*. VDM Verlag. Dr. Müller Aktiengesellschft & Co.KG. Saarbrücken.(2009).p.70.

[220] Editorial, Marikana – a massive failure of justice.*News24.*13 August 2017. https://www.news24.com/News24/editorial-marikana-a-massive-failure-of-justice-20170813-2. (Accessed on the 26.04. 2022).

[221] L.Mc Leod, "Reconciliation through Restorative Justice: Analysing South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Process". George Mason University. Virginia, (2015.). https://www.beyondintractability.org/library/reconciliation-through-restorative-justice-analyzing-south-africas-truth-and-reconciliation. (Accessed on the 26.04.2022).

[222] A.Verdoolaege, "The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Multicultural Discourse". *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*.Vol3.No.3.(2008).p.163.

[223] K.G.Muhammad, *Acknowledging and Reckoning with History*. Institutional Antiracism and Accountability Project. 16 June 2022. https://ash.harvard.edu/past-can%E2%80%99t-be-changed-change-starts-history. (Accessed on the 27.04.2022).

[224] E.Naidu-Silverman, "Mayibuye! Let Us Reclaim! Assessing the Role of Memorialization in Post-Conflict Rebuilding". Unpublished doctoral thesis. The City University of New York. New York. (2014).p.70.

[225] V. Harris, "They should have destroyed more: The Destruction of Public Records by the South African State in the Final Years of Apartheid, 1990-1994". *Transformation*.Vol.42.(2000).p.1.

security secretariat to destroy all classified records received by them from other sources except unaudited financial records.[226]

Unlike the Wessels Commission, which was established to avoid the profound disruption to apartheid that would have occurred were foreign investors to become alarmed by the phantom of political volatility and to panic and withdraw investment,[227] the TRC commissioners were given the legal authority to promote specific goals. These included, firstly, the establishment of the truth in relation to past events, as well as the motives for and circumstances in which gross violations of human rights have occurred, and making the findings known to prevent the repetition of such acts.

Secondly, the commissioners were mandated to pursue national unity, peace and reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society. Thirdly, their brief was to establish the need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for ubuntu (African humanism) but not for victimisation, and fourthly, to grant amnesty in respect of acts, omissions and offences associated with political objectives committed in the course of the conflicts of the past between July 1995 and January 1997.[228]

The chairman of the TRC, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, is regarded as one of the most renowned clerics in the world, who has played a leading role in the struggle against apartheid and in helping to oversee its demise, as well as in helping his country come to terms with apartheid's legacy through this Commission.[229] According to Tutu, the TRC aimed to provide a full picture of gross human rights violations in the mandated thirty-four years spanning 1960 to 1994, that is, from the Sharpeville Massacre (two weeks after its occurrence, Paul Sauer noted, "The old book of South Africa was closed at Sharpeville"[230]), to Nelson Mandela's inauguration.[231] Unlike the one-man Wessels commission, the TRC consisted of fifteen commissioners.

[226] G.Dominy, *A long walk to justice. Archives and the truth and reconciliation process in South Africa*. In Boel. J, Canavaggio. P, &. Quintana. A.G, *Archives and Human Rights.* Routledge. London. (2021).p.117.

[227] A.Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.* University of Michigan Press.Ann Arbor.(2013).p.179.

[228] E.N.Isaac, "A critical-theoretic study of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission: with reference to the work of Jurgen Habermas*"*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Leeds.Leeds.(2006).p.22-23.

[229] B.de Klerk, "Nelson Mandela, and Desmond Tutu as living icons of reconciliation". *Yearbook for Ritual and Liturgical Studies*. Vol.19.(2003).p.53.

[230] C. M. Cole, *Performing South Africa's Truth Commission: Stages of Transition*. Indian University Press.Bloomington.(2010).p.33.

[231] D.Tutu, *No future without forgiveness.*(1999). In B.J.Botha, No future without forgiveness. Book Review. *The Month*.(2001).p.43.

On 5 August 1996, the survivors of the Sharpeville Massacre[232] were the focus of TRC hearings held in Sebokeng College of Education, currently Sedibeng District Municipality.[233] The TRC's Human Rights Violations Committee (HRVC) public hearings focusing on the Sharpeville Massacre were staged as one-time ritual performance events and relied upon engagement with an audience and representations of the mass killing by the police in the form of first-person testimony.[234] The opening and closing statements by commissioners, according to Courtney Cole, highlighted the role of the TRC's public hearings as a way to commemorate mass violence in post-conflict contexts, particularly through a ritual performance of first-person testimony before an audience.[235] It can also be argued that the TRC hearings were a genre of public memory as they communicated public memory, which refers to deliberate attempts to remember and commemorate a person, event or aspect of history using symbolic or material objects to create a shared past that defines a population or society in the present. Cole further argues that public hearings are a good example of public memory engaged in the increasingly rapid commemoration of the past.[236]

Unfortunately, the work of the TRC was overshadowed by a raging violent continuation of conflicts between different militarised factions that were still in progress when it began its investigation in Sharpeville. During this period, particularly since 1994, Sharpeville was a symbol of a traumatised township out of step with the new political order. The township was characterised by few overarching mediation structures and an extreme territorialisation of power between armed groups calling themselves Self-Defense Units (SDUs).

Sharpeville was a 'no-go area' where not even the ANC had complete control. The only certainty in places like Sharpeville was the language of vengeance and the disposition of armed factions to pursue violent revenge at any opportunity.[237] Prior to the hearing, the statements from forty-six

[232] For more on the Human Rights Violation Hearings focusing on the events surrounding the Sharpeville Massacre held in Sebokeng on 05 August 1996. https://sabctrc.saha.org.za/documents/hrvtrans/sebokeng/55888.htm. (Accessed on the 28.04.2022).
[233] South African Press Association, *TRC focus on victims of Sharpeville Massacre*. 5 August 1996. https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/1996/9608/s960805a.htm. (Accessed on the 28.04.2022).
[234] C.E.Cole, Commemorating Mass Violence: Truth Commission Hearings as a Genre of Public Memory. *Southern Communication Journal*. Vol.83.No.3.(2018).p.151-152.
[235] Ibid.p.149.
[236] Ibid.p.149.
[237] R.A. Wilson, *The politics of truth and reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.(2001).p.181.

witnesses from Sharpeville present during the 1960 police shooting – among them those who survived bullet wounds, detention, prison sentences and exile – had already been taken.[238]

The collection of stories by TRC investigators using oral history interviews was, therefore, undoubtedly a memorialisation ingenuity that provided prospects for survivors to be recognised and to become a locus for mourning and healing, representing a form of justice, contributing towards the construction of national identity and social reconstruction.[239] Scholars such as Simon Green, Katherine Kondor and Alicia Kidd, regard biographical interviews as a style of storytelling whereby victim identities are constructed by developing personal and mediatised narratives about suffering and resilience. In this sense, storytelling can also be understood as a type of memorialisation for the victims of crime and large-scale human rights violations.[240]

During this process, the Khulumani Support Group (discussed above) provided psychological and everyday support to its members, the "victims of human rights violations" under the Promotion of Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995. In Sharpeville, similar to everywhere else, Khulumani assisted the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre, as well as those who suffered in the political violence of the 1980s to 1990s, by drafting statements, presenting oral testimonies at public hearings, attending amnesty hearings for perpetrators named in the killing of their relatives and offering continuous trauma counselling. During these hearings, the commission heard of Sharpeville residents who were victims of human rights violations during the 1960 massacre. The compelling drama of the hearing reveals the extent to which the TRC's truth-telling process was always a performance.

Courtney Cole emphasises that truth commission public hearings merit consideration as a genre of public memorialising of mass violence in post-conflict countries,[241] while on the other hand, "truth and confession" is represented in the genre of autobiography.[242] Caroline Hlekiso argues that stories told before the commission form part of memorialisation, and the TRC processes were

[238] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*. Oxford University Press.Oxford. (2011).p.339.
[239] Impunity Watch, *Asia Exchange Report 'Memory for Change. Memorialization as a Tool for Transitional Justice.* Utrecht.(2015).p.17.
[240] S.T.Green, K.Kondor, & A.Huys, "Storytelling as memorialisation: Suffering, resilience, and victim identities". *Oñati socio-legal series.*Vol.10.Issue.3.(2020).p.563-580.
[241] C. E. Cole, "Commemorating Mass Violence: Truth Commission Hearings as a Genre of Public Memory". *Southern Communication Journal*. Vol.83.No.3.(2018).p.149.
[242] L.Attree, "Healing with Words: Phaswane Mpe Interviewed by Lizzy Attree". *Journal of Commonwealth Literature.* Vol.40.No.3.(2005).p.144.

memorialisation in themselves.[243] Simon Green et al. contend that although memorialisation is often thought about in terms of physical structures, story-telling can also be understood as a type of memorialisation for the victims of crime and large-scale human rights violations.[244] It should be reiterated that storytelling, acknowledgment and reparations were each an aim of the TRC.[245] Sadly, the victims' testimonies gradually lost a certain degree of truthfulness once people left the witness box, as their stories became a sort of "public property", subjected to comments, further analysis and media manipulations.[246]

Memorialising victim stories, therefore, seems to contain several stages, beginning with a reaction to the event, followed by a period of reflection and then reconstruction of events that are then ritualised through telling, retelling and recording the stories by individuals and groups. This process provides agency and control, which can be understood as a type of resilience. Aleta Norval emphasises that one of the most important effects of the memory work of the TRC is how it offered an occasion for victims to gain recognition of their plight in public view.[247] Below are the names of victims and their next of kin who were interviewed and appeared before the commission. Listing them by their names is one way of giving recognition and honour to their sacrifices instead of giving the numbers, relegating them to statistical figures without putting a face to them. It should be stated here that the names mentioned here do not represent all survivors and victims, as not all and their dependents appeared before the TRC to give testimonies.

According to Tshepo Madlingozi, many people were excluded from the TRC process. He argues that between 1988 and 1994, more people were killed in political killings than in any period of South African history.[248] As mentioned earlier, when the TRC started with its hearings, violence was still raging in South African townships, and many people could not engage with the

[243] C. Hlekiso, The need for memorialization in South Africa. The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.https://www.ijr.org.za/2018/12/10/the-need-for-memorialisation-in-south-africa/. (Accessed on the 29.04.2022).

[244] S.Green, K.Kondor, & A.Kidd, "Storytelling as memorialization: Suffering, resilience and victim identities". *Oñati socio-legal series.*Vol.10.Iss.3.(2020).p.580.

[245] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*. Oxford University Press. Oxford. (2011).p.337.

[246] F.Mussi, *Literary Legacies of the South African TRC Fictional Journeys into Trauma, Truth, and Reconciliation*. Palgrave Macmillan.Cham.(2020).p.115.

[247] A.J. Norval, "Memory, identity and the (Im)possibility of Reconciliation: The Work of the CCO."*Constellations*. Vol.5.No.2.(1988).p.258.

[248] T. Madlingozi, *Taking Stock of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission 20 years later: no truth, no reconciliation, and no justice*. 3rd international Colloquium of the Instituto Humanitas at unisinos, Brazil 16 September. São Leopoldo.(2015).p.7.

commission because they were still traumatised and/or displaced. Many people also fell through administrative gaps in terms of language issues and wrong classification of statement givers.[249]

Deborah Posel observes that from its establishment, the TRC issued an open invitation to all South Africans to tell their stories in the knowledge that there were many previously untold stories to tell.[250] However, it was not possible to include every case; rather, stories that illustrate particular events, trends and phenomena have been used as windows on many people's experiences. Cahal McLaughlin argues that the commission has identified only 22 000 victims of "gross human rights violations throughout the country".[251] Therefore, for those who appeared, their testimonies were regarded as 'window cases' that provided detailed insights into particular incidents that were representative of broader patterns of abuse.[252] In his book *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and its Massacre* (2001), Phillip Frankel provides a full list of victims who died of gunshot wounds from the register of the Sharpeville Phelindaba cemetery and names on the tombstones at the Sharpeville cemetery.[253]

During the hearing, the Commission heard trauma stories, which became testimonies of Sharpeville Massacre survivors and evidence from the victim's family members, as well as PAC activists arrested as they were regarded as instigators of mass demonstrations against pass laws. The Commission also heard testimonies about atrocities inflicted on individuals by the apartheid security forces during the Sharpeville Day commemorations across the country over the years.

The following are the names of Sharpeville residents who gave testimonies to the commission about atrocities committed against them or their family members: Motaung Thabo Isaac, Masudubele Hilda Matshidiso, Kabi Sekoala Elliot, Mashiea Boysie Isaac, Zondwayo Mahalio Mary, Maleho Puseletso Zephora, Makoa Tselane Joseph, Mono Kudumane Daniel, Mazibuko Abram Mgodo, Kutoane Joseph, Mashiea Petrus Selepe, Ntlhe Kefilwe Agnes, Kasa Selebalo Sidwell, Mohlatsane Emmanuel, Mokoena Philemon, Ramokoena Khehla Jacob, Sekete Toroki George, Lepee Merriam Leya, Mothibeli Kok Daniel, Maluka Paulus, Ramokhoase Ntele David,

[249] Ibid.p.8.
[250] D. Posel, *The TRC Report: What Kind of History? What Kind of Truth?*. Preliminary exploration. Paper presented at the Wits History Workshop: The TRC; Commissioning the Past. University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.(1999).p.6-7.
[251] C. McLaughlin, "Reparations in South Africa – a visit to Khulumani. *Race & Class"*.Vol.44.No.1.(2002).p.82.
[252] Ibid.p.16.
[253] For more, see, P. Frankel, *An Ordinary atrocity: Sharpeville and in its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven & London.(2001).p.242-247.

Msimanga Thomas, Motsoane John Lehlohonolo, Ramokhoase Lebitsa Solomon, Mashiea Modise Mathews, Griffiths Thatela Benedict, Phosisi Papakwe Daniel, Maphike Daniel Dibete, Mkwanazi Paulos Serame, Mofokeng Sekolotsa Abram, Molise Blou Johannes, Chenene Francina Ntsoaki, Molotsi Limakatso Anna, Ntsala Mapitso Lizzie, Kutoane Seabata Azael Gordon, Ntsane Elizabeth Mookgo, Bessie Buti James, Malefane Adam, Msimanga Mamokete Maria, Maroekoane Anna Ndoti, Bakane Sekhomothane Frederick, Ntsuba Zabulon Mofokeng, Dineo Elizabeth Moleko, Paulus Serame Masilo, Mantsioa Emma Molamu, Ngati Ishmael Sefako and Matshiliso Alinah Mkwanazi. These survivors told the commissioners how they were shot, severely beaten, kicked and injured by the police on 21 March 1960.[254] From the above list, it can be deduced that during the 1960s and even earlier, the Vaal Triangle and Sharpeville, particularly, had a large concentration of Sesotho-speaking people, many of whom originated from Lesotho. Industrial development, which started in 1877 in the Vaal region, drew workers from other areas within the South African Republic and immigrants from as far as Lesotho.[255] Phillip Frankel argues that industrial development in Vereeniging certainly attracted the immigration of African rural workers, particularly those moving along the trajectoty between Lesotho and the expanding Reef, a few kilometres north west of the Vereeniging. Many of these workers broke their journey to find employment in Vereeniging steel industries as an altenative to the mines further north.[256]

According to Philip Bonner, the mid-1930s marked the beginning of a sustained surge of black immigration to the towns, which would carry on for another two decades. He argues that Basotho women from eastern Free State and Lesotho were the most conspicuous among this group.[257] Furthermore, Arianna Lissoni argues that Basutoland's [Lesotho] economy depended on the massive export of its labour force to South Africa, where up to 650 000 migrant Basotho workers lived at any one time. [258]

In his recent study, Dlozi Philemon Radebe observes that the Vaal Triangle community is linguistically heterogeneous; however, Sesotho is the majority language and dominant in the Vaal

[254] South African Broadcasting Cooperation, *Truth Commission Special Report*. https://sabctrc.saha.org.za/search.php?t=Sharpeville&tab=victims&start=20. (Accessed on the 29.04.2022).

[256] P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. Connecticut.(2001).p.25.

[257] P. Bonner,"Desirable or Undesirable Sotho Women? Liquor, Prostitution and the Migration of Sotho Women to the Rand, 1920-1945". *African Studies Seminar Paper*. University of the Witwatersrand.(1988).p.1-4.

[258] A. Lissoni, "The South African liberation movement in exile". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of London. London.(2008).p.181.

Triangle, and as such, it is the *lingua franca* of this area.[259] As highlighted in chapter two, most of the residents of Sharpeville who witnessed the Massacre were from the Top Location, also called the Vereeniging location. Politically, there have been long-standing links between Africans in South Africa and Lesotho. During the 1940s and 1950s, many Basotho became involved in South African politics through the activities of the ANC and its Youth League. With the formation of the PAC, its executive consisted of a significant number of Basotho nationals. Its founding president, Robert Sobukwe's grandfather, left Lesotho to resettle in South Africa around the time of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902.[260]

Other Basotho nationals within its top structure were Potlako Kitchener Leballo, who led the PAC from Lesotho following the Sharpeville massacre.[261] Other leading militant Africanists included Peter Nkutsweu Raboroko and Zephania Lekoane Mothopeng.[262] Following the massacre, activists of the ANC and PAC refugees flocked to Basutoland to escape political prosecution after declaration of the State of Emergency.[263] It should be mentioned that, following his release from Boksburg prison after a year, Nyakane Tsolo and his brother, Job Mahlomola Tsolo, skipped their bail conditions and took refuge in Lesotho.[264]

The following persons appeared before the TRC and gave an account of what happened to them with respect to the observance of the Sharpeville Massacre. Nyathi Vusumuzi Johnson, a PAC member, was arrested in Kagiso township in April 1963 following a mass demonstration in Lucium to mark the third anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. Mogale Simon, a 21-year-old SASO member, was arrested on 16 March 1978 while preparing to commemorate the Sharpeville Massacre. He was detained for nine months in Mamelodi, Pretoria. He was forced to sign a confession and was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment for public violence.[265]

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[259] D.P.Radebe, "The state of Isizulu in the Vaal Triangle". Unpublished master's dissertation.University of Johannesburg. Johannesburg.(2000).p.72.

[260] T. J. Lebakeng, "Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe: Acknowledging the Legacy of a Pan-Africanist Hero". *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies*. Vol.11.No.5.(2018).p.75.

[261] G. Houston, T.ka Plaatjie, & T.April, "Military training and camps of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, 1961–1981". *Historia*.Vol.60.No.2.(2015).p.32.

[262] A.A.Lipede, "The socio-economic and political roots and consequences of Pan African Congress (PAC) militancy. *Journal of Eastern African Research & Development.*Vol.24.(1994).p.153.

[263] A. Lissoni, "The South African liberation movement in exile".Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of London.London.(2008).p.181-182.

[264] Z.A.T. Makaba, "Reflections on Nyakane Tsolo: A forgotten political figure in the struggle annals of South African history". Unpublished Honours dissertation. University of North-West.Vanderbijlpark.(2020).p.64.

[265] South Africa Broadcasting Cooperation. Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The victims' index. https://sabctrc.saha.org.za/search.php?t=sharpeville&tab=victims&start=0.(Accessed on the 21.08.2023).

Mzuzwana Zwelinjani Mathews, 23 years of age at the time and a COSAS member and United Democratic Front supporter, was shot and injured by members of the Security Branch in Bloemfontein on 18 April 1985 while participating in a march to commemorate the Uitenhage and Sharpeville Massacres. An Orange Free State Security Branch operative was refused amnesty owing to conflicting evidence. Simango Cynthia, 33 years of age at the time and a United Democratic Front supporter, was detained for three months on 16 June 1986 in Burgersdorp, Cape, and was severely beaten by named members of the SAP. She was five months pregnant and was detained because of her involvement in a Sharpeville Day commemoration in Down location, Willowmore. She later died on 24 March 1989 from head injuries sustained during her detention in 1986.[266]

Jacobs Thandiwe Alinah, an ANC supporter, lost vision in both eyes after being shot in the face by SAP members in Rocklands, Bloemfontein, on 21 March 1990. Police reportedly fired shots at protesters commemorating the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. Mzindle Brian Sandile and Makhanya Bernard Mlungisi both 17-year-old lads and an ANC supporters, were shot dead by members of the SADF at Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, at a Sharpeville Day rally on 21 March 1990.[267]

Lukas John Johannes, a 13-year-old boy, was shot and injured in George, Cape, on 21 March 1990. John was shot by a named farmer when he and other residents were returning from a march to commemorate the Sharpeville Massacre. Msimang Thulani Goodenough, a 12-year-old boy was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sthembile, Glencoe, Natal, on 21 March 1990. Thulani encountered a crowd of men stoning the hostel in political conflict that had broken out during Sharpeville Day commemorations in the area. He was killed when police fired on the crowd.[268]

Phungula Muziwandile, 22 years of age and an ANC supporter, was severely mauled when members of the SAP set their dogs on him in Pinetown, Natal, on 21 March 1991. He had been encouraging people not to board taxis during a stayaway organised to commemorate Sharpeville Day when members of the SAP handcuffed him, took him into the veld, and set their dogs on him.

[266] Ibid.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid.

He was hospitalised for two days and later charged with contravening a traffic by-law. The charges were withdrawn.[269]

Majalisa Nomhle, 22 years of age, was shot with rubber bullets and injured on her head by members of the SAP during the 1991 commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre at Mfuleni, Cape Town. Zolani Mabaso was shot dead by members of the KwaZulu Police in Umlazi, Durban, allegedly while on his way home from a Sharpeville Day commemoration on 21 March 1992.[270]

In its final report, the TRC highlighted that the Sharpeville Massacre marked a significant change in political conflict as the cycle of violence and counter-violence, coupled with increasing human rights violations, escalated from that point onwards.[271] However, with the powers and the budget to subpoena individuals,[272] the Commission's report did not mention even one police who was at the station during that day, even though all those who were on duty is public knowledge. According to Deborah Posel, the report held the police responsible for deliberately opening fire on the fleeing crowds of anti-pass protestors. It doesn't, however, in its preceding narrative, make mention of any processes of deliberate planning between the various perpetrators.[273] Tom Lodge observes that even Lieutenant Colonel Pienaar was not mentioned in the report.[274] Both Tom Lodge and Thando Sipuye deplore the fact that Nyakane Tsolo, the man who led the march, arrested for incitement on that day, was not mentioned anywhere in the TRC's report. He was not even requested, nor did he offer testimony at the TRC, thereby silencing a critical narrative and storytelling as part of the memorialisation process.[275]

According to Ereshnee Naidu-Silverman, the memorialisation initiatives are dislocated from the actual narratives of the South African TRC. She argues that with the politicisation of memorialisation, and the changing political ideology related to concepts of reconciliation,

[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid.
[271] E.Naidu, *Empowerment through Living Memory: A community-centered model for memorialisation*. Research report is written for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. (2004).p.4.
[272] N.Faku-Juqula, "Fourteen years on The legacy of giving testimony to the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission for survivors of human rights violations". Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Brunel.London.(2014).p.32.
[273] D.Posel, "History as Confession: The Case of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *Public Culture.* Vol.1.No.1.(2008).p.21.
[274] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*. Oxford University Press.Oxford. (2011).p.333.
[275] T.Sipuye, "Remembering Nyakane Tsolo: The true history of Sharpeville must be told". *Pambazuka News*.09 March 2018. Also, see T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences.* Oxford University Press.Oxford.(2011).p.342.

memorialisation has increasingly become a means to fulfil political parties' agendas.[276] However, the demands for public memorialisation have become part and parcel of demands for truth and justice and truth commissions.[277] The experience of survivors who testified in the TRC but were victims of the liberation forces rather than the apartheid state has been marginalised from memorialisation processes, and disconnecting post-apartheid memorialisation from the TRC's human rights framework has reduced the potential of many national memorial projects to fulfil a human rights education role.[278]

The TRC's report, however, covered the structural and historical background of the violence, individual cases, regional trends, and the broader institutional and social environment of the apartheid system.[279] It proposed that symbolic reparation to victims could take the form of memorials for those who had suffered and died in the liberation struggle, possibly similar to the wall of remembrance for the Vietnam War in Washington, D.C.[280] These symbolic reparation forms are described by Deborah Posel as repertoires of positive commemoration and institutionalisation of several practices of negative commemoration, crafting encounters with brutalising histories as attempts to set the record straight and atonement for the human rights violations of the past.[281]

The TRC further detailed recommendations for a reparations programme, including financial and community reparations. It proposed that each victim or family receive an estimated R17 000 annually for six years if the victim sustained minor injuries during that time and R24 000 fro those who sustained major injuries, you qualified for R24,000. However, one of the shortcomings of the TRC was that international law was not taken seriously in carrying out its mandate and arriving at its ultimate conclusions.[282] Verlyn Francis argues that from its establishment, the TRC's focus was

[276] E.Naidu-Silverman, "Mayibuye! Let Us Reclaim! Assessing the Role of Memorialization in Post-Conflict Rebuilding". Unpublished doctoral thesis. City University of New York. New York City. (2014).p.70.
[277] J.M.Selimovic, "Making peace, making memory: peacebuilding and politics of remembrance at memorials of mass atrocities". *Peacebuilding*. Vol.1.No.3.(2013).p.335.
[278] Ibid.p.145.
[279] The United States Institute of Peace, *Truth Commission: South Africa*. 1 December 1995. https://www.usip.org/publications/1995/12/truth-commission-south-africa. (Accessed on the 18.04.2022).
[280] C.Saunders, *The transformation of heritage in the new South Africa*.In H.E.Stolten (ed), *History Making and Present-Day Politics. The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet. Uppsala.(2007).p.191.
[281] D.Posel, History as Confession: The Case of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Public Culture*. Vol.20.No.1.(2008).p.123.
[282] M. Swart, "The Khulumani Litigation: Complementing the Work of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *Tilburg Law Review*.Vol.16.(2011).p.31.

to be truth-telling and amnesty rather than reparation for the victims.[283] For this reason, Dumisa Ntsebeza, a commissioner with the TRC, stated this was the reason the actual financial reparations to people victimised under apartheid had not been forthcoming.[284] According to Verne Harries, most of the TRC's recommendations were ignored, and financial reparations were relatively very small.[285] In 2013, reflecting on Mandela's legacy, Desmond Tutu lamented the ongoing lack of will on the part of the ANC-led government to finalise the implementation of the TRC's recommendations, notably the recommendations made for reparations.[286]

As this chapter demonstrates later, the ANC government opted for massive symbolic reparations in Sharpeville and elsewhere. Ereshnee Naidu contends that symbolic reparations are often used or can be used by the state as a substitute for financial reparations or community rehabilitation.[287] Cahal McLaughlin argues that for the TRC not to emphasise its recommendations repeatedly has done its process more harm than all the other criticisms and mistakes put together.[288]

On 30 January 2004, in a historic memorialisation gesture to symbolically recognise all those who fought against apartheid, the then Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development, Penuell Maduna, handed over three cheques worth R30 000 to each of the three victims of the apartheid system in the Sedibeng District Municipality. The first cheque went to the family of Wilson Baloyi, a survivor of the Sharpeville and Boipatong Massacres and an outspoken chairman of the Khulumani Support Group until his death in 2003. Maduna further handed one cheque to Sekhomothane Bakane and his wife, Elizabeth, and another to Ntsoaki Chenene, Sharpeville pensioners and survivors of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. During this handover, Maduna emphasised symbolic reparations instead of financial ones, stating,

> "The once-off reparation payments formed part of the government's initiative to speed up payment to about 22 000 victims of apartheid who were declared as such by the TRC and that, the government would not pay any more money to any other

[283] V.F.Francis, "Designing Emotional and Psychological Support into Truth and Reconciliation Commissions". *Osgoode Legal Studies Research Paper Series*.(2016).p.xi.
[284] C. Cunneen, "Review Essay: Reflections on Reparations and Reconciliation". *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*. Vol.12.No.3.(2001).p.382.
[285] V. Harries, "Twenty years of post-apartheid archiving: have we reckoned with the past, or has the past reckoned with us?". *Journal of the South African Society of Archivists*.Vol.47.(2014).p.91.
[286] E.Naidu-Silverman, "Mayibuye! Let Us Reclaim! Assessing the Role of Memorialization in Post-Conflict Rebuilding". Unpublished doctoral thesis. City University of New York. New York. (2014).p.174.
[287] E.Naidu, "The ties that bind: Strengthening the links between memorialization and transitional justice". *The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.* Research Brief.(2006).p.2.
[288] C. McLaughlin, "Reparations in South Africa – a visit to Khulumani". *Race & Class*. Vol.44.No.1.(2002).p.86.

> victims. Reparations to other victims would come in a form of the building of schools, clinics, and social grants in a bid to create a better life for all South Africans".[289]

In an interview conducted ten years after the TRC process by Tom Lodge with one of the survivors of the Sharpeville Massacre who testified at the hearing but was not considered for such reparation, Isaac Moeung laments, "We are left here alone with our memories."[290]

As indicated earlier in the chapter, for those victims that the TRC recommended to be financially compensated but were not, it proposed the establishment of memorials to pay tribute to victims and suggested other ways in which the whole country could commemorate their suffering.[291] In 2003, Thabo Mbeki told parliament that his government would not follow a recommendation by the TRC to levy a wealth tax on South African businesses to help pay for reparations. He advocated, instead, community reparations and assistance through opportunities and services with the hope that these would help acknowledge the suffering that individuals experienced, offering some relief.[292] By 2009, Patrick Bond and Khadija Sharife observed that the juridical movement for reparations against corporations that profited from apartheid was making progress within the USA's judicial system spearheaded by Khulumani demanding that the historical debt associated with oppression be repaid by those who profited, with interest.[293]

In 2012, however, Khulumani petitioned the South African government to honour paying reparations to victims of apartheid crimes against humanity, establish ongoing victim registration procedures and take affirmative steps to register all victims of gross human rights violations, among many of its advocacies activities and the internally driven national process of petitioning the state.[294] As this thesis is being written (2023), members of Khulumani embarked on a national

[289] Bua News, Struggle victims paid. *The Express*. 30 January 2004.
[290] T. Lodge, Sharpeville, and memory. *Violence, memory, and commemoration: perspectives from Southern, East and Central Africa.* Birbeck College. 9th December 2001.(2001).p.20.
[291] P.van Zyl, Dilemmas of Transitional Justice: The Case of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Journal of International Affairs*. Vol.52.No.2.(1999).p.661.
[292] Anon, South Africa to pay reparations to victims of apartheid. *Irishtimes.*15 April 2003.
[293] P.Bond, & K. Sharife, "Apartheid Reparations and the Contestation of Corporate Power in Africa". *Review of African Political Economy*. No.11.(2009).p.115.
[294] N.Bohler-Muller, Reparations for Apartheid-Era Human Rights Abuses: The Ongoing Struggle of Khulumani Support Group. *Speculum Juris.*(2013).p.8.

protest outside the National Assembly in Cape Town and held a sleepover night at Constitution Hill, demanding not less than R1 million be paid to all victims and survivors of apartheid.[295]

6.8 SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE MEMORY OF THE SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE

Post-1994 South African society, particularly the Sharpeville community, observed Constitution Day on 10 December 1996, marking the signing and adoption of the Constitution as the supreme law of South Africa in front of the Sharpeville community. This day also coincides with the United Nations' International Human Rights Day, earmarked as such since 1950.[296] Nkosingiphile Ntshangase argues that Human Rights Day is significant as it reminds the Sharpeville and KwaLanga communities that initiated a march to protest against racist pass laws.[297] In the South African context, there is a disjuncture with the international commemoration calendar as Human Rights Day is marked on 21 March, commemorating the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. Concurrently, the United Nations (UN) marks 21 March as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.[298]

According to Glenn Adler and Eddie Webster, the 1994 election captured South Africa's remarkable transition from colonial apartheid to constitutional democracy.[299] Nelson Mandela returned to Sharpeville on 10 December 1996 to sign the final Constitution into law as a commemorative gesture and in memory of those who perished and survived the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville shooting. Earlier during that day, on route to George Thabe stadium, the signing ceremony venue and not far away from the shooting site, Mandela unveiled a small memorial to

[295] C. Williams, Khulumani Support Group begs government to honour recommendations made by TRC. *independent online*. 21 October 2021. https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/watch-khulumani-support-group-begs-government-to-honour-recommendations-made-by-trc-d4a88761-ce10-4685-87bb-fdc8f6460f15. (Accessed on the 29.04.2022)

[296] G.S.Drori, United Nations' Dedications A World Culture in the Making? *International Sociology*. Vol.20.No.2.(2005).p.180.

[297] N. Ntshangase, *Human Rights Day: Moving Forward Together*. 24 March 2022. https://ukznextendedlearning.com/2022/03/24/human-rights-day-moving-forward-together/. (Accessed on the 14.05.2022).

[298] The Psychological Society of South Africa, *Human Rights Day 2020: In remembrance of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. 21 March 2020*. https://www.psyssa.com/human-rights-day-2020-in-remembrance-of-the-1960-sharpeville-massacre/. (Accessed on the 14.05.2022).

[299] G.Adler, & E. Webster, "Challenging Transition Theory: The Labor Movement, Radical Reform, and Transition to Democracy in South Africa". *Politics and Society*. Vol.23.No.1.(1995).p.75.

those who gave their lives for a free and just South Africa during the 1960 PAC-led anti-pass laws demonstrations in Sharpeville.[300] (See figure 6.1.below).



Figure 6.1. Nelson Mandela lays a wreath at the first ever built memorial to the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre on 10 December 1996, with survivors of the Massacre looking on. (Image by Robert Botha).

This memorial site had been well-known within the community but not formally marked until unveiled on 10 December 1996.[301] This memorial became the legitimate first memorial in Sharpeville. Before this small memorial, Allister Sparks remarked that there was no memorial to the Sharpeville Massacre as there was to the women and children who died in the Boer War concentration camps, but it held the same symbolic place in the pilgrimage of the martyrdom of oppressed people.[302] The only memorial that was installed in Sharpeville before this one was erected by Roman Catholic church parishioners on the patio of the mission house in memory of the Sharpeville Massacre victims and survivors, as well as the Vaal Uprising of 1984, which the Sharpeville parish priest referred to as an 'illegal memorial'.[303]

[300] S. Marschall, *Coming to terms with trauma: the TRC and memorials to the victims of apartheid violence.* In Marschall. S, *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative monuments, memorials and public statuary in post-apartheid South Africa*. Afrika-Studiecentrum Series. Vol.15.Brill.Leiden & Boston.(2010).p.71.

[301] S. Marschall, "Pointing to the Dead: Victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal.* Vol.60.No.1.(2008).p.119.

[302] A. Sparks, *The mind of South Africa*. William Heinemann.Ltd.London.(1990).p.235.

[303] P.Noonan, *They are burning Churches: The final dramatic events that scuttled apartheid*. Jacana Media.(Pty).Ltd.Johannesburg.(2003).p.114.

Sharing the podium with Mandela and his parliamentarians and other dignitaries during the symbolic signing ceremony of the Constitution, were the more than 20 survivors of the massacre, all bearing physical and mental scars of the killing.(See figure 6.2.Below). Peter Makurube maintains that, just like 21 March 1960, the signing of the new Constitution at the local stadium by Mandela is one occasion that Sharpeville residents will not forget.[304]

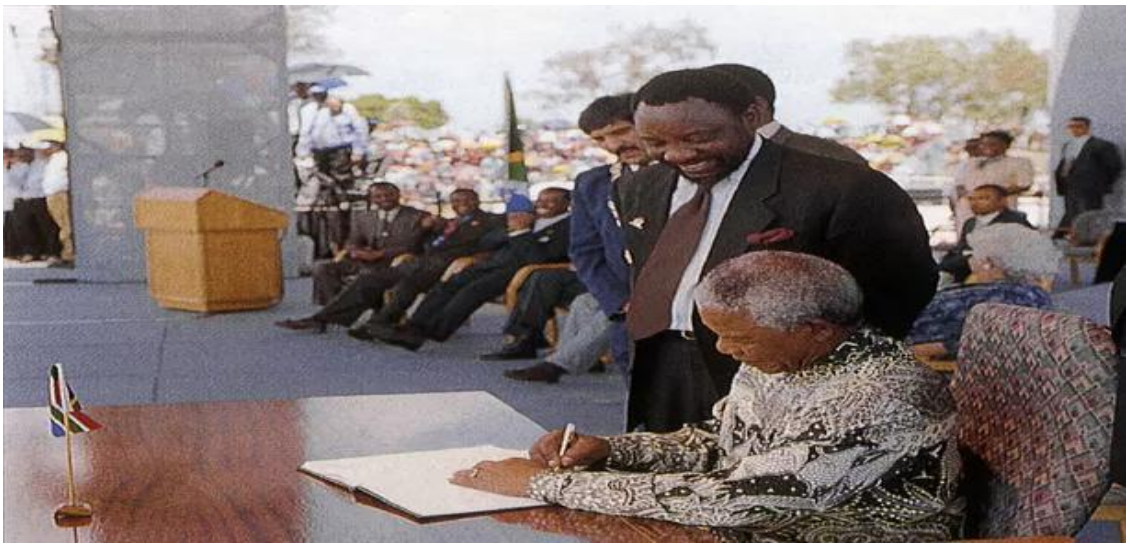

Figure 6.2. President Nelson Mandela signs a proclamation of the new South African Constitution. Looking on are Yunus Chamda, mayor of the Lekoa-Vaal Metro, and Cyril Ramaphosa. (Image by Graeme Williams: Gallo images).

Leslie Witz et al. argue that, as the site of signing the final Constitution, Sharpeville holds symbolic significance. The authors argue that Vereeniging-Sharpeville was carefully chosen, for it was also here that the British and Boer armies concluded their pact in 1902 to terminate hostilities and to end the Anglo-Boer War (1899 to 1902), thereby creating the basis of a new South Africa that effectively disenfranchised the black majority. This symbolic ceremony of signing the Constitution was opened with a memorialisation process of observing a moment of silence in honour of the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre. In his opening remarks and reflecting on the three centuries of land dispossession, colonialism and apartheid, Valli Moosa, programme director during this ceremony, told the crowd of close to 30 000 people from all walks of life: “This is a moment that South Africans have lived and died for 300 years. This is the moment that South Africans for the next 300 years will cherish in the bossoms of their hearts.”[305]

[304] P.Makurube, Sounds to heal Sharpeville's wounds. *Mail and Guardian*.19 March 1999.
[305] SAPA, Joyful scenes as thousands celebrate at Sharpeville: Mandela signs new constitution into law. *The Daily News.* 11 December 1996.

Reflecting on the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging, signed in 1902, disfranchising the majority of the African people thus compelling them to organise themselves to press more efficiently for their rights,[306] Cyril Ramaphosa told the masses gathered at the George Thabe Stadium, a symbolic signing venue, that, "here, at Sharpeville, in Vereeniging, both powerful symbols of past relationships between South Africans, we are making a break with the past. A break with the pain, a break with betrayal. We are starting a new chapter."[307] (See figure 6.3. below). In his address to the crowds, Mandela indicated that, "Today we humbly pay tribute to them in a special way. This is a monument to their heroism."[308] Mandela further reflected on the pains the residents of Sharpeville experienced during the apartheid era and paid homage to them by stating that,

> "Out of the many Sharpevilles which haunt our history was born the unshakeable determination that respect for human life, liberty, and well-being must be enshrined as rights beyond the power of any force to diminish…. People of all religions, teachers and students in our cities, towns and rural areas, from north to south and east to west - let us join hands for peace and prosperity. In so doing we will redeem the faith which fired those whose blood drenched the soil of Sharpeville and elsewhere in our country and beyond."[309]

In paying a special acknowledgement to the survivors and victims of the Sharpeville Massacre, Mandela seemed to have acknowledged the Black Consciousness Movement's stance that 21 March is Heroes Day instead of 16 December. He identified the day as important in the struggle for national liberation. While in prison, he agreed with his exiled leadership to celebrate and commemorate the heroes who led the wars of resistance. Those wars included the Wankie battle, Ermelo, Durban, Fort Jackson, Orlando, Booysens, Sasolburg, Chiawelo and Voortrekkerhoogte, all of which were waged by the armed wing of the liberation movement.[310] From 1971 until its banning, the BCM-aligned SASO celebrated and commemorated the Sharpeville dead as heroes

[306] R.O. Mekenye, "The African role in the failure of South African colonialism, 1902-1910: the case of Lesotho". *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. Vol.1.No.16.(2011).p.130.

[307] Speech delivered by Cyril Ramaphosa, chairperson of the constitutional assembly, at Sharpeville, 10 December 1996, at the signing of the constitution. For full speech see, https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/history/Media /Chair.pdf. (Accessed on the 19.04.2022).

[308] N.R.Mandela, Signing of the new Constitution into law. 10 December 1996. NMS448. http://db.nelsonmandela.org/speeches/pub_view.asp?pg=item&ItemID=NMS448&txtstr=vereeniging. (Accessed on the 11.04.2022).

[309] Department of Justice, Speech by President Nelson Mandela at the signing of the constitution. 10 December. https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/history/media/presiden.pdf. (Accessed on the 17.05.2022).

[310] S.M.Ndlovu, African perspectives of king Dingane Kasenzangakhona: The Second Monarch of the Zulu Kingdom. Palgrave Macmillan.London.(2017).p.254,258.

and martyrs.[311] In 1969, Radio Freedom broadcasted the eighth anniversary of the ANC armed wing formation, whereby Tambo re-emphasised the worth of 16 December as Heroes Day.[312]



Figure 6.3. Cyril Ramaphosa raising a signed copy of the Constitution while President Nelson Mandela looked on during the Sharpeville Constitution signing ceremony on 10 December 1996. (Image by Reuters).

Sifiso Ndlovu observes that various ANC-aligned publications such as *Sechaba* and *Dawn* mentioned the names of Khoi and San leaders along with those of Sekhukhune, Moshoeshoe, Shaka, Maqoma and Cetshwayo and the names of fallen MK cadres omitting the Sharpeville or PAC and BCM cadres.[313] In debating the patriotism of power, some scholars argue that the ANC calendar commemorates a patriotism of pain, a national memory marked by days of death, suffering and loss, such as Sharpeville Day and 16 June Soweto students uprisng, that has been renamed Youth Day.[314] It also translated 16 December, the holiest day in Afrikaner nationalism and commemoration of their ancestral triumph over the Zulu, into a patriotism of pain as Heroes Day. By renaming this day Heroes Day, it recalled all of its martyrs who had died in the struggle against

[311] D.R. Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977*. Ohio University Press.Ohio.(2010).p.176.

[312] S.M.Ndlovu, *African perspectives of king Dingane Kasenzangakhona: The Second Monarch of the Zulu Kingdom*. Palgrave Macmillan.London.(2017).p.252.

[313] Ibid.p.271.

[314] R.E.Johnson, "The day that fell off the calendar: 16 June, South African newspapers, and the making of a national holiday -1977-1996". *Journal of Southern African studies*. Vol.42.No.6.(2016).p.2.

apartheid.[315] Mandela further told his audience, "Today, we humbly pay tribute to them in a special way. This is a monument to their heroism."[316]

Regarding Mandela's reference to the Constitution as a monument to Sharpeville victims and survivors, Louise Du Toit argues that the South African Constitution is a living text that founded the new democratic state and the promise of the Constitution cannot be understood separately from its memory of the apartheid past, and vice versa.[317] She further argues that a monument is a strategy to remember. (See a signed copy of the constituion.Figure 6.4). Drawing from Johannes Snyman's *Interpretation and the Politics of Memory* (1998), she further contends that monuments celebrate the memorable and mark an authoritative commencement of the collective. According to her, monuments do their work by celebrating victories and triumphs, even if they may refer to death in the process of doing so. This logic of remembering renders the suffering and death depicted by the monument a sacrificial, life-giving, and, therefore, ultimately justifiable death.[318]

[315] D. Chidester, P. Dexter, & W. James, "Social cohesion in South Africa". In Chidester.D, Dexter. P, & James. W, "What should hold us together: Social cohesion in South Africa". *Human Sciences Research Council*.Cape Town.(2003).p.309.

[316] Department of Justice, Speech by President Nelson Mandela at the signing of the constitution. 10 December. https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/history/media/presiden.pdf. (Accessed on the 26.04.2022).

[317] L Du Toit, "The South African Constitution as Memory and Promise: An Exploration of Its Implications for Sexual Violence". *Politikon.*(2016).p.1.

[318] Ibid.p.4.

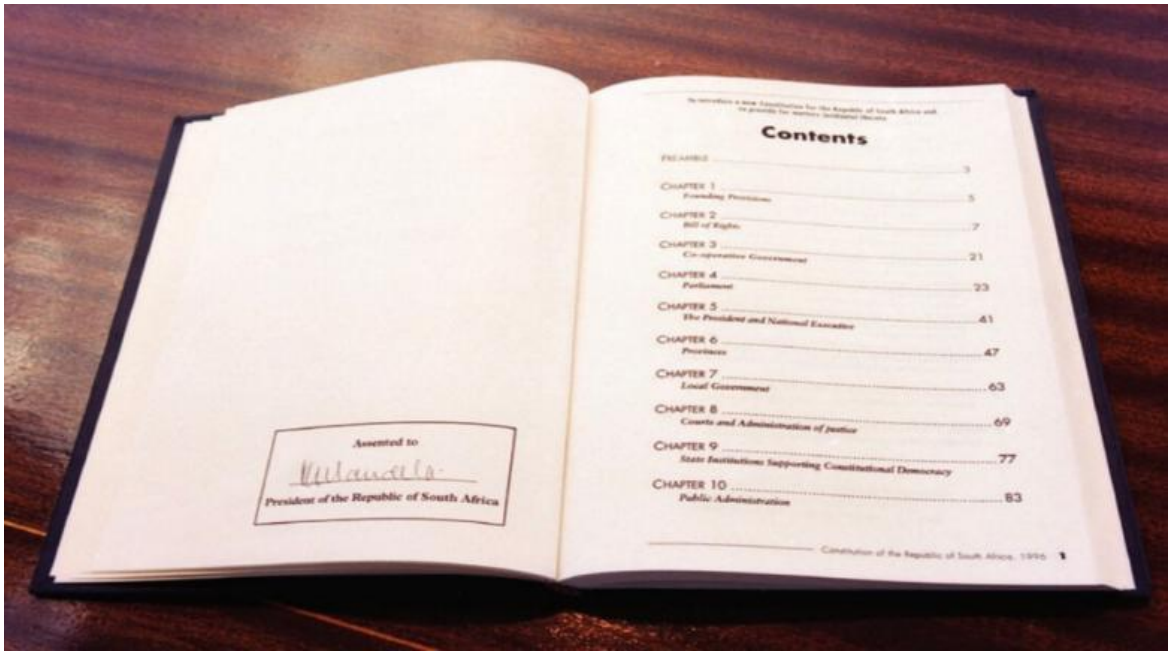

Figure 6.4. A final signed copy of the New Constitution signed by President Nelson Mandela on 10 December 1996 in Vereeniging and proclaimed in Sharpeville. (Image by Adil Bradlow).

According to Lourens du Plessis, the Constitution that Mandela signed in honour of the Sharpeville Massacre victims can hardly be described as "a modest text".[319] This is a magnificent monument in the form of linguistic data. It is a monument in that it provides a monumental achievement after centuries of racial oppression. For example, it made South Africa one of the first countries to legalise same-sex marriage, indicating that the then-existing marriage laws violated the constitutional right to equality by unfairly discriminating based on an individual's sexual orientation.[320]

Following the signing, Mandela unveiled the mural against the backdrop of a South African National Defence Force helicopter flypast.[321] Accompanied by survivors, among other dignitaries, Mandela went to Vereeniging Civic Centre's market square, where the 1902 Vereeniging peace treaty was concluded. There, he unveiled a plaque and renamed market square as Constitutional Square, consequent to the pronouncement of the Constitution.[322] Since then, the week of 17 to 21

[319] L. du Plessis, *The South African Constitution as Monument and Memorial, and the Commemoration of the Dead*. In Christensen. R, & Pieroth. B, *Rechtstheorie in rechtspraktischer Absicht*. Duncker and Humblot. Berlin.(2008).p.191.

[320] S. Gardbaum, "Are Strong Constitutional Courts Always a Good Thing for New Democracies".*Columbia Journal of Transnational Law.* Vol.53.No.2.(2015).p.297.

[321] Anon, Mandela signs new constitution into law. *The Cape Times*. 11 December 1996.

[322] Sedibeng District Municipality, Sedibeng re-unveils the Democratic Constitutional plaque. *Media Release*.11 March 2014.

September is named National Constitution Week. Although the observance of the signing of the Constitution is not a public holiday, it is, however, commemorated within the country.

Since the signing of the constitution in 1996, the government and its structures, such as the Constitutional Court and Human Rights Commission, organise and host the signing of the Constitution commemorative events throughout the country. For example, although out of the scope of this thesis, in December 2016, President Jacob Zuma, accompanied by some of his cabinet ministers, led the 20th-anniversary commemoration of the South African Constitution's adoption in Sedibeng District Municipality, Vereeniging, pledging his commitment to the Constitution by signing the Constitutional pledge and unveiling the Constitutional plaque at Constitutional Square, which recommitted the government to honouring and respecting the supreme law of the country. [323]

The municipal authority had already validated Constitution Square as a national monument. During the 54th anniversary of the Massacre and as part of the Human Rights Day celebration programme, the municipality re-unveiled the plaque that identified the current Sedibeng District Municipality as the birthplace of the South African Constitution, as well as sharing a common past from pre-colonialism to the Anglo-Boer War and the numerous struggles, including the Sharpeville Massacre, to attain freedom and democracy.

[323] S. Jimta, Zuma Hails the law: Mmusi slams 'Corrupt president'. *Daily Sun*.12 December 2016.



Figure 6.5. The cartoon by Zapiro depicts Jacob Zuma violating the justice system and the spirit of the Constitution. That violation is depicted as rape. (Image by *Sunday Times*.).[324]

Following this ceremony, Zuma went to the Sharpeville memorial site, where he performed the memorialisation process of wreath-laying in honour of the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre before proceeding to the sports ground for a political programme.[325] Here, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) members interrupted Zuma's address. They were, however, hastily booted out of the marquee by security officials.[326] In a statement, the EFF said they could not listen to a president who had undermined and violated the same Constitution he now wanted to commemorate.[327] In his address to the public, Zuma reflected on the significance of the day by providing the day's and the Constitution's background. Tracy Adams and Christian Baden argue that heads of state import memories in their commemorative speeches by actively constructing linkages between the memory, the targeted collective and the present issues such that they can provide "meaning to an unfolding

[324] For more see, "R. Makombe, Images of a nation in crisis: A critical analysis of Zapiro's Rape of Lady Justice cartoons". *Communicare*.Vol.37.Vol.1.(2018).p.56-73.

[325] For the full speech of President Zuma on this day. The Presidency. Address by His Excellency, President Jacob Zuma, on the occasion of celebrating 20 years of signing into law of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa- 1996 – George Thabe Stadium, Sedibeng District Municipality, Gauteng Province. 10 December 2016. https://www.politicsweb.co.za/politics/strong-checksandbalances-in-the-constitution--jaco.(Accessed on the 18.04.2022).

[326] S.Dludla, #Constitution20: Zuma pledges his commitment.*Indepndent online.*10 December 2016.

[327] L.Dithagiso, 20th Anniversary for the Constitution. 15 December 2016. https://sedibengster.com/9453/20th-anniversary-for-constitution/. (Accessed on the 18.04.2022).

strip of events, weaving a connection among them."[328] With regards to the significance of Sharpeville and the Constitution, Zuma told his audience,

> "President Mandela signed the Constitution into law on 10 December 1996 … Madiba chose Sharpeville as the venue to symbolise the beginning of a new era. The people of Sharpeville suffered one of the most brutal atrocities of the apartheid era when people were mercilessly killed in March 1960".[329]

Despite Zuma giving a clear and unambiguous speech during this day, which delivered a tribute to the massacre's victims, he used the occasion to report on government programmes such as the National Action Plan to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. He further mentioned his government successes, such as the rollout of electricity in several households, improvements in the quality of education, crime, gender equality, and a campaign of 16 days of activism of no violence against women.[330] According to Aprillette Cada Devanadera and Ericson Alieto, presidents use speeches to report, announce and narrate information to the public[331] and are so frequently a part of national commemorations, where presidents comment on current political and social events on the one hand, and express their vision of the future on the other.[332]

President Zuma, however, apologised to the nation after the Constitutional court ruled that he violated the Constitution by not repaying money following the investigation and report of the security upgrade of his private residence at Nkandla by the Public Protector[333] and that his failure to abide by the remedial action of the Public Protector was in contravention of the Constitution and that he thus violated his oath of office.[334] It further ruled that members of parliament had violated the Constitution and their oath of office by failing to hold Zuma accountable.[335]

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[328] T. Adams, & C.Baden, "The memories of others: How leaders import collective memories in political speech". *International Journal of Comparative Sociology.*Vol.61.No.5.(2020).p.313.

[329] The Presidency, Address by His Excellency, President Jacob Zuma, on the occasion of celebrating 20 years of signing into law of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa- 1996 – George Thabe Stadium, Sedibeng District Municipality. Gauteng Province. 10 December 2016. https://www.politicsweb.co.za/politics/strong-checksandbalances-in-the-constitution--jaco. (Accessed on the 18.04.2022).

[330] Ibid.

[331] A.C.Devanadera & E. Alieto, "Speech act analysis of Duterte's commemorative speeches". *Science International (Lahore)*.Vol.31.No.3.(2019).p.7.

[332] S.Babič & J.Fikfak, "Presidents and their speeches at national commemorations". *Traditiones.* Vol.45.No.1.(2016).p.218.

[333] S. A.Umezurike & G,G.Iwu, "Democracy and Majority Rule in South Africa: Implications for Good Governance". *Acta Universitatis Danubius*. Vol.10.No.1.(2017).p.80.

[334] K.A.Segwagwa, "Of president Zuma, Nkandla, and the constitutional imperatives of South Africa" Unpublished master's dissertation University of Pretoria.Pretoria.(2017).p.1.

[335] S. Booysen, "Semi-presidentialism and subjugation of parliament and party in the presidency of South Africa's Jacob Zuma". *Politeia*.Vol.26.No.1.(2007).p.8.

6.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the memorialisation and commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre during the second half of the 1990s, from 1995 to 1999. It highlighted that the observance of the Sharpeville Massacre occurred within the context of a government system known as the GNU, which came into existence from 1994 to 1996. It discussed reactions and objections by social commentators to the name change from Sharpeville Day or Heroes Day to Human Rights Day. It demonstrated how the PAC and AZAPO objected to rebranding this day as an ANC strategy of establishing its grand narrative, marginalising the PAC, distorting history, and watering down or silencing voices.

In terms of commemorations of this day, this chapter highlighted that post-1994, the Sharpeville commemoration continued to be observed along political party lines and traditions. The day has been characterised by the ruling party's official celebrations and commemorations used for public programmes such as election campaigning. Other parties, such as the PAC and AZAPO, have continued with pre-1994 memorialisation processes, such as cleaning graves, and used commemoration rallies as a platform to raise objections regarding rebranding Sharpeville Day and the failures of the ANC-led government. It demonstrated that changing the name and its observance as a national day continued to be marked by divisions, giving rise to political contestation over the memory of Sharpeville between the ANC government and the PAC. These contestations, as this chapter has demonstrated, also took a violent nature where shots were fired in the name of political legitimacy and hegemony.

This chapter further discussed the establishment of the TRC in 1995 and its hearing sessions of Sharpeville Massacre victims held in 1996, demonstrating how those hearings took the form of truth and storytelling as a memorialisation process. Stephanie Arel argues that truth-telling forms a bond between those who can speak and those who are silenced by trauma, and reconstructing trauma stories emphasises the relational nature of commemoration.[336] The names of Sharpeville victims who appeared before the commission to give testimonies are given in this chapter. It highlighted the commission's recommendations to the state in terms of reparations and its reaction

[336] S. Arel, "The power of place: Trauma recovery and memorialization". *Stellenbosch Theological Journal.*Vol.4.No.2.(2018).p.27.

thereof. The chapter further analysed the Khulumani activities in Sharpeville as a vehicle for healing, community restoration and reparations advocacy.

It highlighted that alongside the annual anniversary of the Sharpeville commemoration is the observance and commemoration of the signing of South Africa's new Constitution. It did so by examining Nelson Mandela signing the Constitution in 1996 in the presence of the Sharpeville community. It provided the rationale and reasons behind the choice of Sharpeville as a place to sign the new Constitution. Among the reasons was the idea of symbolically breaking away from the colonial past bringing oppression to an end, which was crafted during the signing of the Vereeniging Peace Treaty in 1902 and of which the shooting at Sharpeville in 1960 bore witness to the repressive nature of the apartheid colonial government. The chapter emphasises that the signing was regarded by many as formally completing a process of transitional negotiations, symbolising the moment South Africa came into being as a new democratic nation with a new national identity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

COMMEMORATIONS AND COUNTER-COMMEMORATIONS, MEMORY SITES AND MATERIAL CULTURE: 2000-2010

Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Afrika. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree. Sons and Daughters of Afrika.[1]

Robert Sobukwe

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter examined observances of the 1960 Sharpeville shooting against the backdrop of the post-1994 general elections between 1995 and 1999. It highlighted that the commemoration of this day took place under a totally different political environment. This was a period of grand coalitions by political parties, which had become an integral part of the transitional framework from colonial apartheid to democracy through the government of national unity that overlapped with the transitional executive council established from 1993 to 1994 and the government of national unity which lasted from 1994 to 1999.

This concluding chapter, therefore, without accounting for every single year during this decade, provides an analysis of the commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre between 2000 and 2010. It analyses state-led commemorations and counter-commemorations by the Pan Africanist Congress as well as political parties aligned with the Black Consciousness Movement during this decade. It also highlights the memory boom, which was in full swing in South Africa, having started at the onset of the post-1994 political order. The chapter demonstrates that during this decade, Sharpeville experienced the inflationary construction of contested public commemorative sites and sights fuelled by the heritage and tourism industry. It analyses the construction of the Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct, developed on the site of the massacre of 1960. The new memorial initiative was completely dominated by the ANC, while its aesthetic merit has since its inception become a subject of controversy and extensive public debate, particularly by the PAC. Drawing from Sabine Marshall, Themba Goba, a PAC activist, was quoted by the *Pretoria News* as saying that it can be a

[1] I. Liebenberg, "The Quest for Liberation in South Africa: Contending Visions and Civil Strife, Diaspora and Transition to an Emerging Democracy". *Scientia Militaria. South African Journal of Military Studies*.Vol 30.No.2.(2000).p.140.

bit embarrassing when people travel from all over the world to see the site: "It is like we disregard the people who sacrificed their lives for their country and that is what prompted us to develop the idea of a museum."[2]

In his book, *The True History of Sharpeville Must be Told* (2001), Motsoko Pheko, PAC president from 2003 to 2006, mockingly expresses his gratefulness to the ANC government for building the new memorial in Sharpeville for the victims of the 1960 massacre. He asserts that the PAC would certainly have built "an impressive national monument in remembrance of Sharpeville".[3] Scholars agree that memorials are not erected for the sake of the dead who demand our respect, but for the sake of the living who "need" such markers for numerous psychological, societal, and political reasons.

7.2 SHARPEVILLE MEMORY AND STATE-LED COMMEMORATIONS

From the 5th to the 25th of February 2000, extremely heavy rains fell in the northeastern parts of South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. These rains resulted in disastrous flooding, the loss of hundreds of lives and severe damage to infrastructure.[4] The southern provinces of Mozambique experienced severe floods in the aftermath of two tropical cyclones.[5] During this year, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) held Human Rights Day celebrations in Tembisa, a township that currently forms part of the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. Delivering a message on this day, the head of the commission, Barney Pityana, a 1970s BCM activist whose background ironically made him a political descendant of the PAC, reminded his audience of the significance of this day by saying: "… those who would be celebrating human rights should recall those who perished at Sharpeville in 1960, and those who continued to sacrifice their lives for its citizens."[6]

[2] S. Marshall, *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-apartheid South Africa*. Brill. Leiden & Boston.(2010).p.98.
[3] Ibid.p.52.
[4] J.C. Smithers, R.E. Schulze, A. Pike, & G.P.W. Jewitt, "A hydrological perspective of the February 2000 floods: A case study in the Sabie River Catchment". *Water SA*.Vol.27.No.3.(2001).p.325.
[5] M.R. Jury, & F.D.E. Lucio, "The Mozambique floods of February 2000 in context" *South African Geographical Journal.* Vol.86.No.2.(2004).p.141.
[6] M. Williams, Have a nice day….. *The Citizen*. 21 March 2000.

Tameshnie Deane notes that South Africa reportedly has one of the highest rates of violence against women in the world.[7] The international community also recognises the long-term health consequences of this global epidemic.[8] For this reason, Pityana pleaded with all South Africans to work together to fight violence against women and children. He further appealed to all South Africans to remember the flood victims in parts of Mozambique, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal. Acting Justice Dumisa Ntsebenza, a SAHRC board member, reminded the crowd that those who passed away during the Sharpeville Massacre had lost their lives for human rights.

The official 2000 Human Rights Day celebrations by the ANC government were held at the site of the Sharpeville Massacre. Jeff Radebe, Public Enterprises Minister at the time, delivered a commemorative address while standing close to a small stone marking the commemorative site of the Sharpeville Massacre, as well as a memorial structure, described by Michael Morris as a modest memorial to the incident of 21 March 1960. Radebe opened his address by taking his audience down memory lane:

> Forty years after the massacre we celebrate how far we have come in our fight against inhumanity and racism, and look forward to what needs to be done to resolve … the problem of the colour line. It was important for the spirit of the constitution to find expression in everyday life if the war against prejudice was to be won.[9]

Although the memorial site from which Radebe spoke was well-known in the community, it was not formally marked until Nelson Mandela unveiled a small memorial stone at the same location in 1996, on the occasion of the signing of the constitution, thereby formally transforming this historic site into a memoryscape. Observers and reporters described this memorial landscape thus: '… overgrown and covered with litter, a tiny, weather-beaten plaque on a small outcrop of rock is all that marks what an international news agency report describes as South Africa's most famous killing field'.[10]

[7] T. Deane, "Violence against women and children in South Africa". *Codicillus*. Vol.43. No.1.(2002).p.14.
[8] C. Carlson, S. Namy, A.N. Pala, M.L. Wainberg, L. Michau, Janet Nakuti, L. Knight, E. Allen, C. Ikenberg, D. Naker, & K. Devries, "Violence against children and intimate partner violence against women: Overlap and common contributing factors among caregiver-adolescent dyads". *BMC Public Health*. Vol.20.No.124.(2020).p.1.
[9] T. Mothibeli & SAPA, Rains no impediment to rights day rallies. *Business Day*. 22 March 2000.
[10] M. Morris, The turning point of Sharpeville. *The Cape Argus*. 21 March 2000.

Radebe also revealed plans by the government to preserve the memory of Sharpeville through material culture, including memorials and monuments.[11] Allister Sparks had by 1990, 30 years after the massacre, observed that there was no memorial to the victims similar to that for the women and children who had died in concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), even though the Sharpeville Massacre holds the same symbolic place in the pilgrimage of the martyrdom of oppressed people.[12] The only other memorial during this period was the one erected by the Roman Catholic Church parishioner, which Reverend Father Patrick Noonan referred to as an illegal memorial commemorating the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre victims and the Vaal Uprising of 1984.[13]

On the other hand, Ali Khangela Hlongwane and Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu maintain that, during the early 1990s, there was a small, trivial rock initially placed on the open ground where the killing occurred in 1960.[14] Drawing from Thami ka Plaatjie, J.J. Brewer and Lulu Callinicos, Hlongwane and Ndlovu argue that, contrary to the magnificent memorials of Hector Peterson and Solomon Mahlangu, this rock at the Sharpeville Massacre memorial site was an almost unnoticeably small and rather oddly shaped metal plaque stone marker. However, that plaque, before it was removed and replaced by granite, evoked the tragic historical memory of the Sharpeville Massacre through the message on it, which reads: “To the silent victims, the countless many, whose names remained unrecorded to those who died, or were maimed, or the orphans or who bore witness to the massacre and to the making of history”.[15]

[11] SAPA, Monument planned to honour Sharpeville Massacre victims. *The Star*. 22 March 2000.
[12] A. Sparks, *The mind of South Africa*. Heinemann. London.(1990).p.235.
[13] P. Noonan, *they are burning the churches*: *the final dramatic events that scuttled apartheid*. Jacada media.(Pty).Ltd.Johannesburg.(2003).p.114.
[14] A.K.Hlongwane, & S.M. Ndlovu, *public history and culture in South Africa: memorialisation and liberation heritage sites in Johannesburg and township space.* Palgrave Macmillan.Cham.(2019).p.99.
[15] Ibid.p.100.



Figure 7.1. Duma Khumalo standing at the first illegal memorial dedicated to the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre victims and the Vaal Uprising of 1984 victims following his release from jail in 1991. (Image by Fr.Partick Noonan personal archives).

Sabine Marschall argues that this memory site project was meant to become the catalyst for a wider adjacent infrastructure expansion and the focal point of a totally new town centre with a close craft market.[16] In another official Human Rights Day celebration held in Saint George's Cathedral in Cape Town, a place that used to shelter thousands of activists during the apartheid era, an official state-led prayer service commemorating the Sharpeville-Langa uprisings was held. Cape Town Mayor, Nomaindia Mfeketo, told his audience that, "Today we commit ourselves to work together for the creation of a society free of racial prejudice. Everyday interaction with one another will make us rise above racism and build a better life for all."[17]

In another significant official Human Rights Day celebration charged with an intense and emotional speech on racism in post-1994 South Africa, Dumisani Makhaye, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Housing MEC, reminded the crowd of some of the abuses black people suffered in the 20th century. He listed examples of concealed racism permeating contemporary South African society. The *Natal Witness* of 22 March 2000 reported Makhaye as having told the crowd the following:

[16] S. Marschall, "The Memory of trauma and resistance: Public memorialization and democracy in post-apartheid South Africa and beyond" *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies.* Vol.11.No.4.(2010).p.370.
[17] SAPA, Monument planned to honour Sharpeville massacre victims. *The Star*. 22 March 2000.

> If there is a person walking in the rain on the side of the road, 99.99% of the time, it will be a black person. When the media tells of flood victims, we always think of black people involved, same with diarrhoea, but it is of no use for black people to lament this fact. They must help themselves. Racism continues in all spheres of life, the conditions of farm workers, and continued racism and sexism on the shop floor will testify to the challenges that lie ahead. The challenge is for us all to continue the fight to deracialise South Africa .[18]

This commemoration service provided evidence that the issues of race and racism are still prevalent in South African society post-1994. Racism is one of the social and political ills which have defined and shaped South African history.[19] Racism has manifested institutionally in the South African mental health system over the past century as both segregation and inequality.[20] According to Karmen Naidoo, Ben Stanwix, and Derek Yu, South Africa's economy became increasingly ordered and controlled along racial lines during the 20th century. Post-1994, the ANC-led government implemented various policies aimed at redressing the situation. They argue that although racial discrimination in South Africa is in many ways unique and segregation along racial lines was an important feature of most colonial economies, the entrenchment and legalised extension of discrimination during apartheid was exceptional in that it was so extreme and lasted for so long, reaching its height in the 1960s when many African countries were approaching independence.[21]

During this time, Robert Sobukwe, a prominent South African political dissident, pan-Africanist, anti-apartheid fighter and revolutionary, was considered by Benzi Ka-Soko to be an African political Jesus Christ who was not ready to surrender and betray the dream of a truly liberated country where the human race will be the only race recognised.[22] Auwais Rafudeen argues that for Sobukwe, race had no universal reality and the way to challenge prejudice based on race is by dismantling the concept itself.[23] Following the inaugural meeting of the PAC in 1959, Sobukwe articulated his organisation's position on the race question in South Africa by stating thus:

[18] Northern KZN Bureau, Makhaye gives a rousing speech on racism. *The Natal Witness*. 22 March 2000.
[19] T. White, "A clear and uncluttered history of racism in South Africa's Racial Past: The History and Historiography of Racism, Segregation, and Apartheid, Paul Maylam: book review."*Historia*.Vol.50.No.1.(2005).p.195.
[20] D. Foster, "Race' and racism in South African psychology". *South African Journal of Psychology*. Vol.21. No.4.(1991).208.
[21] K. Naidoo, B. Stanwix, & D. Yu, "Reflecting on racial discrimination in the post-apartheid South African labour market". *Development Policy Research Unit*. Vol.14.No.39.(2014).p.2.
[22] B. Ka-Soko, "A twenty-one-gun salute for Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, Oliver Reginald Tambo, and Steven Bantu Biko". *The Thinker*. Vol.53.(2013).p.59.
[23] A. Rafudeen, "Human Nature, the Humanities and Neoliberalism: An Exploration". *Religion & Theology*.Vol.23.(2016).p.198.

> The structure of the body of man provides evidence to prove the biological unity of the human species. All scientists agree that there is no "race" that is superior to another, and there is no "race" that is inferior to others. The Africanists take the view that there is only one race to which we all belong, and that is the human race. In our vocabulary, therefore, the word "race", as applied to man, has no plural form.[24]

Steven Friedman argues that as long as the battle for control of the state continues, race will remain the backdrop to South Africa's public life, and to stop talking about it is to ignore the bias still rife in South African society.[25] In Gugulethu, the ANC used the occasion of the 2002 Human Rights Day celebrations to commemorate the deaths of the "Gugulethu Seven".[26] It did so by unveiling the four-foot-square Gugulethu Seven Memorial commissioned by the City Council of Cape Town. This memorial consists of a three-foot-high obelisk-shaped pillar, a plaque and an incorporated eight-spoked wheel, which is a representation of the ANC.[27] In Athlone, Cape Town, the ANC also held a commemoration rally in observance of the horrendous 15 October 1985 Trojan Horse Massacre.[28] The event culminated in the unveiling of a modest memorial, erected by an ANC-led City of Cape Town, to mark the site of the killings.[29]

Days before the 42nd anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, the Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG) advertised on several media platforms that it would celebrate Human Rights Day with a festival in Sharpeville, featuring musicians such as Hugh Masekela, Sharpstown and Swingsters.[30] During the main ANC government-led Human Rights Day celebration rally held at Shakaskraal in KwaZulu-Natal, Jacob Zuma, the Deputy President of South Africa at the time, and Zweli Mkhize, the KwaZulu-Natal Health MEC at the time, addressed the crowd. Here, the ANC further

[24] Robert Sobukwe, "Inaugural Speech," Convention of the Africanists, April 1959, South Africa History Online, http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/robert-sobukwe-inaugural-speech-April-1959.(Accessed on the 16.09.2022).
[25] S. Friedman, Sobukwe's nonracialism is still some way away. *Business Day*. 16 August 2017.
[26] The 'Gugulethu Seven' refers to seven ANC activists who were shot and killed on 3 March 1986 by members of the South African Police Force. These seven young men were recruited by police collaborators (askaris). The young activists believed the Askaris to be comrades in the anti-apartheid struggle. After gaining the activists' trust, the askaris identified a false target which turned out to be a roadblock set up by an army of police to ambush the seven activists from Gugulethu. They were all brutally killed. See, P. Gobodo-Madikizela, "Trauma, forgiveness and the witnessing dance: Making public spaces intimate". *Journal of Analytical Psychology*.Vol.53.(2008).p.179.
[27] S. Myers, "Traces of Identity: Myth and Monument in the New South Africa".*Intersections*.Vol.10.No.1.(2009).p.666.
[28] The Trojan Horse Massacre happened on Tuesday 15 October, when police fired at a group of people from an enclosed and unmarked truck, killing three of them. For more on the Trojan Horse Massacre and its commemoration, see S.Marschall, "Commemorating the 'Trojan Horse' massacre in Cape Town: the tension between vernacular and official expressions of memory". *Visual Studies*.Vol.25. No.2.(2010).
[29] P. Lalu, "The Trojan horse and the 'becoming technical of the human". In van Bever. Donker. M, Truscot.R, Minkley. G, & Lalu.P, *Remains of the Social*: *Desiring the Post-Apartheid*. Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(2017).p.267.
[30] Ibid.p.1.

downplayed the role of the PAC, with Jacob Zuma putting forward the state's grand narrative of the meaning of the day:

> The importance of the day arose from events that occurred in 1960 when more than 69 people protesting against pass laws were killed at Sharpeville. What happened as a result was that chief Albert Luthuli, the ANC president at the time, switched from his stance of non-violence, and said people had to fight for their freedom.[31]

"The distancing of the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville massacre from the PAC and erasure of the tragedy as a PAC-inspired incident was further underlined in a speech delivered by Zweli Mkhize in which he stated that, "children had to grow up knowing that the day commemorated the culture of human rights and nothing else."[32] In Sharpeville itself, during this year commemorators shuttled between two commemoration events separated by a street, one by the ANC and the other by the PAC. These two parties were, ironically, observing a single event. Following the 2000 theme on racism, the government in 2001 used the occasion of the Human Rights Day celebrations to launch its anti-crime campaign.

Rudolph Zinn contends that post-1994, violence-related crimes continued to increase in South Africa. He also states that South Africa's long history of political strife coincided with the use of violence to achieve liberation and that this political discord includes the First Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881), the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and the anti-apartheid struggle (1912-1992). These liberation or freedom struggles exposed South Africans to the use of violence as a means of achieving an objective.[33]

Hence, in 2001, Mbhazima Shilowa, the Gauteng Premier, and Nomvula Mokonyane, the MEC for safety and liaison, marked Human Rights Day in Sharpeville with the mass distribution of pamphlets on the respect of the rights of immigrants and cooperation between the police and communities. According to Jonathan Crush, South Africans were perceived as highly antagonistic to foreigners and that intolerance was widespread. Beginning in 1995, a large percentage of South

[31] T. Masemola, & C. Sawyer, Spotlight on Human Rights. *Daily News*. 22 March 2001.
[32] Ibid.
[33] R. Zinn, "The policing of robbery with aggravating circumstances: Case studies of incarcerated offenders of home invasions, carjackings and cash-in-transit heists in South Africa". *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*. Vol.30.No.2.(2017).p.12.

Africans perceived foreigners, especially black foreigners, as a direct threat to their future economic well-being and as being responsible for the troubling rise in violent crimes in South Africa.[34]
On the other hand, Jonathan Klaaren and Jaya Ramji observed that the migration policing policy had not changed significantly since the end of apartheid in South Africa. They argue that Operation Crackdown, which began in 2000 and was planned to last for three years, provides an unadulterated example of the parallels between post-1994 migration policing and the policing of the apartheid state.[35] It focused on areas mainly populated by black immigrants, with the police reportedly functioning in a way to "make immigrants illegal" through the destruction of valid documents and other similar illegal tactics, thereby creating an underclass of individuals whose basic human rights could be abused by the police with impunity.[36]

During his commemorative address at the site of the massacre, and in keeping with the theme of the day, Shilowa pleaded with his audience to report perpetrators to the police as one way of combatting crime in the area; he also implored them to desist from buying stolen goods whilst ensuring that they join the clamour against rape and carjackings.[37] Based on Shilowa's appeal, it can be deduced that crime had become a catchword that was often used to explain everything that had gone wrong with the country since 1994, including the rise in the cases of violent deaths, unemployment and injustice, to name but a few.[38]

At the beginning of 2000, the rate of reported cases of rape in South Africa was double that of the United States, and more rapes per capita were committed in South Africa than in any other country in the world.[39] According to Victor Kong, Ross Weale, Joanna Blodgett, John Bruce and Grant Laing, South Africa has one of the highest rates of carjacking in the world, with an average of 46 vehicles being hijacked per day, which equates to almost two every hour.[40]

[34] J.Crush, "The Dark Side of Democracy: Migration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa". *International Migration*. Vol.38.No.6.(2000).p.106.
[35] J. Klaaren, & J. Ramji, "Inside Illegality: Migration Policing in South Africa after Apartheid" *Africa Today*. Vol.48.No.3.(2001).p.36.
[36] Ibid.p.36.
[37] T. Molefe, Politics divide Sharpeville.*Sowetan*. 22 March 2001.
[38] L. Buur, "Crime and Punishment on the Margins of the Post-apartheid State". *Anthropology and Humanism.* Vol.28.No.1.(2003).p.23.
[39] M.J. Anderson, "Rape in South Africa". *Georgetown Journal of Gender and the Law*. Vol.1.No.3.(2000).p.789.
[40] V. Kong, R. Weale, J. Blodgett, J. Bruce, & G. Laing, "Spectrum of injuries resulting from gunshot wounds in car hijacking: A South African experience". *Trauma Surg Acute Care Open*.Vol.3.(2018).p.1.

On 21 March 2004, Thabo Mbeki - accompanied by Mbhazima Shilowa, Chief Justice Arthur Chaskalson, senior judges from different countries, cabinet ministers and the Mayor of Johannesburg - used the occasion of the Human Rights Day celebrations to officially open the Constitutional Court in Johannesburg.[41] This opening was an eventful national day because the building hosts the site of the notorious prison which, according to Ashcroft, symbolises the intention to build a just future out of the memory of oppression.[42] The building is also a concrete symbol of the notion of the triumph of redemption over repressive justice - a notion that is at the heart of the country's post-1994 democratic constitution.[43]

For the first time in the history of the Sharpeville memory observance, the ANC and the PAC shared the podium at the 2008 commemoration of the massacre. The year was marked by the decision of both political parties to bury their ideological differences in order to honour both the victims and the survivors of the massacre.[44] The observance started at the Phelindaba Cemetery where survivors and families of the deceased laid wreaths on the graves of the victims as part of the memorialisation ritual carried out on every anniversary.

Following this tradition, both the PAC and the ANC supporters moved to the Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct, where they were joined by Barbara Creecy, Gauteng MEC for Sport, Art, Culture and Recreation, and members of the Anglican Church, in continuation of the wreath-laying ceremony.[45] Following this symbolically historic commemoration, political and grassroots organisations voiced their reactions. Selloane Phetane of the Khulumani Support Group applauded both the ANC and the PAC for joining hands to honour the Sharpeville dead, stating: "I am

[41] The Constitution Hill stands on the grounds of the most notorious prison in South Africa's Old Fort prison. The Old Fort was built in 1893 by Paul Kruger, the Boer president of the South African Republic. When the British won the Anglo-Boer War of 1902 and founded the Union of South Africa in 1910, they converted the Old Fort into a prison. In 1904, they built a native prison, named Number Four, for convicted black male prisoners, and a women's jail in 1910. The awaiting trial block was built in 1928 to house black male prisoners awaiting trial. For more on the constitutional court. For more on Constitution Hill see, M. Braubach, "Decoding Memories: South African Artists at the Constitutional Court of South Africa". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of California.Los Angeles.(2017).

[42] B. Ashcroft, "Constitution Hill: Memory, ideology and utopia". *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde*.Vo.51.No.2.(2014).p.94.

[43] D. Pillay, "Constitution Hill, a site of inclusive exclusion: A study into the relationship between nation-building and the production of space at Constitutional Court".Unpublished master's dissertation.University of the Witwatersrand.Johannesburg. (2013).p.8–9.

[44] Khulumani Support Group, *In memory of the Sharpeville dead*. 25 March 2008. https://khulumani.net/in-the-news/in-memory-of-the-sharpeville-dead/2008/03/25/. (Accessed on the 25.09.2022).

[45] Ibid.

honoured to see both parties united. Those who died belonged to both parties."[46] The PAC representative noted:

> It was not by accident that the two parties had joined hands to remember their fallen heroes. We are working together to pay homage to those who died for us. We have to work together to unite the community, victims, and families….they did not live to enjoy the fruits of the democracy that they fought for.[47]

Among those who reacted was Dikeledi Tsotetsi, the Emfuleni local municipal executive mayor, who told the media that people should embrace the fallen heroes for restoring pride to black communities. She noted: "Our dignity has not been properly restored, though we are living in a democratic country … [the] youth must know that our enemy's strongest weapon is to divide us".[48] In 2009, Sharpeville was a hive of political activities as thousands of ANC supporters converged on the George Thabe Stadium to mark the 49th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, rebranded as Human Rights Day. In his address to the crowd, Paul Mashatile, premier of Gauteng between 2008 and 2009, praised the ANC government for providing title deeds to the communities, thereby increasing the number of property owners.[49]

Reflecting on the Sharpeville Massacre and its commemoration, Mashatile told his audience that they were gathered in Sharpeville to observe an occurrence in the country's history that captured the essence of the struggle for liberation and the very soul of non-racial democracy. It is worth stating that Mashatile, in his address, further distorted the history behind the PAC's Positive Action Campaign, which resulted in the Sharpeville Massacre. He told his audience that:

> The fateful day of 21 March 1960 started as a peaceful campaign against the dehumanising pass laws and ended in the brutal death of 69 people and injury to many others. Those killed and injured by the apartheid police suffered because they demanded the basic human right of walking the streets of the land of their birth freely. Inspired and guided by that historic document of the people, the Freedom Charter, our people demanded to be treated as equals in the country of their birth … On this day we sing praises to all those who perished in the name of equality and dignity for all.[50]

[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] N.Seleka, In memory of the Sharpeville dead. *Sowetan.* 25 March 2008.
[49] K. Mabuza, Sharpeville people were betrayed. *Sowetan*. 23 March 2008.
[50] M. Zulu, Sharpeville remembered on Human Rights Day.*City Press*. 22 March 2009.

It is a historical fact that what led to the Sharpeville Massacre was in no way inspired by the Freedom Charter. Nor were the Sharpeville residents who took part in the 21 March 1960 protest guided by it. The Freedom Charter was not well received by the Africanist faction within the ANC Youth League, who saw it as a moderate, compromise document, unrealistic and non-revolutionary.[51] Chitja Twala points out that the Freedom Charter was the locus of disputation and a site of conflict for varying ideological factions within the ANC, and this conflict intensified and eventually led to the splintering of the ANC and the formation of the Africanist-oriented PAC which propagated the Africanist agenda.[52]

I hereby argue that the concept of human rights, as Raimundo Panikkar argues, is a Western one, even though other scholars present it as universal; this alone entails a major philosophical query.[53] Human rights ideas in international fora have historically been derived from a Western natural rights perspective. According to Klaus Dicke, the most influential document in this respect is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as adopted by the General Assembly of the UN in 1948.[54] I here argue that during the 1960s, this concept could not have been fully developed within the South African political space and understood by ordinary residents of Sharpeville.

In marking the 50th anniversary of the massacre in 2010, the Gauteng Provincial government released a statement that government would use the opportunity of the golden jubilee of the Sharpeville Massacre to take stock of what it had done to restore the rights and dignity of the African people and the progress made in Sharpeville itself, as it remains a reminder of the sacrifices of its residents to bring about freedom and human rights.[55] However, in February, chaos erupted after a meeting at the George Thabe Stadium where Sharpeville residents had gone to lodge the complaint that the ANC-led government only showed interest in the commemoration day in Sharpeville while ignoring it for the rest of the year.[56] The complaint was corroborated by Thami Ka Plaatje, who stated:

[51] I. Mekoa, "Liberation Political Discourses on the Land Question in South Africa and the Challenges of International Capitalist Discourses". *Journal of Public Administration*. Vol.53.No.21.(2018).p.363.
[52] C. Twala, "The African National Congress (ANC) and its ideological shifts over time: Attempts to define or re-define its ideological identity". *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. Vol.5.No.20.(2014).p.1991.
[53] R. Panikkar, "Is the notion of human rights a Western concept?". *Diogenes.* Vol.30.No.120.(1982).p.75.
[54] K. Dicke, *The founding function of human dignity in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. In Dicke.K, *The Concept of Human Dignity in Human Rights Discourse*. Brill.Nijhoff.(2001).p.111.
[55] Office of the Premier, *Statement on the meeting of the Gauteng executive council.* Gauteng Provincial Government. 17 March 2010. http://www.gautengonline.gov.za. (Accessed on the 18.09.2022).
[56] Z. Matiwana, Remembering Sharpeville fifty years on. *Rhodes University News*. 26 March 2010.

> Sharpeville is forgotten except when there is a yearly remembrance that ends up as a vibrant jamboree of sorts, an assortment of kwaito stars, and buses make their way through Seeiso Street, with passengers peeping through the windows like curious tourists. When the fanfare winds down the community is left with the lingering pain of the death of its beloved ones.[57]

Jabu Makhanye, leader of the Sharpeville Concerned Residents, was reported as having said:

> The next we see of government people is when they come here and throw festivities in the name of the fallen heroes of the Sharpeville massacre while people around here starve … for a long time, we watched from the sidelines while people from Soweto and other outlying places managed projects in Sharpeville while people from here continue to be unemployed.[58]

The residents of Sharpeville vowed to boycott events of the 50th anniversary of the massacre if their grievances were not seriously considered and acted upon. These protests, which threatened the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, led to 51 people being arrested and charged with crimes such as burglary, damage to private property and public violence. This happened after the meeting, with residents taking to the streets and the police opening fire and injuring scores of protesters. Following clashes with the police, protestors burned tyres, blockaded streets and set fire to the house of a municipality employee.[59]

Sabine Marschall observes that it is conceivably no coincidence that many service-delivery demonstrations in townships have occurred in places where expensive commemorative markers and memory sites are built. According to her, the protest in Sharpeville was about the annual cosmetic sprucing-up of the township in preparation for the Human Rights Day celebrations, while the community is still forced to live without many basic services for the rest of the year.[60] During this protest, disgruntled community members vowed to disrupt the commemorative events on 21 March, as well as all state-sanctioned activities for Human Rights Month if their demands were not met. The *City Press* of 28 February 2010 reports Kingsley Boloang, a Sharpeville Concerned Residents member, as having said, "We will disrupt whatever they have planned for 21st March."[61]

[57] T. Ka Plaatjie, Sharpeville heroes deserve better. *City Press*.21 March 2010.
[58] P. Tau, & SAPA, Sharpeville erupts. *South African Protest News*. 22–28 February 2010.
[59] T. Molefe, Police losing protest fight. *City Press*. 28 March 2010.
[60] S. Marschall, "Memory and Identity in South Africa: Contradictions and Ambiguities in the Process of Post-apartheid Memorialization". *Visual Anthropology*. Vol.25.No.3.(2012).p.200.
[61] T. Molefe, Sharpeville protest on the anniversary: Plans to disrupt March 21 event. *City Press*. 28 February 2010.

The Sharpeville Concerned Residents group further demanded access to the budget allocated for the 50th-anniversary commemoration, the cancellation of stage festivities during this day as well as a display of solemn respect to the victims.[62] According to Ali Khangela Hlongwane and Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, it was noticeable that 50 years following the massacre, Sharpeville could only boast of three tarred roads and two poorly-run schools, while sports facilities and other social amenities were lacking, not to mention the high levels of unemployment, crime, poor service delivery and corruption among local government officials.[63] Hlongwane and Ndlovu further noted that Sharpeville residents found it odd that there was not much that had been written about the history of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre and the background of those who sacrificed their lives on the shelves of their local libraries.[64]

With the looming disruption of the 50th-anniversary commemorations and government-led Human Rights Day celebrations, the build-up to the 21st March activities - such as the Khulumani's storytelling memorialisation process of *imbawula*, an old African practice of sitting around a fireplace, usually to sing or listen to stories narrated by the elderly[65] - was moved to the streets of Ratanda (Heidelberg) to forestall any disruptions by disgruntled Sharpeville residents.[66]

On the 19th of March, ANC-aligned Sharpeville residents held a night vigil memorialisation process. They wore white outfits and carried candles in remembrance of the victims of the massacre as they marched from Sharpeville Nightclub on Seeiso Street to the Catholic church for an interfaith religious service attended by personalities such as Kgalema Motlanthe and leaders of other political parties. The service was followed by another wreath-laying memorialisation process at both Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct's Garden of Remembrance and Phelindaba Cemetery where victims were laid to rest.[67]

[62] T. Molefe, Zuma fiddles as SA townships burn: Rebellion rises as citizens lose patience with the state. Commemoration hangs in the balance. *City Press*. 14 March 2010.
[63] A.K. Hlongwane, & S.M. Ndlovu, *Remembering Sharpeville Day and Fashioning Contested National Narratives: The Sharpeville Memorial Precinct and the Langa Memorial*. In Hlongwane.A.K, & Ndlovu. S.M, *Public history and culture in South Africa: Memorialisation and liberation heritage sites in Johannesburg and township space.* Palgrave Macmillan.Cham.(2019).p.109.
[64] Ibid.p.109.
[65] Z. Peter, Imbawula celebrates black culture. *Wits Vuvuzela*. 2 May 2017.
[66] Sedibeng District Municipality, *Human Rights Festival 2010*. 08 March 2010. http://www.sedibeng.gov.za/a_readmores/20100308_hrf2010.html. (Accessed on 07.10.2022).
[67] SA News, South Africans remember Sharpeville heroes. *South Africa News.* 19 March 2010.

The 2010 official Human Rights Day celebrations were addressed by Kgalema Motlanthe, deputy president at the time, accompanied by several government ministers. Similar to the 2000 observances, the 2010 commemoration witnessed unity among the ANC, PAC, UDM, DA, APC, ID and the IFP, in that they were all given two minutes each to deliver speeches on a shared podium.[68] Although all the political parties participated in a single commemoration rally, the *Vaalweekblad* of 24 March 2010 reported that the PAC dominated the day as multitudes of its members wearing T-shirts were seen inside and outside the venue – something that had never occurred in the history of Human Rights Day.[69] Other media houses further indicated that the PAC drew the most attention, as groups of PAC members – some in military uniform – marched, chanted and sang while moving between the Sharpeville Memorial and the George Thabe Stadium.[70] These commemorative marches on the streets of Sharpeville are a long-standing tradition that can be observed by any participant on this day.[71]

However, this commemorative rally was characterised by interruptions and both the PAC and ANC members had to be calmed down. Members of both parties jeered at Nomvula Mokonyane, blowing whistles and vuvuzelas before and during her speech. There was a lot of name-calling, offensive hand signals and placards raised with slogans such as "Mokonyane is selling out the ANC" and "Mashatile for chairman of the ANC".[72]

In condemning the booing of Mokonyane during her address, Motlanthe dismissed the disruptive and uncontrollable conduct displayed by disgruntled ANC and PAC members as insignificant, because it was the first time the two political and ideological rivals would be brought together. Reflecting on the purpose of the day, Motlanthe told the crowd:

[68] L. Pongoma and S. Kumalo, Political parties in rare show of unity. *SowetenLive.* 23 March 2010. https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010-03-23-political-parties-in-rare-show-of-unity/. (Accessed on the 07.10.2022).
[69] L. Dithagiso, PAC makes history on Human Rights Day.*Vaalweekblad*. 24 March 2010.
[70] S. Germaner, Sharpeville celebrates heroes. *News Politics*.22 March 2010. https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/pic-sharpeville-celebrates-heroes-477084.(Accessed on the 07.10.2022).
[71] Own emphasis.
[72] Sapa, Sharpeville Day heckling not directed at Mokonyane. *Times Live*.24 March 2010. https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2010-03-24-sharpeville-day-heckling-not-directed-at-mokonyane/. (Accessed on the 18.10.2022).

> Never, never, and never again will a government arrogate itself powers of torture, arbitrary imprisonment of opponents, and the killing of demonstrators. In the same breath, we state that our democratic government undertakes to never ignore the plight of the poor, those without shelter, those without means to an education and those suffering from abuse and neglect.[73]

In his closing remarks and call for reflection on the significance of the Human Rights Day celebrations, Motlanthe said:

> This Human Rights Day, we should remember that common ownership of our history is the basis of nation-building and must never be undermined by any interest group based on the subjectivity of race, religion, class, gender, or ideology. Together we can do more to protect and make human rights real. Together we can do more to build a better future we can all be proud of as a nation united in its diversity.[74]

In another state-led Human Rights Day celebration youth rally held in Mahikeng, the ANC Youth League leader, Julius Malema, accused the PAC of hijacking the 1960 anti-pass campaign. He told his audience that the anti-pass demonstration was organised by the ANC, although it was hijacked by the PAC. According to Hlongwane and Ndlovu, Malema further claimed that the ANC had exclusive right to the Sharpeville memory and that the youth should learn the correct South African history because the opportunistic PAC stole the ANC's anti-pass campaign.[75]

Contextualising Julius Malema's utterances during this Sharpeville commemorative rally, historians agree that it is a fact that the ANC launched an anti-pass campaign. In 1959, the ANC resolved that it would embark on an anti-pass protest which would take place on 31 March 1960. In 1959, the Africanist faction within the ANC broke away to form the PAC. However, this faction took with them some of the ANC's programmes, including the anti-pass campaign. It was, therefore, this train of events that led to Malema's claim that the PAC had hijacked the ANC's campaign against passes. Ido Lekota argues that Malema's claim that the memory of Sharpeville belongs to the ANC is symptomatic of a leader who has no sense of history.[76]

[73] Associated Press, South Africa marks the 50th anniversary of the massacre. *The Jerusalem Post*. 21 March 2010.
[74] L. Pongoma and S. Kumalo, Political parties in rare show of unity. *Sowetan*. 23 March 2010. https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010-03-23-political-parties-in-rare-show-of-unity/. (Accessed on the 18.10.2022).
[75] A.K.Hlongwane, & S.M.Ndlovu, *Remembering Sharpeville Day and Fashioning Contested National Narratives: The Sharpeville Memorial Precinct and the Langa Memorial*. In Hlongwane.A.K, & Ndlovu. S.M, *Public history and culture in South Africa: Memorialisation and liberation heritage sites in Johannesburg and township space*. Palgrave Macmillan.Chem.(2019).p.101.
[76] I. Lekota, Petty Malema misses point on history: ANC has no claim to Sharpeville struggle. *Sowetan.*25 March 2010.

According to Xolela Mangcu, a leader with a sense of history is someone with a refined responsiveness to the community, whereas a leader without a sense of history is one who wants to change the world as he wishes, without being aware of the understanding of his people.[77] Therefore, by claiming this experience, Malema turned the victims and survivors of the Sharpeville-Langa Massacre from being historical actors defining their own future, into submissive pawns who could be claimed by whoever was in charge of political power.[78]

According to Lekota, Malema's claims of the ANC's monopoly of Sharpeville memory were clouts of dictatorship characterised by political intolerance, and dictators are typically custodians of their own interests and they will do anything, including claiming the collective memory of those whom they claim to represent.[79] In defending Malema's utterances, Floyd Shivambu, a former ANCYL spokesperson, reiterated Malema's claims by stating that the ANCYL stood by the claims that the PAC had "hijacked" Sharpeville. The *NewsPolitics* of 25 March quoted him as having said:

> The ANCYL has never said that the PAC did not participate in the Sharpeville protests, but the [ANCYL] has always emphasised that the anti-pass laws campaign was originally a campaign of the ANC which was opportunistically hijacked by the PAC before the ANC could stage a march against the apartheid regime.[80]

He further stated:

> Nelson Mandela clearly narrates in the *Long walk to Freedom*: *The autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (1994) that way in which the PAC hijacked the anti-pass laws campaign and contributed to the massacre of our people.[81]

These historical claims by leaders of the ANC Youth League were responded to by the PAC's spokesperson, Lehlohonolo Shale, as well as Pitso Mapashe and Kwame Ndebele of the Pan Africanist Youth Congress of Azania (PAYCO). Lehlohonolo Shale reportedly said, "the PAC history has been written in blood and no amount of cheap rhetoric shall erase it."[82]

[77] X. Mangcu, *The democratic moment: South Africa's prospects under Jacob Zuma*. Jacana Media. Johannesburg.(2009).p.38.
[78] I.Lekota, Petty Malema misses point. *Sowetan*. 25 March 2010.
[79] Ibid.
[80] C. Mboyisa, Mantashe refutes Sharpeville claim. *The Citizen*. 21 March 2010.
[81] SAPA, History lesson for Malema. *News Politics*. 25 March 2010.
[82] Ibid.

On the other hand, Pitso Mapashe, leader of the PAYCO, verbally attacked Malema and threatened him with death unless he apologised within five days for misleading the nation and distorting history, failing which, Mapashe vowed, "we will injure him to death … he will either end up in hospital or a mortuary."[83] In the course of these heated claims and counterclaims, Mapashe further gave an ultimatum to the ANC-led government, that if the name Human Rights Day was not changed to Sharpeville Day within ten months, the PAC would be left with no choice but to turn the country upside down.[84] Kwame Ndebele joined the fray, refuting Malema's claims that the PAC appropriated the Sharpeville protest march in 1960. He stated:

> We are willing to offer free history classes to Malema and his seniors in the ANC to save them from the never-ending embarrassment they continue to cause themselves on a yearly basis on this historic day … Malema's foolish outburst reflects a determination to accept lies and delusion as fact, which is nothing but a sign of stupidity and ignorance of the highest order ... the ANC has never led any campaign that radically changed the history of our country or our liberation struggle, it has always been reactive and hostile to other revolutionary parties for taking an initiative hence they behave like spoilt brats and claim everything that has nothing to do with them.[85]

Ndebele further stated:

> PAYCO would relentlessly reject any attempts by the ANC and Malema, in particular, to hijack PAC's glorious achievements by telling lies to the youth of our country … we are aware that Malema struggled with his matric, but we were not aware that even basic history lessons were equivalent to rocket science to him .[86]

However, Ndebele slammed Mapashe's threat that Malema would land either in the hospital or funeral parlour as not just hate speech, but a public declaration of intent to kill.[87] Kgalema Motlanthe, who was the main speaker in 2010, provided a balanced perspective on ownership of the memory of Sharpeville when he said that people had to take ownership of history, both as political organisations and members of the social order. He further stated:

[83] C. Mboyisa, Mantashe refutes Sharpeville's claim. *Sowetan*. 31 March 2010.
[84] SAPA, PAC youth threatens to kill Malema. *Times Live*. 26 March 2010. https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2010-03-26-pac-youth-threaten-to-kill-malema/. (Accessed on the 20.09.2022).
[85] SAPA, History lesson for Malema. *NewsPolitics*. 25 March 2010.
[86] Ibid.
[87] C. Mboyisa, Mantashe refutes Sharpeville's claim. *The Citizen*.21 March 2010.

> By the same token, conscientious admirers of history must acknowledge the roles played by certain communities and political organisations on all sides of the political and ideological persuasions. A common ownership of our history is the basis of nation building and must never be undermined by any interest group based on the subjectivity of race, class or ideology.[88]

Following this narrative tussle, Rhodes University historian, Paul Maylam, put Malema's authoritarian narrative and PAYCO's counter-narrative in a factual and balanced historical perspective in two seminars commemorating the 50th anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre at Rhodes University. The seminars entitled "A Tragic Turning-Point: Remembering Sharpeville Fifty Years On" and "50th Commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre", were aimed at inspiring individual consciousness of the protection of human rights and reminding students and staff members that South Africa was freed from the chains of the apartheid government through violence and absolute resilience.[89]

According to Maylam, there are different versions explaining the massacre, depending on the preferred ideological standpoint or political agenda. The first version of the narrative was presented by apartheid apologists, and the second version is the liberation movement's narrative, which views the crowds massacred at Sharpeville as being involved in a peaceful protest against pass laws. The third version has been called "the massacre as a mistake" theory.[90]

7.3 COMMEMORATIONS AND COUNTER-MEMORIALS BY THE PAC, BCM-ALIGNED ORGANISATIONS AND OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES

On 21 March 2000, the official day of the Human Rights Day celebrations, the PAC held counter-commemoration rallies in Sharpeville and Cape Town. The theme of that year centred around the need to honour the victims of the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville-Langa Massacre with a befitting monument. On that day, Motsoko Pheko wrote:

[88] L. Pongoma, & S. Kumalo, Political parties in rare show of unity. *Sowetan*. 23 March 2010.
[89] Z. Matiwana, Remembering Sharpeville fifty years on. Paul Maylam Seminar presentation. University of Rhodes. 26 March 2010. https://www.ru.ac.za/latestnews/archives/2010/2010-03-261622.html. (Accessed on the 20.10.2022).
[90] Ibid.

> It is a shame that the present government has erected no monument for the martyrs of Sharpeville. The history of this country's liberation is written in their blood. Indeed, when one day the true history of South Africa is written, the Sharpeville uprising will assume the prominence of historical watershed.[91]

The 40th-anniversary commemoration in 2000 started as part of the PAC's memorialisation ritual of wreath-laying at the Phelindaba Cemetery, the tradition it carried on from the pre-1994 era. In an address to his supporters, Stanley Mogoba, the PAC president, accused the ANC-led government of trying to downplay the impact of the 1960 PAC-led protests on South Africa's political landscape.[92] This attitude of the ANC-led government was also observed in later years by Michelle Burns, who argues that acknowledgment of the PAC as organisers of the Sharpeville demonstrations of 1960 seems to have been completely overridden by an ANC-driven commemoration of the day.[93]

Mogoba called for a monument to be built in honour of the victims of the massacre, noting that they deserve better recognition.[94] It should be stated that during this period, the headstones – which narrate the biography of the deceased to enable relatives to reconstruct the family unit in stone and which represent a metaphor for the loss of the victims – had already been installed. Julie-Marie Strange argues that the subsequent installation of a memorial provided the bereaved with a point of commemoration to which they could repeatedly return.[95] In the main rally held at the George Thabe Stadium, Mogoba reflected on the name change from Sharpeville Day to Human Rights Day – an idea that the PAC was against from its inception in 1994. He told the audience:

> Renaming "Sharpeville Day", as it was once called by African communities, *"Human Rights Day"* would remain one of the most shameful actions ever taken by a government led by Africans ... We call on the government to return Sharpeville Day to its rightful place in our national calendar.[96]

[91] M. Pheko, Lest we forget Sharpeville. *Sowetan*.20 March 2000.
[92] Ibid.
[93] M. Burns, "A completion of memory? Commemorating a decade of freedom in South Africa,1994–2004". *Eras.* 8th ed.(2006).p.11.
[94] SAPA, Monument planned to honour Sharpeville massacre victims. *The Star*.22 March 2000.
[95] J.M.Strange, *Remembering the dead: The cemetery as a landscape for grief*. In Strange J.A, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870–1914.* Cambridge University Press.Cambridge.(2005).p.163.
[96] Ibid.p.3.

Mogoba further remarked:

> If the ANC government cannot return Sharpeville Day to the national calendar then they must resign and let a truly African government lay solid foundations for a new democratic government.[97]

Rebuking the government for what Joseph Clarke describes as "political opportunism of official commemoration",[98] Mogoba criticised the government for not honouring the day in a manner befitting the deceased; he told his audience:

> Today some people organise concerts and some of our stars are bought or coerced into singing to our gullible masses. Who in their right mind commemorates the death of their beloved ones by throwing music concerts?.[99]

Mogoba concluded by stating that the 40th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre was the perfect year for the ANC government to declare Sobukwe's houses on Robben Island, Soweto, Graaff-Reinet and Kimberley as national monuments.[100] Sobukwe was born on 25th December 1924 in Graaff-Reinet, Kwa Masizake township.[101] According to Unathi Sonwabile Henama and Lwazi Apleni, the house of Robert Sobukwe in the Mofolo section has not been declared a national heritage, marking a contrast to the status given to the Vilakazi Street-located houses of Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu.[102] They further observe that house number T159, where Sobukwe stayed alone on Robben Island under 24-hour security and permanent solitary confinement from 1963 to 1969, does not have a dedicated tour. Tourists who visit Robben Island are given a short stop without even entering the house.[103]

In post-1994 South Africa, no political or ideological consensus had been reached as to how the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre should be commemorated in terms of practices, traditions and memory sites, hence this form of contestation of how this day should be remembered and observed

[97] T. Mothibeli, Rains no impediment to Rights Day rallies. *Business Day*.22 March 2000.
[98] J. Clarke, *Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France: Revolution and Remembrance, 1789–1799.* Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.(2007). In Mason. L, "Commemorating the Dead in Revolutionary France: Revolution and Remembrance, 1789–1799". *Journal of Modern History*. Vol.82.No.1.(2010).p.205.
[99] SAPA, Monument planned to honour Sharpeville massacre victims. *The Star*.22 March 2000.
[100] Z. Nkutha, & M. Pela, Call to honour slain comrades. *Sowetan*. 22 March 2000.
[101] T. Plaatjie, *Sobukwe: The making of a Pan-Africanist leader*. KMM Review Publishing Company.(Pty).Ltd.Sandton.Vol.1.(2019).p.xxi.
[102] U.S.Henama, & L. Apleni, *Heritage Preservation for Tourism Consumption in The Global South: The Case of South Africa and St. Helena in the Atlantic Ocean*. Conference. 8th ITSA Biennial Conference 2020.Jakarta.Indonesia.(2020).p.316.
[103] Ibid.p.312.

is best described by Ali Khangela Hlongwane. Based on the 1976 Soweto memorial process, Hlongwane remarks that "the commemorations have taken the form of expression of grief, loss and the will by political parties such as the PAC to continue pursuing the liberation project in South Africa".[104] Brian Graham and Yvonne Whelan maintain that contested commemoration of the past is a characteristic feature of conflict transformation in all divided societies.[105]

However, Mogoba reiterates the words of Jeff Radebe by stating that a monument should be built in honour of the Sharpeville Massacre victims, as they deserve better recognition and, in addition to the monument, a wall of remembrance with the names of the victims inscribed on it should be built at the grave site. Mogoba further urged PAC members to make financial contributions towards the construction of a monument for the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre. Following commemorative political rhetoric, the crowd left the commemoration venues for the "Never Again" commemorative concert held at Dickson Park in Vereeniging, where Sibongile Khumalo shared the stage with Gloria Bosman, Vicky Sampson, Ismael Lo from Senegal and Ernest Dawkins from the United States of America.[106]

In Cape Town, PAC supporters congregated at the Langa Cemetery to perform the PAC signature memorialisation ritual of tending to the graves and laying wreaths for two people who died during police shootings in the township in 1960. A simple stone memorial was unveiled to commemorate the victims of two apartheid-era police shootings, and wreaths were laid as part of the observance of the Sharpeville-Langa Massacre, which is always overshadowed by the events in Sharpeville.[107]

On 22 March 2020, the PAC's spokesperson, Wonder Masombuka, issued a statement accusing the SABC of political bias in its coverage of the events of 21 March in Sharpeville. According to Masombuka, this was achieved with its news coverage which gave extensive coverage to the ANC rally, while ignoring the PAC rally which was only a few metres away and was addressed by Mogoba. Masombuka indicated that his party would be filing a complaint with the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) because the SABC also failed to properly contextualise the PAC-led

[104] A.K.Hlongwane, "Commemoration, Memory, and Monuments in the Contested Language of Black Liberation: The South African Experience" *Journal of Pan African Studie*s.Vol.2.No.4.(2008).p.135.
[105] B.Graham, & Y.Whelan, "The legacies of the dead: Commemorating the Troubles in Northern Ireland". *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*.Vol.25.(2007).p.477.
[106] E. Makhanya, Proms return to Joburg City Hall. *Sowetan*. 07 March 2000.
[107] SAPA, Monument planned to honour Sharpeville massacre victims. *The Star*. 22 March 2000.

anti-pass campaign which led to the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. He observed, "The ANC and their activists within the SABC are trying by all means to side-line the PAC."[108]

The SABC downplayed these accusations by indicating that much of the coverage was given to the PAC rally held in Cape Town and addressed by Phillip Kgosana.[109] During this period, scholars such as Philip Frankel, who was writing a book on the Sharpeville Massacre entitled *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre* (2011), held the view that despite its profound significance in South African history, Sharpeville's importance is often overlooked for political reasons. For instance, although the country-wide protests leading to the Sharpeville Massacre were linked to the PAC campaign, there is a certain amount of tension between the PAC and the ANC as to who owns the memory of Sharpeville.

In Kroonstad, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) used the 40th anniversary of Heroes Day as a symbolic opportunity to unveil the tombstone of Azapo's Azanian Liberation Army (AZANLA) combatant, Thabang Motlolisi, who died in 1991 after he detonated a hand grenade that killed him and the policemen who tried to arrest him on the spot. Mosibudi Mangena reiterated the call for monuments to honour the fallen heroes of the struggle. During this event, the president of the Azanian Youth Organisation (AZAYO) noted that most black people were not yet free from economic exploitation. He further stated:

> When Thabang died, black people were landless. Six years after the dawn of democracy, black people are still trapped in poverty. Unless we hear the cries of eina! eina! from the white community we haven't liberated the land.[110]

On 20 March 2001, on the eve of the 41st Sharpeville Day anniversary, *The Star* newspaper published an article by Thami Ka Plaatjie, in which he portrayed celebrations of Human Rights Day by the ANC, and the government by extension, as without shape and worthless of any context; instead, Plaatjie provided a pan-Africanist ideological perspective on how this day should be observed. As mentioned in previous chapters, the ANC government does not essentially commemorate the Sharpeville Massacre anniversaries. The 21st of March is celebrated as Human Rights Day, coinciding with the Sharpeville Massacre anniversaries. Hence on 21 March, official

[108] SAPA, PAC unhappy with SABC's coverage. *Sowetan.* 23 March 2000.
[109] Ibid.
[110] K. Mamaila, Azapo president wants shrines to honour heroes. *Sowetan*. 22 March 2000.

commemorations by the ANC-led government, such as political speeches, are brief and most attention is directed toward the enjoyment of events such as music festivals featuring sought-after top artists, while ordinary people frequently use the day to relax and enjoy the spectacle it brings rather than honour historical symbols and personalities, which in this case are the victims and survivors of the massacre.[111] Thami Ka Plaatjie writes:

> When we commemorate those who fought for our liberation, when we remember our loved ones, the ANC celebrates. How can you dance over someone's head? The PAC does not want glory or ownership. We have no copyright to the people's struggles, but we want acknowledgment for changing the laws that oppressed us. The ANC has deliberately hijacked this day and changed its name to Human Rights Day. June 16 is now Youth Day. The name Sharpeville gives context to the day, identity, and purpose with relevance to those who participated. The changing of names is motivated by the desire to destroy history. If you suffer historical amnesia and malice, you cannot talk renaissance or globalisation without a point of departure or an understanding of history.[112]

The *Vaal Weekly* of 21–27 March reported Ka Plaatjie as having said that the PAC was commemorating the day because it gave purpose, meaning, value and historical relevance to what happened in Sharpeville 41 years ago and that the events of 2001 would be used to highlight the plight of the almost-forgotten heroes of Sharpeville.[113]

During this year of the 41st anniversary of the massacre, the PAC continued with its memorialisation ritual of cleaning graves, wreath-laying and prayers by local clerics at the cemetery as a way of kick-starting the day-long commemoration of the massacre. Among the survivors who attended this memorialisation process was T. Molefe, a newspaper journalist with the *Sowetan.* Also in attendance was Mamohau Mohlatsane, who has held a vigil at her husband's grave every year since 1960. Mohlatsane is described as an extraordinary widow of the massacre because not only did she lose her husband, but she was also removed from the housing waiting list and deported to Lesotho.[114] Elizabeth Mogalwane told reporters that she would take the sound of gunshots during the Sharpeville Massacre to her grave and that she was still troubled by the apartheid regime's

[111] Own emphasis.
[112] T. Ka Plaatjie, *The Star*. 20 March 2001.
[113] D. Kabile, ANC accused of hijacking and trivialising Sharpeville Day. V*aal Weekly*. 21–27 March 2001.
[114] T. Molefe, Politics divide Sharpeville. *Sowetan.* 22 March 2001.

refusal to allow the victims' families to identify their massacred relatives, as they were given only grave numbers.[115]

As with the previous year, the PAC continued to raise the issue of its dissatisfaction with the naming of Sharpeville Day as Human Rights Day and the 1976 Soweto students' uprising as Youth Day by the ANC-led government, regarding it as the symbolic hijacking of a historical struggle. In a commemoration rally held at Sharpeville's George Thabe Stadium, Motsoko Pheko, referring to the amount of blood that was spilled by the police on 21 March 1960, told the audience that:

> The world needed to be reminded that the history of Sharpeville was written in blood, and no lies that are written in ink will erase it. This blood belonged to the people of Sharpeville, and they must be recognised for that sacrifice. If it were not for the PAC anti-pass law march, we would still be carrying passes. We were fearless of prison, unlike them (the ANC), we are for the truth.[116]

Pheko further provided his audience with details of the PAC's grand narrative of what happened on that day. According to him, the PAC and the ANC had different plans regarding the protest against passes. The ANC proposed a series of demonstrations on days of symbolic importance, while the PAC's plans were specific. He argued that the ANC had no symbolic day in March 1960: the ANC's important symbolic day in 1960 was 26 June, a day for celebrating the Kliptown Charter which betrayed the land question in South Africa.[117]

Putting forward the PAC's counter-narrative to the ANC's grand narrative, Pheko noted that although the apartheid regime banned both organisations after the massacre, the ANC was not responsible for the Sharpeville uprising of 1960. He went on to slam Nelson Mandela over his alleged failure to tell Sharpeville residents why the constitution was signed there.[118] During the signing of the constitution, Mandela articulated his vision by stating that:

[115] K. Mabuza, Sharpeville 69 remembered residents of township shuttle between commemorative services. *The Citizen*.22 March.2001. For more on the aftermath of the massacre and funeral proceedings see, P. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. Yale University Press. New Haven and New York.(2001).p.164-167.
[116] B. Khumalo, Sharpeville gets polemic, pamphlets. *The Star*. 22 March 2001
[117] N. Mokoena, The ANC was not responsible for the Sharpeville uprising. *Vaal Weekly*. 28 March -3 April 2001.
[118] Ibid.

> Out of the many Sharpevilles which haunt our history was born the unshakeable determination that respect for human life, liberty, and well-being must be enshrined as rights beyond the power of any force to diminish. Now, at last, they are embodied in the highest law of our rainbow nation.[119]

Sharpeville was chosen because of its closeness and being a black township of Vereeniging where the British and Boer armies concluded their pact in 1902 to terminate hostilities after the South African War and it created the basis for a "new South Africa" which effectively disenfranchised the black majority. The massacre that took place on 21 March 1960 bore witness to the evermore repressive nature of apartheid.[120]

The signing of the constitution in Sharpeville on 10 December 1996 was meant to bring all the oppression to an end, and in the words of the chair of the constitutional assembly, Cyril Ramaphosa, to help the country start a new chapter as a newly united nation.[121] In his address, Motsoko Pheko provided PAC's counter-narrative to the memory of Sharpeville. He also told the audience that the choice of Sharpeville as the place for the signing of the constitution was due to the ANC's attempt at concealing the true history of the Sharpeville Massacre.[122]

Luvuyo Dondolo agreed with Motsoko Pheko by arguing that the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville shooting was being overshadowed by the memory of it as the place where Mandela signed the new constitution in December 1996.[123] Yearly, December 10 is observed in South Africa as the day of the signing of the constitution. In terms of heritage, the official annual celebrations of the constitution make repeated reference to the Sharpeville Massacre as the sole reason for its proclamation in Vereeniging and signing in Sharpeville. Likewise, its commemorative plaque attests to that. Peter Walshe, drawing from Philip Frankel's *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and its Massacre* (2001), argues that Sharpeville residents are still languishing, waiting for the full recognition the place deserves as a historic site, although in 1996 Nelson Mandela did sign South Africa's constitution in Sharpeville.[124]

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[119] D.S. Will, "Non-racialism versus nationalism: Contrasting solutions to conflict in South Africa and Israel/Palestine". *Peace & Change*. Vol.25.No.2.(2000).p.256.

[120] L. Witz, G. Minkley, & C. Rassool, "No end of a history lesson: Preparations for the Anglo-Boer War centenary commemoration". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.41.Vol.1.(1999).p.375.

[121] Ibid.p.475.

[122] N. Mokoena, The ANC was not responsible for the Sharpeville uprising. *Vaal Weekly*. 28 March - 03 April.2001.

[123] L.M.Dondolo, *Apartheid spatial plan: Heritagisation and museumification of the past at Vilakazi Street in Soweto.* In Myambo.M.T, *Reversing Urban Inequality in Johannesburg.* Routledge. Oxfordshire.(2019).p.101.

[124] P. Walshe, "The Sharpeville Massacre: Levels of causation. Review of An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre by Philip Frankel". *The Journal of African History*. Vol.44.No.3.(2003).p.542.

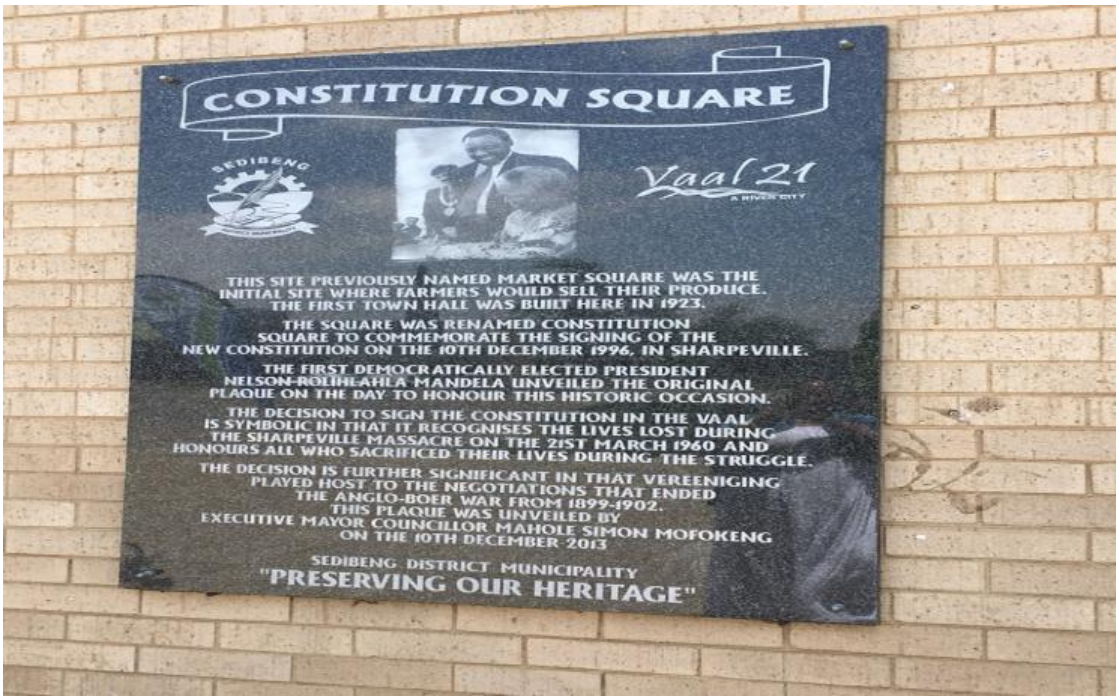

Figure 7.2. The commemorative plaque of the constitution at the Constitution Square in Vereeniging.(Image by Vaal Teknorama museum).

The PAC Secretary, Thami ka Plaatjie, joined in the contestation over the renaming of Sharpeville Day as Human Rights Day by blaming the ANC government for altering the name, asking, "What rights are we talking about while our people are still poor and homeless?" Turning to the ANC government, Plaatjie noted, "Seven years into democracy, we are seeing land being given back to the Afrikaner and there is an Afrikaner in the Free State who owns a land the size of Lesotho."[125] In line with Plaatjie's comment, Grasian Mkodzongi and Femke Brandt observe that since the end of apartheid in 1994, South Africa's agrarian structure has remained unchanged. Little land has been transferred from white landowners to black people and rural poverty has increased.[126]

In 2001 in another counter-commemoration held in Cape Town, the PAC used the occasion to rename a site at the Langa township taxi rank where two people died in clashes with the police during the 21 March 1960 demonstrations. In honour of the PAC founder-leader, the place was named Sobukwe Square after the man who led the positive action campaign in Orlando in 1960. Costa Gazi, the health secretary of the PAC, addressed supporters by relaying the significance of

[125] K. Mabuza, Sharpeville 69 remembered residents of township shuttle between commemorative services. *The Citizen*. 22 March 2001.

[126] G.Mkodzongi, & F.Brandt, *Revisiting South Africa's land and agrarian questions*. In Mkodzongi.G, & Brandt. F, *Land Reform Revisited: Democracy, State Making and Agrarian Transformation in post-apartheid South Africa*. Koninklijke Brill.Leiden.(2018).p.3.

the Sharpeville-Langa Massacre, stating that the massacre was a turning point in the history of the struggle of the dispossessed people of Southern Africa to win back their stolen land - a fact deliberately forgotten by the powers that be (referring to the ANC). Gazi claimed that they had tried to suppress the truth over the years and even tried to hijack the commemorative events of that year's massacre. Phumelele Sakhawuli, a 1960 Langa survivor, told the *Cape Argus* reporters on that day about the loss of interest in the commemorations of Sharpeville Day ever since it was sanitised, de-politicised and de-historicised, noting:

> During the 1960s every black person was involved in the liberation struggle. Post-1994, people are using this day as a chance to catch up on their washing and errands and that they have forgotten that having this freedom is because of this day.[127]

According to Mark Horton, the HIV prevalence rate increased sharply in South Africa during the 1990s and by 2002 over 12 percent of the total population - nearly 4.4 million South Africans - had contracted the disease, which was then claiming 800 to 1300 lives each day and accounting for 30% of national deaths and 40% of deaths of adults aged 15 to 49 years.[128] During his address on this occasion, Costa Gazi further used the platform to criticise the ANC government's response to public health policy by comparing the HIV/AIDS response to the Sharpeville Massacre. He told the audience that "AIDS is the Sharpeville of today and is killing more people than the apartheid regime ever did".[129]

During this year, at the Lutheran Diocesan Centre in Central Western Jabavu, Soweto,– the PAC, the BCM-aligned Azapo and the Socialist Party of Azania (SOPA) – observed the 41st Sharpeville anniversary commemoration by unveiling a tombstone for their stalwart, Muntu ka Myeza (1950-1990).[130] Myeza was the past SASO president, who was elected to that position in 1974. Myeza is mostly remembered for being instrumental in organising "*Viva Frelimo"* rallies in support of Mozambican independence in conjunction with the BPC, a move that had a radicalising effect on the BCM. According to Gregory Houston, Nedson Pophiwa, Kombi Sausi, Sipisihle Dumisa and

[127] M. Gophe, Lest we forget the slaughter: PAC commemorates Sharpeville while other people party. *Cape Argus*. 22 March 2001.

[128] M. Horton, *HIV/AIDS in South Africa: In Post-apartheid South Africa: The first ten years*. In M.Nowak, & Ricci.L.A, *Post-Apartheid South Africa: the First Ten Years.* International Monetary Fund. Washington. D.C.(2006).p.113.

[129] SAPA, Rallies turn around issues of the day. *The Star*. 22 March 2001.

[130] For more on Muntu ka Myeza, see F.L. Buntman, *Robben Island and Prisoner Resistance to Apartheid.* Cambridge University Press.Cambridge.(2003).

Dineo Seabe, a rally in September 1974 to celebrate the victory in Mozambique, and planned by Muntu ka Myeza, brought an additional spark into the BCM.[131]

In 1974, Myeza was among nine BCM activists put on trial for demonstrating at the banned pro-Frelimo rallies. He was charged and found guilty of terrorism and incitement to insurrection. The trial - the *State vs Cooper and eight others* - became known as the SASO/BPC trial and was viewed as a major political event in the history of resistance politics in South Africa.[132] During the unveiling, Gomolemo Mokae described Muntu Myeza as the best president Azapo ever had and that when people thought of him, they thought of a person for whom the concept of president for life was abhorrent.[133] Thami Plaatjie, earlier during that year, described Myeza as being one of the BCM leaders who gave the regime sleepless nights, with lucid articles verdant with ideas that were laced with Steve Biko nuances, mass action and targeted boycotts.[134] He further stated that there was a need for the black consciousness philosophy as the dignity of black people had not been restored since the 1994 elections. During this rally, all parties emphasised the need for unity among black political parties in order to realise the goals of their struggle for the poor. Reflecting on the hardship of black people post-1994, Azapo president, Mosibudi Mangena, in his address lamented:

> More than 7.3 million Muntu people live in shacks. About 35 percent of Muntu people are unemployed. This means their children often go to bed without food. Because Muntu people are jobless, they cannot afford to pay for services such as electricity, water, and refuse removal.[135]

Mangena further remarked about the poverty level that was crippling South Africans whilst also lamenting the chaotic state of education, with teachers showing little commitment to their profession.[136] To mark the 42nd anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre and in protest against the ANC, the PAC embarked on a procession from the Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct to the

[131] G. Houston, N. Pophiwa, K. Sausi, S. Dumisa, & D. Seabe, *The National Liberation Heritage Route.* Paper presented at the Human Sciences Research Council's Social Sciences and Humanities Conference. Johannesburg.(2013).p.22. Also see M. V. Mzamane, B. Maaba, & N. Biko, *The Black Consciousness Movement*. In SADET, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa.*Vol.2.[1970-1980]. UNISA Press. Pretoria.(2007).p.99-159.

[132] A. Heffernan, "Student resistance in South Africa: The SASO nine trial and Steve Biko". *The Conversation*. 16 April 2019. https://theconversation.com/student-resistance-in-south-africa-the-saso-nine-trial-and-steve-biko-115185. (Accessed on the 25.09.2022)

[133] M. Pela & R. Molefe, Unity call made to BC Movement. *Sowetan*. 22 March 2002.

[134] T. Ka Plaatjie, FW de Klerk no struggle hero, *Sowetanlive*. 09 February 2020. https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010-02-09-fw-de-klerk-no-struggle-hero/. (Accessed on the 28.09.2022).

[135] K. Mamaila, Leftist parties unite at tombstone unveiling. *Independent Online*. 21 March 2001. https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/leftist-parties-unite-at-tombstone-unveiling-62610. (Accessed on the 28.10.2022).

[136] Ibid.

Phelindaba Cemetery, the final resting place of the victims of the massacre, where they presented a memorial in a separate ceremony in their honour. At the cemetery, Stanley Mogoba, Motsoko Pheko and Thami Plaatjie, who are survivors and representatives of the families of the deceased, solemnised the unveiling of the memorial.[137] This PAC memorial development, according to Ali Khangela Hlongwane and Sifiso Ndlovu, was initiated by Thami Plaatjie to mark the burial place of the Sharpeville Massacre victims. It consists of a surrounding wall with a green background and a PAC-engraved logo, which is a map of Africa, with rays of light outwards from Ghana, and an inscription that reads, "They died for freedom, lest we forget."[138]

The memorial further consists of three concrete tables painted in the traditional PAC colours of yellow, green and black. In his remarks during this unveiling, Pheko repeated his famous words: "Our history is written in blood and it will not be erased by lies and written in ink."[139] Pheko further expressed a sarcastic appreciation for the building of a new memorial with taxpayers' money and noted that if the PAC were in power, it would certainly have built an impressive national monument in remembrance of the Sharpeville Massacre victims.[140] Sabine Marschall describes the PAC's counter-memorial initiative as suggesting the emergence of a geopolitical pattern of commemoration in terms of location. She further contends that by unveiling its own counter-memorial, the PAC further managed to draw legitimacy from the presence of the actual bodies in the cemetery.[141] Katherine Verdery argues in this vein:

> The presence or absence of real bodies may play a crucial role in lending authority and authenticity to any memorialization of the dead; in fact, the concreteness, materiality, 'thereness' of actual bodies can be critical to their symbolic efficacy.[142]

According to Tom Lodge, this should be regarded as a reminder of the tested interpretation that extends their claims to the bodies of the deceased.[143]

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[137] S. Marschall, "Pointing to the dead: Victims, martyrs and public memory in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.60.No.1.(2008).p.120.
[138] Ibid.p.120.
[139] R. Tabane, Crowds gather to remember victims. *Diamond Field Advertiser*. 22 March 2002.
[140] S.E.M. Pheko, *The true history of Sharpeville must be told*. Tokoloho Development Association (2001). Johannesburg. In Marschall.S, "Pointing to the dead: Victims, martyrs and public memory in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal.* Vol.60.No.1.(2008).p.119.
[141] Ibid.p.120.
[142] K. Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Post-socialist Change.* Columbia University Press. New York.(2000).p.27.
[143] T. Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.(2011).p.345.



Figure 7.3. PAC-installed memorial at Phelindaba Cemetery in Sharpeville. (Image by Ali Khangela Hlongwane).

In a statement on this day, Vakele Mkandawire, a regional leader of the PAC, indicated that his party decided on a separate function at the Phelindaba grave site because the ANC had refused to include survivors and PAC leaders in their programme even though it was a PAC Day, and the victims should be central to the entire event. However, the message from the government was that it could not accommodate everyone. Based on the PAC's constitution and how the day was observed, Mkandawire is reported as having made the following statement:

> The PAC wanted to unite all Africans as that is contained in the PAC policy, but the government rejected this idea. They are saying it is a government event, but we can't tell the difference between the government and the ANC.[144]

Expressing his thoughts on how Sharpeville was being observed along political and ideological lines, Ali Khangela Hlongwane notes that there had been talks of reconciliation and triumph of the struggle as the foundation of the "new" society, but there had been the absence of a national attempt to address the history of polarisation and political intolerance among the former liberation movements.[145] Thami Plaatje told the crowd on this day that:

[144] R. Tabane, Divide between PAC, government widens, separate events held to commemorate Sharpeville. *Pretoria News*. 19 March 2002.

[145] A.K. Hlongwane, "Commemoration, memory, and monuments in the contested language of black liberation: The South African experience". *The Journal of Pan African Studies*. Vol.2.No.4.(2008).p.141.

> …the dual commemorations demonstrate the irony of blacks being able to reconcile with whites, although they could not reconcile among themselves as reflected by the different meaning of the symbolism of such days to many black communities in South Africa.[146]

It is worth noting that in this year (2002), Zimbabwe held controversial presidential elections between 9 and 11 March, with the incumbent president, Robert Mugabe, imposing a ban on journalists representing the British media.[147] On this day, the PAC used the occasion to reiterate its solidarity with Robert Mugabe, praising him for his victory in the elections and lambasting the ANC government for collaborating with imperialists and supporting the western world and the Commonwealth's sanctions against Zimbabwe.[148] Mogoba promised that once in government, the PAC would give the land issue a priority, given the fact that the main aim of the liberation struggle was the return and redistribution of land to all South Africans. According to Mogoba, the PAC was the only party that would usher in true liberation.[149]

It should be further stated that Mogoba's statement was against the backdrop of Robert Mugabe's pledge that he would accelerate land reforms during his re-election as president in March 2002. In January 2002, commercial farms covering 9.23 million hectares were listed for acquisition.[150] Between 2000 and 2002, large tracks of land were seized from white farmers and handed over to the local Black population to redress colonial-era land grabs.[151]

Grasian Mkodzongi contends that although the land issue was central to anti-apartheid struggles, it did not feature prominently on the agenda of the ANC post-1994.[152] On the other hand, Mzingaye Brilliant Xaba argues that the South African land reform programme has long been a sensitive, controversial, politicised and, to some extent, racially polarising topic to address, and that the ANC government is being influenced by large agro-based businesses such as AGRI-SA who see land

[146] R. Tabane, Sharpeville's legacy is a divisive tale set in stone. *The Star*. 22 March 2002.
[147] K. Macgregor, "One side of the story: Reporting Zimbabwe's presidential elections". *The Round Table* Vol.91.(2002).p.551.
[148] V. Ndlovu, Only PAC can usher in true liberation, rally told. *Sowetan.* 22 March 2002.
[149] Ibid.
[150] N.H. Thomas, "Land Reform in Zimbabwe". *Third World Quarterly*. Vol.24.No.4.(2003).p.701.
[151] For more on land reform in Zimbabwe, see R. Palmer, *Mugabe's 'Land Grab' in Regional Perspective.* Routledge. Oxfordshire.(2000).
[152] G. Mkodzongi, 'We Won't Have Zim-style Land Grabs': What Can South Africa Learn from Zimbabwe's Fast-track Land Reforms? In Brandt.F, & Mkodzongi.G, *Land Reform Revisited*: *Democracy, State Making and Agrarian Transformation in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Brill. Leiden.(2018).p.173.

reform beneficiaries as nostalgic traditionalists who have little chance of succeeding in agro-business.[153]

The 43rd anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre in 2003 took the form of an African traditional ritual ceremony of the unveiling of mostly identical tombstones (funerary monuments) of the 69 massacre victims. The PAC commemorations during this year were preceded by the slaughtering of an ox, which is part of the memorialisation ritual of bringing back and conserving the memory of the dead and a part of African culture.[154] The unveiling ceremony was conducted before sunrise, as per customary prescripts of performing "*ho lata meya"* (to fetch the spirits of the deceased), after which the remains were transferred to the burial grounds.[155]

According to several African traditions, fetching the spirit of the deceased is highly significant because, without it, the spirit remains restless. As the ceremony is being performed, the spirit is being told of its movement home to make it peaceful.[156] In her master's dissertation, "A Study of Rituals Performed at Two Sacred Sites in the Eastern Free State". (2011), Mary Sibongile Mensele argues that oral tradition and diverse literary sources in Sesotho indicate that African peoples have for centuries been performing rituals for different purposes at sacred sites such as caves and graves within their communities and that these rituals have served the Basotho well as a means of celebrating their religious beliefs and communicating with God through their ancestors.[157]

[153] F.Brandt, & G.Mkodzongi, "Land reform revisited: Democracy, state making and agrarian transformation in post-apartheid South Africa". *Transformation Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*.Vol.100.No.1.(2019).p.228-233.

[154] M.Lehihi, The stones will cry out the truth. *Sunday Times*.16 March 2003.

[155] A.K.Hlongwane, & S.M. Ndlovu, *Remembering Sharpeville Day and Fashioning Contested National Narratives: The Sharpeville Memorial Precinct and the Langa Memorial.* In Hlongwane. A.K, & Ndlovu.S.M, *Public history and culture in South Africa: Memorialisation and liberation heritage sites in Johannesburg and township space.* Palgrave Macmillan.Cham.(2019).p.104.

[156] P.M.Jiyane,S.S.Phiri, & M.D.Peu, "Nurses' experiences of the ritual of fetching the spirit of the deceased from a public hospital in Mpumalanga, South Africa". *Africa Journal of Nursing and Midwifery*. Vol.14.No.1.(2012).p.122.

[157] M.S. Mensele, "A study of rituals performed at two sacred sites in the Eastern Free State". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Free State.Phuthaditjhaba.(2011).p.iv.



Figure 7.4. The graves placed side-by-side, all with matching black tombstones. (Image by *The Kempton Express* & *The Thembisan newspapers*. 21 March 2015).

The year 2010 marked the 50th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. However, the year did not bring the contestation over the name change from Sharpeville Day to Human Rights Day to rest; instead, it continued unrelentingly. Before the memorialisation process of wreath-laying at the Phelindaba Cemetery and the scene of the massacre, Letlapa Mphahlele, the PAC president, told newspaper reporters before the PAC rally at Dlomo Dam: "… The ANC is mutilating history. There is a calculated move by the ruling party to de-link the day from the PAC."[158]

In his commemoration address at the rally, Mphahlele further articulated the PAC's stance on the contestation of the day. He told the audience that the PAC would never recognise Sharpeville Day as Human Rights Day. He contended that, according to the PAC, the day was still Sharpeville-Langa Day and would not be regarded as a festive occasion, but a journey down memory lane, as well as a day of great sorrow.[159] To the PAC, therefore, the day does not constitute human rights day or call for celebrations.[160] Physical violence, gunshots, and animosity accompanied another

[158] SAPA, Motlanthe, Address by the Deputy President of South Africa, at the Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of Human Rights Day, Sharpeville. *Polity*.21 March 2010.
[159] L. Pongoma, & S. Kumalo, Political parties in a rare show of unity. *Sowetan.* 23 March 2010.
[160] Ibid.

PAC-organised commemoration event in Cape Town. Nevertheless, the PAC used the occasion to unveil an 18-meter-high memorial in Washington Circle, the main traffic circle which neighbours a taxi rank, schools and former hostels in Langa. As is the case with the Sharpeville memorial, which the residents refer to as *"monumenteng"* despite the information and sign boards directing visitors to Sharpeville Memorial, this commemorative memorial is publicly referred to as a monument,[161] not only because it was constructed with red clay bricks, but also because it can be seen from afar.



Figure 7.5. Directional street post showing Sharpeville Memorial, Human Rights Precinct and Exhibition Centre. (Image by the Author).

The memorial contains the names of the people killed following the anti-pass law demonstrations in 1960, led by 22-year-old Philip Kgosana,[162] who was credited during this event for avoiding bloodshed, as well as storyboards with headings on the day. Joshua Malidzo Nyawa argues that there is a small difference between a monument and a memorial.[163] Even though both terms are often used interchangeably, they refer to two different things; although they play an important role in constructing a sense of belonging to a national heritage they can be a site of tension between nationalism and other competing lines of identity.[164]

[161] L. Dithagiso, PAC makes history on Human Rights Day. *Vaalweekblad*. 24. March 2010.
[162] For more on Philip Ata Kgosana, see P.A.Kgosana, *Lest We Forget: An Autobiography.* Skotaville Publishers.Johannesburg.(1988).
[163] N.J. Malidzo, "The 2010 Constitution as both a Monument and a Memorial: The Role of the Media as a Public Watchdog". *Social Science Research Network*. (2017). http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3081455. (Accessed on the 12.10.2022).
[164] D. H. Alderman, & O. J. Dwyer, *Memorials and Monuments*. In Kitchin. R, & Thrift. N, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Elsevier. Oxford.Vol.7.(2009).p.56.

According to Andreas Karlsson and Sara Stiber, a memorial can be a monument, but it can also be a procedure of some sort and usually does not exhibit objects from a specific time or event. It usually does not exhibit anything else than itself.[165] A monument celebrates life while a memorial commemorates death or loss.[166] During the same unveiling ceremony of 2010, Khoisan X, who was then the PAC secretary, criticised the ANC-led government's Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) initiative by stating that it was trickery manufactured for the benefit of "white capital". He went on to lambast the ANC by stating:

> Robert Sobukwe's ideals would eventually win, not because the PAC was strong but because it would be swift. People should not trust the middle classes, they might be militant, but they don't stand for radical change. I have no qualms about the day the PAC runs this country….[167]

A disappointing scuffle broke out between two PAC factions at the event. One faction, which was loyal to Letlapa Mphahlele, showed their dissatisfaction by attempting to drown out the speeches being made by singing old liberation songs. The other faction, comprising mainly veterans and the Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA) loyal to Motsoko Pheko, erupted in front of SABC television cameras questioning Mphahlele's changing of the party's constitution in 2008.[168]

Mfanelo Skwatsha, the general secretary of the PAC, told reporters that the event had been hijacked by people who were not PAC members and who had been assisted by the police and the provincial government. The office of the Cape Town Mayor indicated its withdrawal from the event because the two factions could not agree on the final programme for the day.[169] Kgosana, who led a march of 30,000 people into the city centre on March 30 and was credited with avoiding bloodshed on that day, also addressed the unveiling by stating that he was unhappy with the divisions within the PAC.[170] Helen Zille, the Western Cape Premier, did not attend the unveiling ceremony based on police advice that her presence could be seen as lending credibility to one of the two factions. She opted to visit the memorial later that day. On arrival, she said:

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[165] A.Karlsson, & S.Stiber,"The Common Fate Memorial".Unpublished bachelor's dissertation. Malmö University. Malmö.(2007).p.6.
[166] G. Kistenmacher, "Representation of the Holocaust through the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe." *The Writing Anthology*. Vol.4.(2017).p.4.
[167] Q. Mtyala, PAC clashes mar Memorial Day. *Newspolitics*.22 March 2010.
[168] Q. Mtyala, PAC clashes mar memorial day. 22 March 2010. https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/pac-clashes-mar-memorial-day-477062. (Accessed on the 17.10.2022).
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid.

> I was looking forward to the event … I didn't know there was such a terrible split about the monument as some claimed the day had been hijacked by the Pheko faction. I was terribly sorry that it had come to this, and I would not want to be seen choosing sides in the PAC's internal party battles".[171]

Kwandiwe Kondlo observes that the singular defining element of the PAC's organisational crisis was the leadership's loss of credibility and failure to restore it throughout the exile period.[172] According to the PAC, a leadership crisis had been brewing since late 1977 when Potlako Leballo's position as acting president was challenged by his deputy, Templeton Ntantala, who was later expelled from the organisation. This was followed by an open struggle between two factions.[173] Both Kwandiwe Kondlo and Elias Masilela further argue that John Nyathi Pokela's leadership in exile was characterised by widespread dissatisfaction, indecision, corruption, and factionalism.[174] On the 58th anniversary of the formation of the PAC, Jaki Seroke, Chairperson of the Pan Africanist Research Institute (PARI) and member of the PAC national executive committee, wrote:

> A group of rank opportunists has lately come up with calls for the 'unity of factions' as a condition to work for the renewal of the PAC. They took the PAC to the courts in more cases than one cares to count… The proposition for 'unity of factions' is, in our view, horribly wrong. It is not in keeping with the organisational tradition to collapse all pretences of groups and factions in the PAC.[175]

A few days before the joint commemorations in 2010, Letlapa Mphahlele was reported as having taken a dig at the ANC for its attempt to erase the memories of Sharpeville. In a newspaper article, Mphahlele wrote: "The ANC is mutilating history. There is a calculated move by the ruling party to de-link the day from the PAC."[176] However, in his memorial address, Mphahlele brought forth the contestations of the significance of the day by articulating the PAC's stance and viewpoint. He told the audience that the PAC would never recognise Sharpeville Day as Human Rights Day, nor as a

[171] Ibid.
[172] K.K.M. Kondlo, "In the twilight of the Azanian revolution" leadership diversity and its impact on the PAC during the exile period (1962-1990). *Journal for Contemporary History*. Vol.30.No.1.(2005).p.25.
[173] T. Sellström, *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa: A Concerned Partnership:1970-1994.* The Nordic Africa Institute.Uppsala.(1999).p.509
[174] K.K.M. Kondlo, *In the Twilight of the Revolution.* Basler Afrika Bibliographien. Basel.(2010).p.156. Also see E. Masilela, *Number 43, Trelawney Park, KwaMagogo: Untold Stories of Ordinary People Caught up in the Struggle against Apartheid*. New Africa Books (Pty).Ltd.Cape Town. (2007).p.70.
[175] J. Seroke, Reflections on the 58th anniversary of the PAC of Azania. *Mayihlome News.*(2018).https://mayihlomenews.co.za/reflections-on-the-58th-anniversary-of-the-pac-of-azania/.(Accessed on the 18.10.2022).
[176] L. Dithagiso, PAC makes history on Human Rights Day. *Vaalweekblad.* 24 March 2010.

day to celebrate. He contended that the day was still Sharpeville-Langa Day to the PAC and would not be regarded as a festivity. To the PAC, it was a journey down memory lane, as well as a day of great sorrow; therefore, the day did not call for celebrations.[177]

7.4 SHARPEVILLE MEMORY AND MATERIAL CULTURE

Material culture is an integral aspect of memory practices, either through memorialisation processes or performative commemoration activities. László Munteán, Liedeke Plate and Anneke Smelik argue that memory is entangled with things, and this entanglement of memory with materiality can be illustrated, for example, by the souvenirs that tourists buy as a memento on their travels to eventually remind them of a particular time, place, or situation they wish to remember. They further argue that the built environment acts as an agent of collective memory by representing traditional value systems that are then shaped and reproduced through everyday social practices; thus, monuments and memorials further exemplify the interrelation of memory and materiality.[178] In this thesis, material culture refers to the concrete, material, and physical dimensions of acts of remembrance. Labelled "brick-and-mortar testimonies", these forms of public memory have, according to Ali Khangela Hlongwane, become a major feature in the process of reclaiming and humanising public spaces in African townships.[179]

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, during the 2020 commemoration, Jeff Radebe, the former Public Enterprises Minister, told his audience that he had learned strategies to create an official historical landscape at the turn of the decade through the building of a monument. According to Maretha Jordaan, a project leader at the LekoaVaal Metropolitan Council, this contested strategy was known as the Sharpeville Memorial Project and it was an initiative comprising the Sedibeng District Municipality, the Sharpeville Community Forum, and independent experts, with the aim of encouraging tourism. G. Young and P. Vosloo argue that the South African national policy articulated heritage tourism as redress on both national and local levels.

[177] Ibid.

[178] L.Munteán, L.Plate, & A.Smelik, *Things to Remember: Introduction to Materializing Memory in Art and Popular Culture.* Routledge. New York and London.(2017).p.1-4.

[179] A.K. Hlongwane, '*Brick-and-mortar testimonies': The interactive and dialogical features of the memorials and monuments of the June 16 1976 Soweto Uprisings*. In SADET, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa. Soweto Uprising: New Perspectives, Commemorations, and Memorialisation.* Vol.7. UNISA Press. Pretoria.(2017).p.195.

Jordaan also stated that the Sharpeville Memorial Precinct would incorporate a human rights museum, an amphitheatre and a memorial garden that would play commemorative roles in the process of identity formation at different times and for different cultures. It could offer tours through the Vaal area, using Sharpeville as an anchor, and Sharpeville could ultimately become the venue for shopping malls and casinos catering to the recreational needs of holidaymakers. Ultimately, the memorial centre would provide a proper place where people could go to remember the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre.[180] On 8 January 2001, the ANC took another step towards appropriating the memory of Sharpeville by performing a sod-turning ceremony to hand over to contractors the piece of land on which the Human Rights Precinct would be built. This ceremony was carefully planned to coincide with the 89th anniversary of the formation of the ANC in 1912.[181] In his address to a small crowd attending this ceremony, Peter Skosana, Executive Mayor of the Sedibeng District Municipality stated:

> The ceremony was the proof that the Vaal has its own history which should be preserved in the form of the memorial monument, Soweto has its own in the form of Hector Peterson Memorial, nothing prevents us from doing it even better by erecting this Sharpeville monument. The ANC is your liberator from the shackles of apartheid, … living up to its commitment, not promises, to make Sharpeville monument project a reality.[182]

The ceremony was criticised by the PAC and some Sharpeville residents. The PAC submitted that even though the building of the monument was commendable, the monument had lost its impact due to the lack of consultation with local non-governmental organisations, families of the deceased and survivors whose critical role in this historic event has not been acknowledged or appreciated.[183]

[180] K. Edwards, Sharpeville will be one of SA's biggest political tourism sites. *The Sunday Independent.* 25 June 2000.
[181] S. Rampaku, R1.2 Mil monument. *Vaal Weekly*.10–16 January 2001.
[182] Ibid.
[183] D. Kabile, ANC accused of hijacking and trivializing Sharpeville Day. *Vaal Weekly*. 21–27 March 2001.



Figure 7.6. A memorial stone unveiled by Nelson Mandela in 1996 now integrated into the Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct.(Image by Nicho Ntema).

The *Vaal Weekly* of 21–27 March 2001 quoted some survivors as saying that they were still waiting for reparations and that the monument would not bring healing, but only pain, because it would not depict their suffering on that day. To the survivors, this day symbolises pain, humiliation, suffering and death. The survivors further noted that the ANC was not there 41 years ago and had no idea of the suffering and trauma involved on that day, but wanted to decide on the future of the survivors and families of the dead. According to the survivors, the ANC was, in fact, continuing where the white man left off, with the difference between the two being that the apartheid government physically killed people, while the ANC was killing people emotionally.[184]

As part of the official 42nd Human Rights Day celebrations in 2002, the ANC government unveiled an imposing commemorative brick structure that incorporated the existing small memorial of 1996. This unveiling was in accordance with the significance of the Sharpeville Massacre in the meta-narrative of the liberation struggle.[185] At the time of writing this thesis, upgraded streets and an

[184] R. Tabane, Marches and commemorations to mark Human Rights Day. *The Star*. 20 March 2001.
[185] S. Marschall, "Gestures of compensation: Post-apartheid monuments and memorials". *Transformation.*Vol.55.(2004).p.83.

accompanying museum structure form a moving ensemble and notable Sharpeville centre[186] that changed the 1960 Sharpeville commemorative physical landscape near the police station where the 1960 pass law protesters were killed. According to Sabine Marshall, this ambitious memorial, and the adjacent museum, built from year 2000 to 2002, in honour of the victims of the notorious Sharpeville Massacre, were meant to become the catalyst for infrastructural development and the focal point of a completely new town centre and an attached craft market.[187]

This commemorative structure, officially called the Human Rights Precinct and popularly known as *"Monumenteng"* in Sesotho among the local residents, bears no association with human rights. The design of the Human Rights Precinct further incorporates a Freedom Walk, also referred to as Constitutional Walk - which is a space for movement between the precinct and the George Thabe Stadium that has since become the official commemoration site for Human Rights Day celebrations, which, according to the ANC government's grand narrative, coincides with Sharpeville Day.[188]

According to Sabine Marschall, the ANC attempted to frame the Sharpeville memory and assert its hegemony through the sanitisation of Sharpeville Day as Human Rights Day and shifting to the permanent visible memorial building.[189] The design of the Human Rights Precinct, Marschall continues, was an attempt to capture the atmosphere of a cemetery and convey an illusion of the presence of the actual dead.[190] The front of the building echoes the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem and the War Memorial in Washington DC. The idea was that it should blend in with the typical Sharpeville environment, where the reddish colour of its wall finish was chosen to match the bricks of the surrounding houses, while the grass for the memorial garden was sourced from the Vaal River to facilitate a certain sense of rootedness in the local context.[191]

[186] S. Marschall, "Pointing to the dead: Victims, martyrs and public memory in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal.* Vol.60.No.1.(2008).p.119.
[187] S. Marschall, "The Memory of Trauma and Resistance: Public Memorialization and Democracy in Post-apartheid South Africa and Beyond". *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies.* Vol.11.No.4.(2010).p.370.
[188] A.K. Hlongwane, & S.M Ndlovu, *Public history and culture in South Africa: Memorialisation and liberation heritage sites in Johannesburg and township space*. Palgrave Macmillan.Cham.(2019).p.101.
[189] S. Marschall, *Landscape of memory: Commemorative monuments, memorials and public statuary in post-apartheid South Africa*. Vol.15 Brill. Leiden & Boston.(2009).p.102.
[190] S. Marschall, "Pointing to the dead: Victims, martyrs and public memory in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal*. Vol.60.No.1.(2008).p.120.
[191] S. Marschall, *Landscape of memory: Commemorative monuments, memorials and public statuary in post-apartheid South Africa.* Vol.15.Brill.Leiden & Boston.(2009).p.113.



Figure 7.7 The front entrance of the Sharpeville memorial also Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct. (Image by sedibeng.gov.za).

Elizabeth Rankin observes that the commemorative aspect of the Human Rights Precinct consists of a pylon gateway, reminiscent of Egyptian funerary temples. On the wall outside, the names of the victims are etched on four plaques fixed to the front wall of the gatehouse. There is further a spring wall, acknowledging those who died without their names being displayed. A line in the pathway links the site of the confrontation with a memorial wall at the far end of the garden, a concept similar to the line of grasses at the Hector Pieterson Memorial in Soweto.[192]

[192] E. Rankin, "Creating/curating cultural capital: Monuments and museums for post-apartheid South Africa". *Humanities*.Vol.2.(2013).p.84.

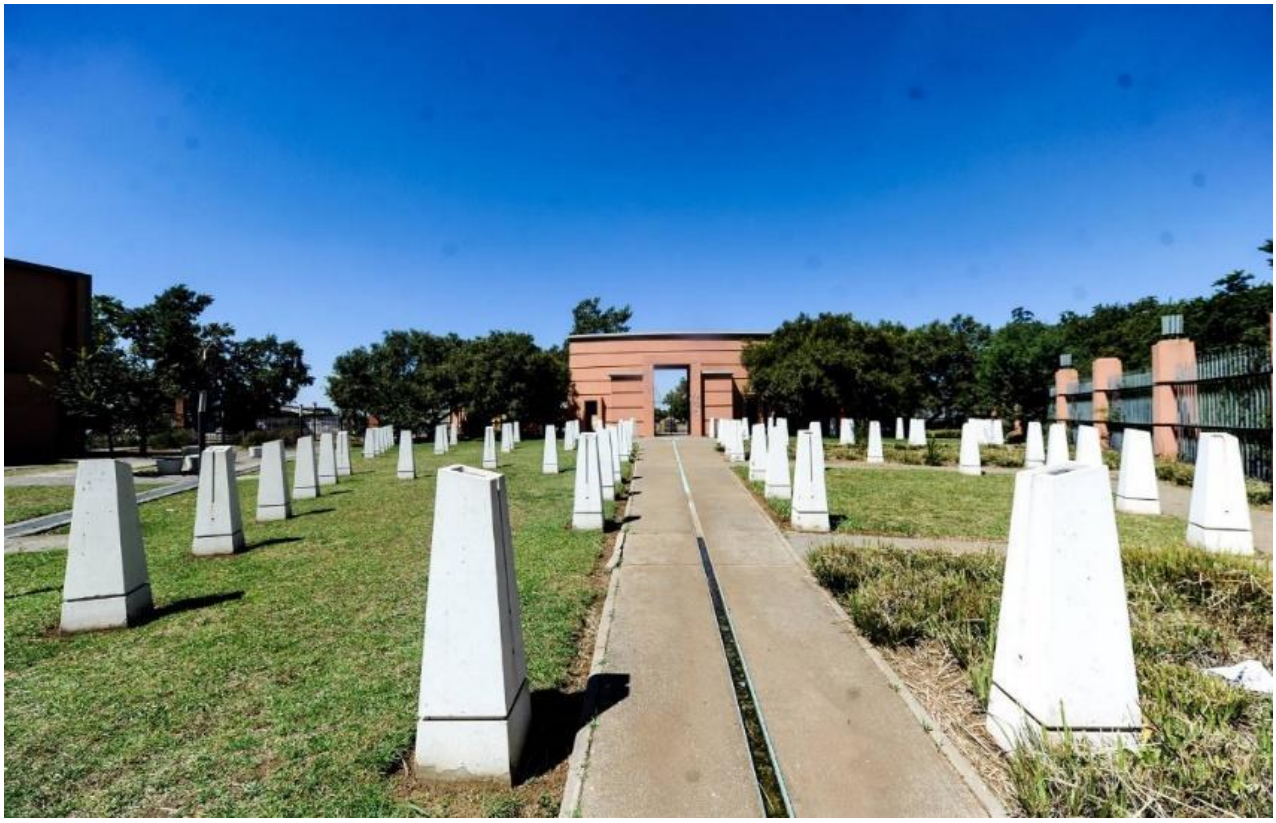

Figure 7.8. A line in the pathway links the site of confrontation with a memorial wall at the far end of the garden and 69 pillars to represent the number of the dead (recently found to be inaccurate and distorted), each inscribed with a victim's name.(Image by Sharpeville Truth Tours).

As mentioned earlier under the PAC commemoration activities in 2003, this year was marked by the unveiling of identical headstones at the Phelindaba Cemetery. According to Lily Kong, cemeteries, alternatively called deathscapes, also function as commemorative material structures and in many ways carry political meanings. She further argues that these landscapes often divide the community members because different factions wish to see different forms of memorials as well as different symbolisms ascribed to the memorials.[193]

[193] L. Kong, Cemeteries and Columbaria, Memorials and Mausoleums: Narrative and Interpretation in the Study of Deathscapes in Geography. *Australian Geographical Studies*.(1999).Vol.37.p.6.



Figure 7.9. Memorial wall at the far end of the Garden of Remembrance. It carries water from an artificial fountain as a symbol of the renewal of life and a stream flowing from the fountain symbolising the rain water that filled the Dlomo Dam. At the wall of memorial wall is a plaque in honour of the victims of the massacre.(Image by Lucas Ledwaba).

In Sharpeville, a few days before the 54th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre in 2014 (a year though outside the scope of this thesis), unhappy community members threatened Khulumani committee members with violence because of the appalling state of the graves of the 1960 massacre victims. For seven days, these members could not sleep in their homes. These angry residents held the view that Khulumani should be responsible for maintaining these graves. In reality, however, these graves are the responsibility of the state in the form of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) which is saddled with the mandate of maintaining the so-called war graves.[194]

[194] M. Jobson, the Sharpeville commemoration: A View and concerns from Khulumani Sharpeville Committee. Ben Khumalo-Seegelken.eKhaya. 24 February 2015. https://www.benkhumalo-seegelken.de/suedafrika-texte/801-the-sharpeville-commemoration-a-view-and-concerns-from-khulumani-sharpeville-committee/. (Accessed on the 24.10.2022).



Figure 7.10. The boulder at the entrance to the Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct.(Image by SAHRA 9/2/277/0019 - 18/01/2021).

Opened in 2002, the Sharpeville Exhibition Centre commemorates the events of 21st March 1960 and honours those who died on that horrific day. It is one of six heritage sites relating to the massacre - the other five being the old Sharpeville police station, the Phelindaba and Vuka cemeteries, where the victims of the massacre were buried, and the Sharpeville Catholic Church. Lois Law argues that the Catholic Church, although it should be understood in terms of its colonial, missionary and racist history, participated in the anti-apartheid struggle, which has facilitated growth in ecumenism and increased contact with secular organisations. The Catholic Church has also become part of a broad anti-apartheid alliance.[195]

According to Tristan Borer, the Roman Catholic Church, beginning from the 1960s following the Sharpeville Massacre, became embroiled in public controversies with repressive regimes, serving as a shelter for social and political dissenters.[196] In Sharpeville, the Roman Catholic Church, just like Regina Mundi in Soweto, was the spiritual centre of the resistance movement. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the first commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre was held in this church by the

[195] L.Law, "An analysis of the socio-political role of the Roman Catholic church in contemporary South Africa". Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Cape Town. Cape Town.(1991).p.iv-v.

[196] T.Borer,"Challenging the State: Churches as Political Actors in South Africa". *Journal of Church and State.*Vol.35.No.3.(1993).p.303.

fearless Father Rudolph O'Flynn. This happened for three years after the massacre. However, there were no memorial services on the 21st of March after Father O'Flynn was deported to his home country for his observance of this day.[197]

From 1963 to 1978, Father Liam McDermott became the Sharpeville parish priest. During his tenure, he never held any memorial service on the 21st of March as the apartheid government had warned him against doing so and he was always under surveillance.[198] Father McDermott, however, offered individual prayers for parishioners who were still reeling from the aftermath of the massacre of 1960. He told the *Southern Cross* newspaper of 6 May 2000 that he "loved the people of Sharpeville and being the parish priest during those years were the greatest days of his life".[199]



Figure 7.11. A lady and member of order of St. Ann attending a special service for six Sharpeville residents who were among the 32 people on death row in South Africa (Image by ZA AFRAPIX AP2-A-562. http://historicalpapers-atom.wits.ac.za/562).

Peter Parker and Joyce Mokhesi-Parker nevertheless contend that the Roman Catholic priests who came after Rudolph O'Flynn were pliant and suffered from the delusion that it was better to be

[197] T.Lodge, Sharpeville and memory. Violence, memory and Commemoration: Perspectives from Southern, East and Central Africa. Birbeck College, 9th December 2011.p.17-18. https://www.gold.ac.uk/media/documents-by-section/departments/history/Lodge_Sharpeville-and-Memory_Nov2011.pdf. (Accessed on the 27.02.2023).
[198] Interview with Father Liam McDermott. Pretoria.26 March 2000.
[199] W.Slattery, Fr Liam McDermott OFM Rest in Peace. *Southern Cross*. 06 May 2020.

present and cowed than fight for justice and risk deportation. According to them, no priest had the courage to do more than remember the massacre in a general church service.[200]

In the 1980s, this church provided asylum for political activists sought by the apartheid security force. The parish priest attended political trials, assisted the children and widows of political victims and further invited the foreign media to report to the international community on police brutality and acts of retaliation committed by vigilantes in alliance with the security forces.[201] The other heritage site that was declared is on the eastern border of Sharpeville, along the road that leads to Vereeniging. Along this route is a lake named by the Sharpeville residents as as the Dlomo Dam. As mentioned in Chapter Two, following the shooting, it rained so heavily that rain water, according to legend, washed the blood away from the dead and wounded and drained away into the reservoir at the township's edge.

In 2005, the ANC-led government observed the Human Rights Day celebrations with the opening of the Sharpeville Exhibition Centre[202] adjacent to the Sharpeville Memorial Precinct.[203] The unveiling of this memorial site in the form of a museum is what Alejandro Castillejo Cuéllar describes as breaking the cycle of historical silence.[204] According to Patricia Davison, museums and exhibition centres, such as the Sharpeville Exhibition Centre, mediate the past and the present just like memory and give material form to authorised versions of the past, which in time become institutionalised as public memory.[205]

[200] P. Parker, & J. Mokhesi-Parker, *In the Shadow of Sharpeville: Apartheid and Criminal Justice*. New York University Press.New York.(1998).p.24.

[201] P. Noonan, they are burning the churches: the final dramatic events that scuttled apartheid. Jacada media.(Pty).Ltd.Johannesburg.(2003).p.114.

[202] For more on the Sharpeville Exhibition Centre, see M. Rambhoros, *South African commemorative architecture: A critical assessment of selected contemporary struggle sites within a transforming post-apartheid socio-spatial landscape.* Unpublished master's dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal.Durban.2009.

[203] T. Mtshali, & N. Khangale, Human Rights Day marked across the land. *The Star.* 22 March 2005.

[204] A.C. Cuellar, "Unravelling silence: Violence, memory and the limits of Anthropology's craft". *Dialectical Anthropology*.Vol.29.(2005).p.167.

[205] P. Davison, Museums and the reshaping of memory. In Nuttall.S, & Coetzee. C, *Negotiating the past: The making of memory in South Africa.* Oxford University Press.Cape Town.(1998).p.145.



Figure 7.12. Sharpeville Exhibition Centre.(Image by Flickr.com).

This site-specific commemorative exhibition centre in Sharpeville is but one example of South Africa's heritage projects and the transformation agenda of building museums with a memorial purpose. Elizabeth Rankin points out that this structure provides opportunities to acknowledge previously marginalised histories and honour those who opposed apartheid, many of whom died in the struggle for freedom against apartheid and racial segregation.[206] In the same vein, Ngcobo argues that museums as public institutions "shape and manifest the consciousness, identities, and understanding of communities and individuals in relation to their natural, historical and cultural environments, through collection, documentation, conservation, research and education programmes that are responsive to the needs of society".[207]

It should be stated that the post-apartheid museums are part of a "memory boom" that characterises a society in conversion and is involved in the nation-building process. Hlongwane regards the emergence of museums as a process by which history "erupts" into the public sphere, similar to various government spheres, non-governmental organisations, and the political typified as the (re)emergence of South African history in visual form and presenting a myriad of rationales and

[206] E. Rankin, "Creating/curating cultural capital: Monuments and museums for post-apartheid South Africa". *Humanities.*Vol.2.(2013).p.72.

[207] A. Sheriff, "Symbolic restitution: Post-apartheid changes to the South African heritage sector: 1994-2012". *Electronic Journal of Africana Bibliography*. Vol.16.No.1.(2014).p.2

challenges across a wide range of museums projects, including the Sharpeville Memorial and Exhibition Centre.[208] Ayanda Ngcobo argues that exhibition centres, post-apartheid South Africa, are more inclusive and, because they embrace multiculturalism, are a start to new ways of thinking about our history and representing our heritage.[209] On this score, Rebecca Sweetman, Alison Hadfield and Akira O'Connor argue that exhibition centres play a significant role in recollection in that memories are constantly revisited and reorganised in an effort to give meaning to the original encounter.[210]

In terms of representation, its interior best describes the assertion by Annie Coombes that museums are about finding ways of speaking the unspeakable and incorporating the acknowledgment of trauma into the form of commemoration as a means of memory recovery.[211] Hlongwane and Ndlovu observe that the museum (re)presents an experience, as opposed to an object, because it exposes the tourist(s) to the events of 21 March 1960 in the form of a permanent exhibition that considers the internal and external spaces that have become an integral part of the tourist's experience.[212] The permanent exhibition consists of photos of the survivors and artefacts such as clothes, shoes and bicycles. The exhibition also displays enlarged black-and-white photographs of the massacre that are near representations of the actual clothes and items belonging to the victims and survivors.

The 46th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre was marked by the Freedom Park Trust, which inscribed the names of those who died in the Sharpeville uprising on the Sikhumbuto memorial wall at Freedom Park[213] in Pretoria. The process of immortalising the dead, including known and

[208] See, A.K. Hlongwane, *History, memory, tourism and curatorial mediations: The Hector Peterson Museum and the representation of story of the June 16, 1976, uprising.* In SADET, *The road to democracy in South Africa. Soweto uprising perspectives, commemorations and memorialisation*.Vol.7.UNISA Press.Pretoria.(2017).p.228.

[209] A. Ngcobo, "The politics of representation in South African Museums". *International Council of Museums Study Series The Politics and Poetics of Museology*.Vol.46.(2018).p.159.

[210] R. Sweetmana, A. Hadfielda & A. O'Connor, "Material Culture, Museums, and Memory: Experiments in Visitor Recall and Memory". *Visitor Studies*. Vol.23.No.1.(2020).p.19.

[211] A.E. Coombes, *Visual culture and public memory in a democratic South Africa: History after apartheid.* Wits University Press. Johannesburg.(2004).p.120.

[212] A.K. Hlongwane, & M.S. Ndlovu, *Remembering Sharpeville Day and Fashioning Contested National Narratives: The Sharpeville Memorial Precinct and the Langa Memorial.* In Hlongwane. A.K, & Ndlovu. M.S, *Public history and culture in South Africa: Memorialisation and liberation heritage sites in Johannesburg and township space*. Palgrave Macmillan.Cham.(2019).p.101.

[213] Freedom Park, built near the infamous apartheid-era Voortrekker Monument, is a memorial to honour those who sacrificed their lives for freedom. Freedom Park was established as the South African government's response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It considered the public's need for a memorial to fittingly honour those who sacrificed their lives for freedom. It also celebrates and explores the country's diverse peoples, and our common humanity, through compelling stories, performances, exhibits, and architecture. For more on Freedom Park, see C.

unknown victims of the Sharpeville Massacre, had been long underway as proposed names for inscriptions were published on the Freedom Park web page for affected families of the massacre to verify the names of the victims before they were immortalised. Ciraj Rassool argues that by having their names included in Freedom Park's Wall of Remembrance, they became ancestral heroes of the nation.[214]

This is a place best described by Andries Oliphant as a national, postcolonial memorial of monumental proportions, conceived in the wake of the end of minority rule in South Africa in 1994.[215] According to Robyn Autry, it is a site of remembrance and a heritage precinct that was originally conceived as an authentic African and postcolonial monument based on the values of humanism and freedom and dedicated to the victims of conflict during the colonial epoch in South Africa. Autry also notes that from a commemorative point of view, it signals an exit from the Eurocentric flairs of memorialisation that branded the colonial periods.[216] On April 2010, construction of the Sharpeville Memorial Garden, situated in the Phelindaba Cemetery, was started by the ANC government-appointed contractor, GREENinc Landscape Architecture.[217] According to its architects, the memorial was to provide a place of remembrance and gathering for the residents of Sharpeville and visitors to the cemetery. It further includes spaces for small intimate gatherings and private memorial events, as well as large political events such as memorialisation gatherings during annual commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre.

Kros, "A New Monumentalism? From Public Art to Freedom Park". *Image & Text*.Vol.2012.Issu.19.(2012).N.Mdlalose,"Storytelling at Freedom Park://hapo interactive space".*South African Museums Association Bulletin.*Vol.23.Issu.1.(1997). C. Saunders,"Memorializing Freedom Struggles". *Safundi: Journal of South African and American Studies.* Vol.9.No.3.(2008), & G. Young, & P. Vosloo, "Isivivane, Freedom Park: A critical analysis of the relationship between commemoration, meaning and landscape design in post-apartheid South Africa." *Acta Structilia.* Vol.27.No.1.(2020), among others.

[214] C. Rassool, *Human remains, the disciplines of the dead and the South African memorial complex,* In Peterson D.R, Gavua. K, & Rassool. C, *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, histories and infrastructures.* Cambridge University Press.Cambridge.(2015).p.133.

[215] A. Oliphant, "Freedom Park and postcolonial monumentality". *Third Text*. Vol.27.No.3.(2013).p.303.

[216] R. Autry, *Doing memory in public: Postapartheid memorial space as an activist project*. In Silberman M. & Vatan F, *Memory and post-war memorials confronting the violence of the past*. Palgrave Macmillan. New York. (2013).p.140.

[217] D. Holmes, Sharpeville Memorial Garden: A procession through the garden. Sharpeville South Africa: GREENinc Landscape Architecture.15 July 2011. https://worldlandscapearchitect.com/sharpeville-memorial-garden-procession-garden-sharpeville-south-africa-greeninc-landscape-architecture/. (Accessed on the 28.10.2022).



Figure 7.13. A steel plaque "I Remember Sharpeville" by Sipho Sydney Sepamla.(Image by GREENinc Landscape Architecture).[218]

Among its complex representational features is a plaque attached to a memorial wall bearing the name of Sipho Sydney Sepamla, who is regarded as being among the forerunners of the post-Sharpeville cultural regeneration that foreshadowed Black Consciousness poetry, also widely known as Soweto poetry.[219] Ágnes Erőss observes that commemorative plaques are mushrooming in the wake of memory production.[220] This was the single most significant socio-literary movement of the seventies in South Africa which took its motivation from the reaction to apartheid tyranny after the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960.[221] According to Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane, Sipho Sydney Sepamla was a schoolteacher in Sharpeville during the 1960 Sharpeville shooting and his poem, *"I Remember Sharpeville",* captures the spirit of the time and provides an eyewitness account of the massacre.[222] According to Michael Galchinsky, the poem represents the first narrative of the victims:[223]

[218] The Sipho Sydney Sempala plaque at the Sharpeville Memorial. is unfortunately spelled wrong. The correct surname is Sepamla.

[219] D. Pucherová, "The Colors of Resistance in Apartheid South Africa: Black Consciousness Poetry and the Racial Elusiveness of Wopko Jensma". *Archiv Orientální*.No.86.(2018).p.363

[220] Á. Erőss, "Living memorial and frozen monuments: The role of social practice in memorial sites". *Urban Development Issues*.Vol.55.p.19.

[221] Ibid.p.363.

[222] M.V. Mzamane, "The life and times of Sipho Sydney Sepamla: A tribute". *Tydskrif vir letterkunde*.Vol.44.No.2.(2007).p.241.

[223] M. Galchinsky, *Lament as Transitional Justice*. English Faculty Publications. Georgia State University.Vol.22.(2014).p.15.

On the 21st March 1960 on a wrath-wrecked
ruined-raked morning a black sea surged forward
its might ahead mind behind it had downed centuries-old containment…
it sucked into its core the aged and the young…
into a solid compound of black oozing energy
in a flash of the eye of gunfire…
they fled they fell…
our heads bowed our shame aflame.
our faith shaken we buried them.
for what they were our fallen heroes and our history.[224]

As can be seen on the Memorial Wall, Sipho Sydney Sepamla is unfortunately spelled incorrectly as Sempala. In a conversation with Tsoana Nhlapo of the Sharpeville Foundation about their misgivings about this typographical error, she indicated that her organisation expressed its discontent over such brazen disrespect and distortion of their past on a national heritage site with the relevant department within the Emfuleni local municipality. Regrettably, most of the granite and steel poles have been stolen and the memorial itself vandalised before any rectification could be made.[225] The steel and granite probably found their way to nearby scrap metal industries and funeral parlours.[226] Sabine Marschall argues that although some acts of vandalism are ideologically motivated, the theft and vandalism were as a result of the scrap value of the metals to the urban poor as well as the persistent deterioration caused by general neglect and lack of maintenance.[227]

Sarah Gensburger argues that the vandalisation of public memorials and toppling of statues is a practice that has been around for a long time.[228] She further contends that vandalism, to public commemorative markers, is de-commemoration – a term used to describe the practice of diminishing *aides-mémoires* of the past from the public space. Gensburger, however, recognises these acts as forms of commemoration – not politically authorised and sometimes violent, but commemoration nonetheless.[229]

[224] M.V. Mzamane, The life and times of Sipho Sydney Sepamla: A tribute. *Tydskrif vir letterkunde.*Vol.44.No.2.(2007).p.241.
[225] Conversation with Tsoana Nhlapo. Sharpeville.23 02.2023.
[226] Ibid.
[227] S.Marschall, "Targeting Statues: Monument "Vandalism" as an Expression of Socio-political Protest in South Africa". *African Studies Review*. Vol.60.No.3.(2017).p.213-114.
[228] S.Gensburger, "The paradox of (de)commemoration: do people really care about statues?" *The Conversation.*19 August 2020. https://theconversation.com/the-paradox-of-de-commemoration-do-people-really-care-about-statues-141807. (Accessed on the 18.03.2023).
[229] Ibid.

In post-apartheid South Africa, the "Rhodes Must Fall" campaign initiated by students at the University of Cape Town in 2015 inspired vandalism of public commemorative markers which stopped towards the end of the same year.[230] The defacing, toppling and other forms of vandalism to commemorative markers that occurred in most parts of the country sparked a pulsating debate about "white heritage" and symbols of the colonial and apartheid era by black South Africans. However, there were incidents of vandalism carried out by white South Africans who felt undervalued in the new political order.[231]

In Sharpeville, the vandalism of commemorative markers, as per Sabine Marshall's definition, signifies a message of socio-political protest. For example, on the 52nd anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre in 2012, Sharpeville residents took to the streets after the government's announcement that the keynote address on this day would be delivered in Soweto instead of Sharpeville.[232] Residents barricaded roads with burning tyres, damaged signposts and broke into local groceries stores. They also targeted the memorial by painting it with insulting words directed at Nomvula Mokonyane, the premier of Gauteng. The ANC, and the government by extension, described the residents' actions as a form of opportunistic vandalism. It stated that the 21 of March anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre was not meant to be observed exclusively by the people of Sharpeville. The 2009 national commemoration was held in Kimberley, while that of 2011 was held in Athlone, and on both occasions there were no protests.[233]

[230] According to Sabine Marshall, "vandalism" in the treatment of commemorative artifacts can take the form of dissent graffiti, paint splashes, damage, destruction, attachments of insulting items or substances. See, S.Marschall, "Targeting statues: monument "vandalism" as an expression of sociopolitical protest in South Africa." *African Studies Review*. Vol.60.No.3.(2017).p.206.

[231] Ibid.p.206.

[232] P.Tau, Sharpeville locals fume over decision. *The Star*.21 March 2012.

[233] K. Mabuza, Sharpeville protesters labelled 'opportunists. *Sowetan.*26 March 2012.



Figures 7.14. Vandalised memorial at the Sharpeville Human Rights precinct and protests on 21 March by Sharpeville residents.(Sowetanlive).

It should be emphasised that this government-installed memorial eclipsed the PAC's memorial in the cemetery. The PAC's memorial had, for some years, been a visible landmark in the cemetery, drawing legitimacy from the presence of the actual bodies in the cemetery. Sabine Marschall argues that the ANC-led government's memorial projects in Sharpeville recommenced or sustained the old rivalry between the two former liberation movements (the ANC and the PAC) and the current opposition. Marschall further argues that having the memorials of the ANC and the PAC in one place has enhanced their public profiles and legitimised their claims to the sacrifices made in the cause of freedom.[234]

7.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted the change and continuity in the memorialisation and heritage commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre at the turn of the century. It mapped the PAC's and the ANC's commemorations of this day along different political and ideological lines, which has continued even at the turn of the century. It has discussed the ways and forms that the ANC, and by extension the government, organised official observances of this day under the auspices of the South African Human Rights Commission. It further highlighted the Human Rights Day observance through party rallies and festivals, as well as the ways in which these platforms were

[234] S. Marschall, "Pointing to the dead: Victims, martyrs and public memory in South Africa." *South African Historical Journal.* Vol.60.No.1.(2008).p.120.

used to disseminate the programmes of political parties and, in election years, canvass for votes. This day was also chosen for the opening of the Constitutional Court, an apex court in the country, and the unveiling of memorials such as the Gugulethu and Trojan Horse Memorials, which though unrelated to the Sharpeville-Langa Massacre, are consequences of the ANC's campaigns and underground activities.

The chapter has demonstrated that at the beginning of 21st century, commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre found expression through material culture. The 2000 decade witnessed positive changes in the geographical landscape, such as the memorial dedicated to the victims in the form of the Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct situated within the Sharpeville community. This memorial landscape serves as a memorialisation site where wreaths are laid in honour of the deceased during anniversaries of the Sharpeville Massacre. This memorial was followed by the museum (exhibition centre) as a re-presentation of public memory and engagement, as well as a vehicle for re-imagining the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre through the preservation of local history for posterity and the enrichment of tourists' experience of the Sharpeville memorial sites. The library, which incorporates a permanent exhibition, serves as an educational hub for the youth of Sharpeville and an old age home as a facility aimed at meeting the needs of aging survivors of the massacre, where they are medically attnded, offered food parcels and engaged in phyical activites to keep healthy.

The chapter has further demonstrated the involvement of SAHRA in the memorialisation of the Sharpeville Massacre victims, with its logo finding expression on the headstones of the victims at the Phelindaba Cemetery. This involvement of SAHRA in the memorialisation process was the first step in inserting Sharpeville into the national heritage discourse. It has highlighted the unveiling of the PAC's counter-memorial in protest against the official memorial unveiled by the ANC-led government. The chapter further discussed the contestation brought about by the statement made by Julius Malema when he was still a member of the ANC, which touted the ANC as the sole owner of the Sharpeville memory. It also highlighted the inscription of the Sharpeville dead on Freedom Park's Wall of Remembrance, thereby turning them into ancestors of the liberation struggle in South Africa. The chapter also focused on the service delivery protests that nearly disrupted the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. The protests were averted through a memorandum of understanding between the Gauteng provincial government and unhappy Sharpeville residents. The most significant changes in the commemoration of the Sharpeville

Massacre highlighted in this chapter involve the occasions when both the PAC and the ANC buried their differences and jointly commemorated the day.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

The wheel of progress revolves relentlessly, and all the nations of the world take their turn at the field-glass of human destiny. Africa will not retreat! Africa will not compromise! Africa will not relent! Africa will not equivocate! And she will be heard! Remember Africa![1]

Robert Sobukwe

8.1 CONCLUSION

This doctoral thesis is situated broadly within the field of 'memory studies', with particular focus on 'historical memory', which is an emerging field of study. It is a study of observances of the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre through memorialisation processes, including performative and participatory commemorations, within the borders of South Africa.

Sharpeville has become a seminal part of South African history, capturing the minds and memories of many, both nationally and globally. It is generally accepted that the Sharpeville Massacre marked a turning point in the history of South Africa in many ways. Firstly, it marked the beginning of the armed struggle against colonial apartheid, which lasted almost four decades. Secondly, it resulted in the diplomatic isolation, sanctions, and cultural boycott of the apartheid government by the international community. Internationally, the massacre sent moral shockwaves across the world regarding the evilness of apartheid, resulting, in 1966, in the proclamation of 21 March as International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, in solidarity with the victims and survivors of the Sharpeville Massacre.

The massacre further had a tremendous impact on the agendas of international social movements. It brought about a radical transformation of the Boycott Movement, which later became the Anti-Apartheid Movement.[2] This movement annually commemorated the massacre, from 1960 (the year of the massacre) until 1994 when it ceased to exist. The Boycott Movement also used it as a platform to launch anti-apartheid campaigns such as the arms embargo against South Africa, boycott of apartheid goods, and freedom of political prisoners, among others.

[1] M.D. Gwebu, *UNIZULU hosts an African Webinar Series honouring Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe*.24 June 2021. http://www.unizulu.ac.za/unizulu-hosts-an-african-webinar-series-honouring-robert-mangaliso-sobukwe/. (Accessed on the 12.11.2022).

[2] For more on the Boycott Movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, see C. Gurney, 'A Great Cause': The Origins of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, June 1959-March 1960. *Journal of Southern African Studies.* Vol.26.No.1.(2000).pp.123-144.

The Sharpeville Massacre has been recalled and remembered through memorialisation processes and commemorations since the 1960s – a decade regarded as the 'silent sixties'. This study demonstrates that despite silences imposed by the apartheid regime, new forms of resistance were bubbling up beneath the surface. It brought to the surface the role of NUSAS – the liberal white students' movement that was radicalised by the horrific mass killing – in keeping the memory of Sharpeville alive. This was a unique period in the history of South Africa, characterised by the permanent presence of security forces within Sharpeville, a stringent nationwide state of emergency and continuous arrests and other harsh, demeaning laws against the majority of the South African population – all aimed at quelling any form of resistance, including political opposition and insurrection, against the apartheid state.

As Chapter Three demonstrates, the 1970s was the decade of the hegemony of the Black Consciousness Movement, with the movement filling the vacuum created by the imprisonment and forced exile of liberation movement leaders. The polarised commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre continued during this decade: on the one hand, it was openly commemorated by the white liberals as Sharpeville Day in the confines of university spaces; on the other hand, as Heroes Day by the progressive Black Consciousness Movement – in the form of church services in order to avert police intervention. Interestingly, this decade marked the first commemoration service held in public within Sharpeville by the Black Consciousness family of organisations in the form of the Black People's Convention. Sharpeville Day commemorations continued well into the 1980s – a decade characterised by a new political epoch of civil society engagement under the banner of the United Democratic Front, a surrogate of the African National Congress, and the use of state power to suppress commemorations, as these commemorations were not so much about remembrances as rededication to the cause of the struggle against apartheid.

The recall of Sharpeville took place in a climate of urban revolts and repeated state of emergency during the 1980s. The beginning of the 1990s marked the commencement of the observance of the Sharpeville memory along separate ideological and political lines by resistance movements. During this decade, 21 March was observed openly, as all liberation movements were unbanned, political leaders were freed and those who had gone into exile returned. The commemoration of Sharpeville during this decade happened under two distinct political environments: the

transitional period, and the period of Government of National Unity led by the African National Congress.

In 1995, Sharpeville Day was de-politicised and renamed Human Rights Day. Under the new name and the state-led Sharpeville Day, commemoration moved away from the usual tradition of solemnity to one of celebrations and spectacle. As this chapter demonstrated, commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre, post-1994, took the form of counter-commemorations, counter-narratives and counter-memory displayed mainly by the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement, which were liberation movements turned political parties.

During the 2000s, the memory of Sharpeville continued to be observed, with political parties claiming and contesting Sharpeville as both a place and a space. The most striking feature of annual commemorations during this period was the exclusion of other historical narratives from public consideration and recognition, reflecting only the values and worldviews of the African National Congress as a governing party and occluding the historical experiences of ordinary Sharpeville residents and the contributions of other liberation movements to the realisation of a democratic dispensation. These contestations, which at times became violent, characterised the post-1994 commemorations of Sharpeville.

In this decade, Sharpeville memorialisation became entangled with materiality. Headstones at the Phelindaba Cemetery are memorials by their own nature, installed to make people remember, and it further exemplifies the interrelation of memory and materiality. Likewise, the commemorative memorials, remembrance garden, old people's homes for survivors, the library and museum are cases in point. Not only do they utilise the landscape space which they inhabit but they also create eidetic images that can recall the past and present deep descriptions of the massacre that provoke intense competing historical narratives, thereby illustrating how sites of a single event have multiple reinterpretations.

While much of the available literature has concentrated on documenting the events leading to the 21st of March 1960 mass killing in Sharpeville and its aftermath, surprisingly little has been recorded about Sharpeville beyond this incident. Therefore, this thesis not only complements the existing literature but shifts focus to the memorialisation and commemoration of the massacre from 1960 to 2010, issues that have so far been on the margins of academic research. It attempts

to fill this gap in our historical knowledge by advancing the argument that since the massacre in 1960, there have been shifts, changes, and continuity in how the massacre has been recalled. By using oral sources, the study has unveiled the disturbing memorialisation processes of this massacre, which to date remain incomplete and therefore constitute a delay in the healing process of the victim's next of kin.

At the time of writing this thesis, a few of the survivors of the massacre continue to experience the medical condition known as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which can be generally described as an experience that overwhelms the coping strategies people usually possess.[3] Based on my interaction with interviewees during my field trip, it became clear to me that those I had some interaction with could be regarded as a sample community still undergoing historical trauma. This is a complex and collective trauma experienced over time and across generations by a group of people who share an identity, a history of oppression and victimisation, also known as massive group trauma exposure.[4] As mentioned in Chapter One, I found myself not being fully prepared to deal with the horrific stories about the effects of the massacre at both individual and communal levels. The trauma does not only relate to the deaths of innocent residents, among them children, but also to the humiliation they suffered at the hospitals and prisons.

Chapter One established the point of departure for this study by providing the rationale and conceptual framework on which the study is based. It critically investigated the existing literature on memorialisation and commemorations: in the global context of the holocaust memorial as well as the South African memorialisation and commemoration experience. Using a qualitative research methodology, this study has employed primary sources in the form of archival material sourced from the repositories of the National Archives of South Africa, the University of South Africa archives, archives of Digital Innovation South Africa, historical papers at the University of Witwatersrand's Cullen Library, City of Johannesburg Library and newsroom archives. Oral sources included testimonies and oral traditions, as well as secondary sources. This method was deployed to enrich this study, with the different sources complementing each other.

[3] S. Musisi, & E. Kinyanda, "Long-Term Impact of War, Civil War, and Persecution in Civilian Populations — Conflict and Post Traumatic Stress in African Communities". *Frontiers in Psychiatry. Policy and Practice Reviews.*Vol.11. No.2.(2020).p.2.

[4] N.V. Mohatt, A.B. Thompson, N.D. Thai, & J.K. Tebes, "Historical trauma as public narrative: A conceptual review of how history impacts present-day health". *Social Science & Medicine.* Vol.106.(2014).p.128.

Chapter Two provided a brief history of Sharpeville as a way of putting the theme of this thesis into perspective. It explored, briefly, the socio-political environment of South Africa before 1960, the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress and the activities it carried out following its establishment, including the Positive Action Campaign that took place on 21 March 1960. It further discussed the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre as well as the memorialisation process that followed during this decade, including commemoration attempts by underground political remnants of the banned liberation movements and student movements.

Chapter Three focused on parallel commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre by the National Union of South African Students, the liberal white students' movement and the Black Consciousness Movement which emerged in the late 1960s, followed by their affiliates in the form of the South African Students Organisation in the 1970s. It highlighted that the Black Consciousness Movement, during this period, popularised the observance of the Sharpeville Massacre as Heroes Day, as it became a black political formation that filled the political vacuum created by the outlawing of liberation movements in the early 1960s following the Sharpeville Massacre. Significantly, the chapter also highlighted the first-ever commemoration by the Black Consciousness Movement-aligned Black People's Convention as a demonstration of the hegemony of the Black Consciousness Movement during this decade.

Chapter Four examined commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre during the 1980s. This decade is regarded as the most riotous decade in South Africa's political history, characterised by country-wide protests by the United Democratic Front (UDF) formed in 1983. The UDF became the protuberant political formation with more than 600 affiliates and, during this decade, eclipsed the Black Consciousness Movement which had been at the forefront of commemorations of the Sharpeville Massacre from the previous decade. The chapter also highlighted the hegemonic struggles between the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organization in the townships, which later became violent and resulted in killings. It discussed commemorations of the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre during this decade amidst insurrectionary politics within South African townships. This decade, especially the years from 1984 to 1986, is regarded as a watershed in South Africa's history. The Vaal Uprising, which began on 3 September 1984 in Sharpeville, is widely acknowledged as a pivotal moment in the anti-apartheid struggle. Following the arrest of the so-called 'Sharpeville Six', commemoration of the Sharpeville

Massacre became not only about the observance of the 1960 mass killing but also a platform used by political organisations to demand the release of the Sharpeville Six.

Chapter Five focused on the commemoration of Sharpeville during the 1990s – a period that can be divided into distinct political landscapes even though within a single decade. It highlighted how ideological differences played out among the unbanned liberation movements when, for the first time, the Sharpeville Massacre was freely and openly commemorated in the country. This decade opened with the unbanning of liberation movements, the release of political prisoners as well as the return of those who had been in exile.

The observance of Sharpeville during this decade took place in a transitional political landscape characterised by negotiations for a new democratic order and unprecedented political violence which saw two massacres take place in Boipatong and Sebokeng adjoining Sharpeville. The chapter further highlighted that the observance of this day in 1994 witnessed the biggest gathering of 50,000 people in Sharpeville. Organised by the African National Congress (ANC), the party saw this day as an opportunity and platform for electioneering in the first-ever non-racial elections which ushered in a democratic dispensation in South Africa.

Chapter Six discussed commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre in post-1994 democratic South Africa. In 1995, commemoration of Sharpeville became an official event, with the day having already been declared a public holiday. It indicated how this day was transformed into a powerful instrument of the state for constructing the past and building historical narratives about heroes and martyrs.

It further highlighted how the ANC-led government of national unity repackaged this day from Sharpeville Day, as it is commonly known, to Human Rights Day. The chapter posited that the rebranding of this day has sanitised the Sharpeville story, repressed critical voices and narratives, and obliterated the achievements of the leaders of various liberation groups, notably Africanists and BCM leaders. This was also a decade which marked the beginning of contestations over name change and the manner this day was being observed by the state, becoming from 1995 an event of festivities and spectacle dubbed 21 March Human Right Day celebrations.

Chapter Seven is divided into two halves. The first section examined Sharpeville in terms of commemorations which were held from 2000 to 2010. The second section looked at embodied commemorative brick-and-mortar testimonies – which are visual and material cultures in the form of physical historical markers like archives, museums, monuments and memorials – as a way of preserving history.

The chapter highlighted the spatial transformation of Sharpeville in terms of material culture, which mediates the relationship with the massacre. It discussed how the new government post-1994 has been obsessed with monuments and memorials in commemorating significant events of widespread resistance against oppression and acknowledging those who died through apartheid violence in townships across the country.

Following the massacre, 82 people died on the spot, contradicting the official tally of 69 people released by the apartheid regime and which, for a long period, was regarded as the official number by both academics and the general public.[5] The memorialisation process was never conducted properly according to African mourning, funerary rites and burial customs. For instance, the next of kin were denied the mortuary rituals comprising a wide range of symbolic rituals, such as bathing the dead and night-time vigils, and other family-specific customs such as the after-life gifts that accompany the dead, and the viewing of the dead for the final time by relatives, friends and mourners before the burial ceremony.

In African mortuary custom, the dead are brought home via the place where they took their last breath and are spoken to during the process of "fetching the spirits" (*Ho lata Meya*) and cleansing. Due to this, it is the belief among many Sharpeville residents that the spirits of the dead are still hovering over the place and have not yet rested. Preparatory rites – the anointing of bodies as a purifying act, dressing of corpses to make them presentable for display, as well as

[5] On the 20th of October 2022, Professor Nancy Clark and William Bill Worger from the University of California Polytechnic State University in San Luis Obispo and the University of California, Los Angeles, respectively, presented - to the community of Sharpeville, academics from the University of North West, University of South Africa, University of Witwatersrand, Hitotsubashi University, Vaal University of Technology, Sedibeng district municipality officials, political heads, the Khulumani Support Group, the Vaal religious community, the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa and officials of Freedom Park - their ground-breaking archival research finding disputing the official narrative of 69 people. During this occasion, they demonstrated that there had been a huge cover-up by the police in terms of the actual number of people who died at the scene of the massacre on 21 March 1960. For more, see D. Forbes, Police lies about Sharpeville Massacre overturned by new research. Sunday Times. 20 October 2022. https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times-daily/news/2022-10-20-police-lies-about-sharpeville-massacre-overturned-by-new-research/. (Accessed on the 25.10.2022).

grave goods (which are personal goods or items that accompany the dead) – were not observed. Another fascinating legend that came to the fore during my conversations with the people was that after the massacre, the rain poured down, thereby offering a symbolic cleansing. The Dlomo Dam at the entrance of the township became the recipient of the blood that was spilled by the police on that day. These funerary rites, which are an integral part of the memorialisation process, were not conducted because coffins were brought to the cemetery on the 30th of March and 2nd of April to an open space. These coffins were locked, with name tags attached to each coffin.

The decision by the apartheid regime to disallow these forms of memorialisation processes has had a long-lasting negative impact, as some family members of the deceased still struggle to get closure. Some of them still wonder if they indeed buried the right person and if the rituals they continuously perform are directed at the correct individuals. On the other hand, the TRC process neither entertained nor considered the exhumation of the bodies for verification. The subsequent paragraphs provide some highlights of the main issues discussed in each chapter of this study.

8.2 AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- The limitation of this study is that it covers observance of the Sharpeville Massacre within the borders of South Africa. This day is engraved in the commemorative calendar of the United Nations. It will be interesting to conduct a study of how this day has been and continues to be commemorated by this multi-national body pre- and post-1994 South Africa.

- Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi has conducted an illuminating study on how Radio Freedom, the voice of the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe was utilised as a tool for political conscientisation in the heyday of apartheid. It sought to unite and encourage the audience to support and take part in the armed struggle and other resistance campaign against the colonial apartheid regime. In one of my discussions with him, Lekgoathi pointed out that he discovered how, in its programme line-up Radio Freedom devoted some attention to Sharpeville Day, albeit from the ANC's perspective – something that he discusses briefly in a study he has conducted. An in-depth study on the role and programme lineups on Radio Freedom regarding Sharpeville Day during the apartheid era could possibly be a fascinating study, as most of the station's audiences were South Africans in exile in African countries, commonly known as frontline states, as well as within the boundaries of South Africa.

- The study covered the period from 1960 to 2010. As the topic indicates and for its manageability, the period covering only five decades was decided upon. Sites and monuments, such as the graves, the old police station, and the Human Rights Precinct memorialising the massacre, were declared national heritage sites and nominated by UNESCO to become a World Heritage Site in 2011 – a year that falls outside the scope of this study. Further studies could be carried out to establish shifts, changes, and continuity beyond this period.

- Related to the above-mentioned possible area for future study could be the impact of cultural tourism on the valorisation of sites associated with the Sharpeville Massacre. The study could address issues regarding the commodification of these heritage sites and their impact on the understanding and interpretation of heritage commemoration, both as an emotive commodity and as a means of providing economic benefit to Sharpeville residents.

- In terms of "landscape and memory" and Timothy Morton's "ecological trauma", Sharpeville's Dlomo Dam holds memories of the Sharpeville massacre. It was declared a heritage site and continues to host commemorative events by political parties – one such significant event being the 34th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. This site, on that day, attracted close to 70,000 people during a rally by the African National Congress to commemorate Sharpeville Day days before South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994. Legend has it that this wetland became a recipient of blood-soaked water from uptown after the shooting of PAC-led Positive Action Campaign protesters on 21 March 1960. There is, therefore, a need for studies on the environmental narratives which explore the interrelations between storytelling and cultural memory. The study could examine traumatic histories of natural sites and people's ways of experiencing and narrating specific places.

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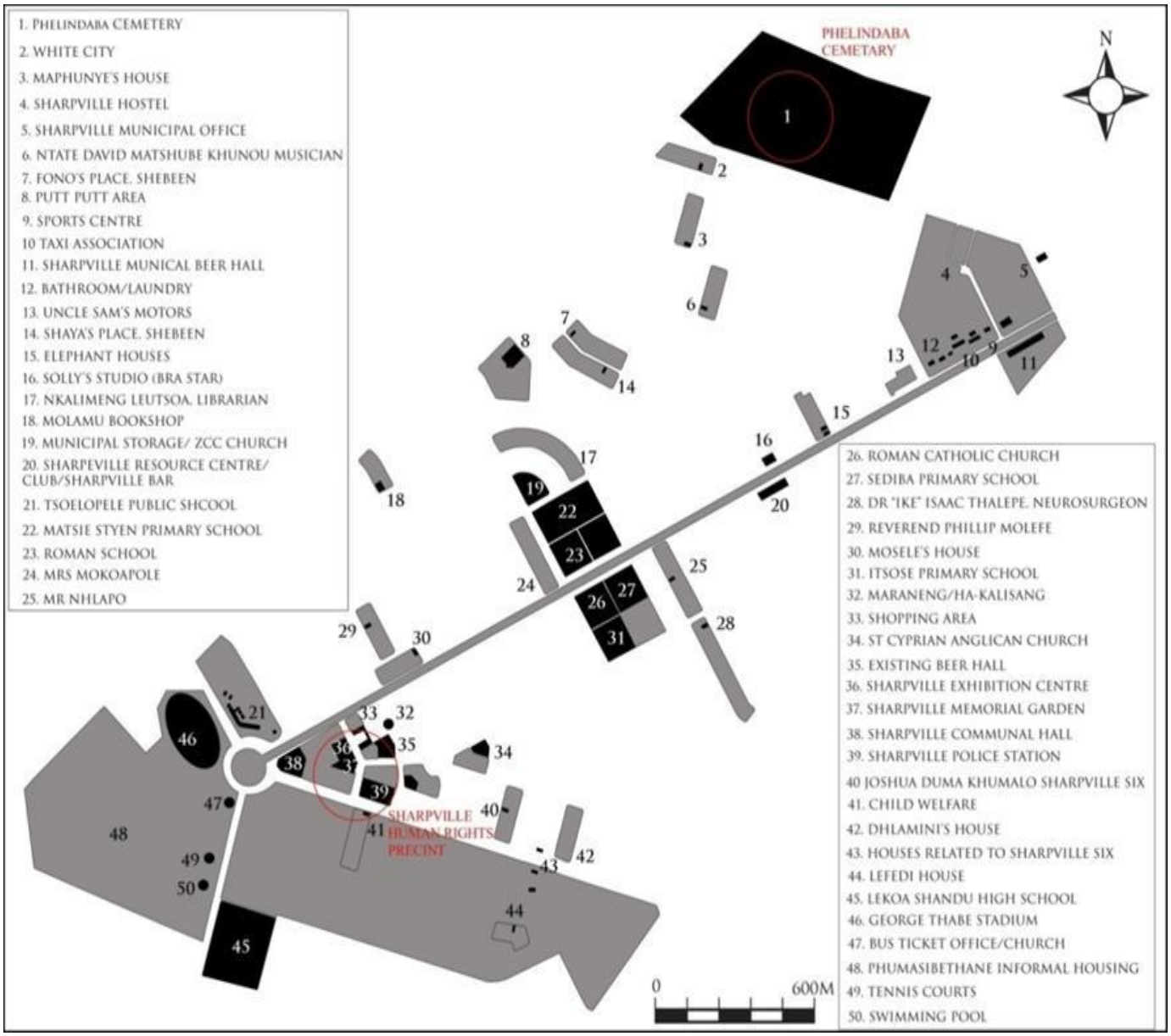
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1



Plan of the Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct (Source: Google Earth Pro. 2015), indicating the site for declaration:

1 – Phelindaba Cemetery

37 – Sharpeville Memorial Garden

39 – Sharpeville Police Station.[6]

[6]T. Phago, Submission to the grading and declaration review committee – 01 September 2016. https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fsahris.sahra.org.za%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles

APPENDIX 2

Collage of some of the Sharpeville uprising and its aftermath.





1. **2.**

1.Crowds of protestors in the nearby sports field without their pass book in protest against Pass Laws.(South African History Online).

2. Crowds of Sharpeville protestors at the police station without their pass book in protest against Pass Laws.(South African History Online).





3. **4.**

(3). Crowds of Sharpeville protestors gathering at nearby sports field.

(4). Armoured vehicles in the streets of Sharpeville.(Keystone/Getty Images).

%2Fadditionaldocs%2FGDRC%2520Declaration%2520Submission%2520-%2520Sharpeville%2520Massacre%2520-%2520010916.doc.docx&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK. (Accessed on the 28 August 2022).





5. **6.**

(5). Armoured vehicles in the streets of Sharpeville.(Keystone/Getty Images).

(6). Armoured vehicles in the streets of Sharpeville.(Keystone/Getty Images).





7. **8.**

(7). Saracen going through chanting PAC slogans protestors on its way to Sharpeville police station before the killing.(Baileys African History archive).

(8). A South African Airforce plane flies low over Sharpeville in an attempt to frighten protesting residents at a rule which forces them to carry passes. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images).





9. **10**

9. Police asseing the situation. (Baileys African History archive).

10. Cheerful protestors raising the thump (Baileys African History archive).





11. **12.**

(11). Crowds fleeing from bullets on the day of the Massacre.(Baileys African History archive).

(12). Crowds fleeing from bullets on the day of the Massacre.(World history archive).





13. **14.**

(13). Crowds fleeing from bullets in panic on the day of the massacre.(World history archive).

(14). Crowds fleeing from bullets in panic on the day of the massacre.(World history archive). "People were running wildly. Children were jumping over the grass stalks like rabbits, some of them holding up the back of their shirt or coat collars against their heads - to protect themselves from bullets".[7]

[7] C Barron, Obituary: Humphrey Tyler the only reporter present at Sharpeville massacre. *Sunday Times*.24 July 2016. https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/opinion-and-analysis/2016-07-24-obituary-humphrey-tyler-the-only-reporter-present-at-sharpeville-massacre/.(Accessed. 28 May 2023).





13. **14.**

(13). Crowds fleeing from bullets in panic on the day of the massacre.(World history archive).

(14). Crowds fleeing from bullets in panic on the day of the massacre.(Universal history archive//UIG via Getty images).





15. **16.**

(15). Dead bodies scattred all over the place in what is now called site of conscience and trauma.The fleeing young boy with white T-shirt seen in in (*figure 12*) returned to witness the aftermath of the shooting. Baileys African History archive).

(16). Survivors looking helplesssly at the dead and wounded follwing the shooting.(Stringer/AFP via Getty Images).





17. **18.**

(17). Hopelessly looking the dead. (Baileys African History archive).

(18). Lifeless bodies lying across the streets of Sharpeville close to police station. (Baileys African History archive).





19. **20.**

(20). Bodies of dead and wounded lie in the street. (Terence Spencer/Popperfoto via Getty Images).

(21). Bodies of dead and wounded lie in the street. (Terence Spencer/Popperfoto via Getty Images).





21. **22.**

(21). Bodies of dead and wounded lie in the street. (Terence Spencer/Popperfoto via Getty Images).

(22). Bodies of dead and wounded lie in the street. (Terence Spencer/Popperfoto via Getty Images).



23.



24.

(23). Slain bodies lying close to the Saracen.(Christie/ Central Press/ Getty Images).

(24). Protestors assisting fellow injured protestor.(Christie/ Central Press/ Getty Images).



25



26

(25). The dead and the wounded taken to police vans to hospital and goverment moutuary.(Baileys African History archive).

(26). The dead and the wounded taken to police vans to hospital and goverment moutuary.(Baileys African History archive).





27. **28.**

(27). Two grief stricken women being taken home after the one in the middle had viewed her relative dead.(Peter Magubane).

(28). A grief stuck women comforted by two men (Peter Magubane).





29. **30.**

(29). Funerary ceremony held at an open space near Sebiba primary school in the center of Sharpeville. Dlomo dam can be seen at this figure.(Terence Spencer/Popperfoto via Getty Images).

(30). Bodies arrive on the back of flatbed trucks to be buried.(Terence Spencer/Popperfoto via Getty Images).





31. **32.**

(31). An iconic image of the burial process of the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre .(Ben Magubane

(32). An iconic image of the burial process of the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre .(Ben Magubane).

APPENDIX 3

Department of History. University of the Witwatersrand Private Bag X3, Wits 2050 Johannesburg South Africa.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Research Tittle: 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre: shifts, changes, and continuities in commemoration and memorialisation,1960-2010.

Dear Potential Participant/ Interviewee,

My name is Joseph Mairomola Ngoaketsi. I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of History at the University of the Witwatersrand – Johannesburg in South Africa. I am conducting research for my doctoral thesis on the title highlighted above.

Broadly, The study seeks to explore the different ways in which the community of Sharpeville has commemorated and memorialised the 1960 massacre and the extent to which the incident has been used not only by the state but also forces from below in constructing a heritage landscape and group identity over a period of fifty years. I am, therefore, kindly inviting you to be part of this research. You were selected to take part because you are a Sharpeville resident, a descendent/s of victims of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre, a survivor, a memory activist, or a potential key informant.

In this study, your role is to provide answers to the questions posed during the oral interview. The interview will preferably be conducted at Human Rights Precinct vicinity, either at Library, Old Sharpeville police station, Ring Cafes, Old Age Center or Exhibition Centre, or museum. This study does not involve any form of payment. Your participation is voluntary. Your refusal to participate will not involve any kind of penalty. You are free not to answer any questions which you are not comfortable with. You can withdraw your participation at any you choose to do so.

The research will take the form of a conversation or discussion. These conversations will be recorded and later transcribed. You are free either to agree to be recorded or not. For the potential survivors of the Massacre or Sharpeville uprising of the 1980s, I would like to assure you that this study is a *Bona-fide* research endeavor and is not linked in any way to any government institutions like the police. There will, therefore, be no legal or criminal implications on your part for taking part in the study for providing the information sought. Should you feel re-traumatized and need counseling I am ready to refer you to Khulumani Support Group for free counseling services. I truly assure you confidentiality (i.e., that the information gathered will be processed confidentially) and anonymity (i.e., that your names/ identities will be concealed through the use of pseudonyms). Your name will only appear when you want it to appear.

The information gathered is for academic purposes and will be reported in the doctoral thesis and academic papers and also during seminars and conferences. You are free to contact me if you have any questions. Furthermore, I am ready to make a summary of the research available to you in case you request it.

Joseph. M. Ngoaketsi.(Mr).
PhD Candidate
E-mail: 777744@students.wits.ac.za

Prof. Sekibakiba.P. Lekgoathi.(Prof).
PhD Supervisor
E-mail:
Sekibakiba.Lekgoathi@wits.ac.za

APPENDIX 4



Department of History. University of the Witwatersrand Private Bag X3, Wits 2050 Johannesburg South Africa.

CONSENT FORM

Research Tittle: 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre: shifts, changes, and continuities in commemoration and memorialisation,1960-2010.

I agree to participate in this research (on the above topic). The research has thoroughly been explained to me and I am fully aware what it is all about. The following is a summary of the issues explained:

- Aims of the research
- The selection process (i.e., how they were selected)
- That participation is voluntary; that they are free to withdraw at any time; and that they are free to ignore questions they with which they are not comfortable.
- Promises of confidentiality; how information gathered will be used/ reported and that they are free to have access to research results.
- That they are free to contact the researcher in case they have questions/ queries

I, therefore, agree to be interviewed. I further agree to being recorded during the interview. Thank you.

Name and signature of participant.....
Date of consent.....

APPENDIX 5



Department of History. University of the Witwatersrand Private Bag X3, Wits 2050 Johannesburg South Africa.

AUDIO RECORDING CONSENT FORM

Research Tittle: 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre: shifts, changes, and continuities in commemoration and memorialisation,1960-2010.

Without expectations of compensation or other remuneration, now or in the future, I ……hereby give my consent to the interviewer, Joseph Mairomola Ngoaketsi (Mr) permission to interview, tape or otherwise, and record my voice; on the ***21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre: shifts, changes, and continuities in commemoration and memorialisation,1960-2010.***

I agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve.

- I agree that my participation will remain anonymous. □ Yes □ No
- I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his research report. □ Yes □ No
- I agree that the interview may be audio recorded. □ Yes □ No
- I agree that the researcher may take photos of me (but not my face). □ Yes □ No
- I agree that the information I provide may be used anonymously by the researcher following this study. □ Yes □ No

Name of the participant…….

Signature……..

Date……..

APPENDIX 6



Department of History. University of the Witwatersrand Private Bag X3, Wits 2050 Johannesburg South Africa.

INFORMAL / VERBAL CONSENT FORM

Research Tittle: 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre: shifts, changes, and continuities in commemoration and memorialisation,1960-2010.

The aim of the research is explore the different ways in which the community of Sharpeville and South African in general has commemorated and memorialised the 1960 Massacre, from 1960 - 2010. This is a purely academic exercise and is part of my doctoral studies at the University of the Witwatersrand-Johannesburg in South Africa. It is not aimed at exposing you to the government authorities such as the police. For instance, your identities will remain anonymous throughout the research project. This will be done by using pseudonyms. I would also like to assure you of confidentiality throughout the research exercise. You may wish to know that you have the right to agree or refuse to take part in the project and that there would be no consequences whatsoever in case you decide not to take part. Furthermore, you are free to stop taking part at any point during the oral interview. The research takes the form of oral interviews which are audio recorded using a digital recorder. The interview questions are broadly based on memorialisation and commemoration of 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Massacre.

Having explained to you what the research is all about and having assured you of both anonymity and confidentiality, are you willing to take part in this PhD research project? □**Yes** □ **No**

Are you willing to be audio recorded during the oral interview? □**Yes** □ **No**

APPENDIX 7

ETHICAL CLEARANCE FROM KHULUMANI

KHULUMANI SUPPORT GROUP
National Contact Centre: 2nd Floor Khotso House
62 Marshall Street, Marshalltown
P.O. Box 31958, Braamfontein, 2017 South Africa
Tel: +27-11-833 2044 Fax: +27 11 833 2048
info@khulumani.net | www.khulumani.net
Transforming victims into active citizens

2019-05-23

Dear Joseph Ngoaketsi.

Re. ethical clearance from Khulumani

This is to confirm that we have been informed of and consulted upon the ethical framework for your research on *Heritage commemoration and counter- commemoration: Continuity and Change in the Memorialisation and Commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre*.; and approve of the attention you are providing to the ethical issues and concerns of those interviewed.

We propose that you also approach, inform, and involve the Khulumani branch in Sharpeville, as branch members are likely to be part of your research participants; and they should de directly engaged in any ethical issues that may arise, as individuals and as the Khulumani structure in the area.

As proposed in our discussion yesterday, we suggest you work with Ms. Seoloane Phetani (as the Sharpeville Khulumani branch chair) to put the ethical consent process in place. We will contact her to alert her about this.

We look forward to seeing the outcomes of this very important research.

Yours in struggle, Judy Seidman
Khulumani Support Group (Interim Executive Committee, KSG)

KHULUMANI SUPPORT GROUP
Non Profit Organisation NPO 008-135 Public Benefit Organisation PBO 930029992

Board of Directors: Acting Chair: Gertrude Fester, Board Secretary: Judy Seidman
Board Members: NomaRussia Bonase, Shirley Gunn, Sipho Mantua, Denese Palm, Nyanisile Rolithlathla