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Voicing the Archive: Documentary Filmmaking and the Political Archive in South Africa

ELIZABETH LOUW

8707660F

DECLARATION

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



Elizabeth Louw

25 May 2014

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks and appreciation to my supervisor, mentor and friend Professor Gerrit Olivier, my Mellon mentor Professor Susan van Zyl, my son Albertus Gideon Louw, my sister and her husband Anne-Mari and Dirkie van Niekerk, Lynne Ferrer and all my fabulous and amazing friends

ABSTRACT

This research, which includes a thesis and a documentary film, focuses on the construction of a historical non-fiction film on anti-apartheid student protests at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg from 1957 to 1987. The restrictive censorship legislation at the time hampered the local distribution of the recorded footage and affected news reports on the nature of protests and protesters. The project sets out to situate these events within aspects of the historical and political context of the country, university, existing archive, individual and collective memory, the problematic of producing documentary films, the performative nature of protest action, the recording of testimonies and the production process. The research provides a framework for recording the interviews, collecting archival footage and photographs, and for constructing the narrative for the film. The thesis also considers the need for a "biographical" index for the construction process in order to rid the archive of subjective and political bias in an attempt to illuminate archiving processes such as the production of a historical documentary film. The project will show that although theoretical claims regarding the nature of truth in non-fiction filmmaking are fraught and open-ended, the collective memories of the participants, combined with relevant stock footage, can become a respectful collusion of voices.

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To make a film means (at least for me) to tell the truth about oneself and about what one is in reality (Pasolini, 2001, p.2777).

You have to begin to lose your memory, if only in bits and pieces, to realize that memory is what makes our lives. Life without memory is no life at all ... our memory is our coherence, our reason, our feeling, even our action. Without it, we are nothing (Buñuel, 1983, p.12).

INTRODUCTION

This project sets out to interrogate the role of the documentary filmmaker as storyteller, historian and visual archivist by producing and reflecting on the production of a documentary film that focuses on selected instances of anti-apartheid protest action by students and staff from the University of the Witwatersrand – or Wits, as it is generally known – in Johannesburg.

The research interrogates how to construct a documentary film as a creative project which is situated explicitly within a scholarly framework and, as such, is different from standard practices that conform to the demands and dictates of productions aimed at the commercial broadcasting environment.

I situate the project within the ambit of what Nuttall and Coetzee (2007) describe as "negotiating the past" (2007, p.1), an endeavour which includes both collective and personal processes. The research is collective in trying to expand the existing archive of a particular history of protest, and personal in the sense that it deals with processes which I was first exposed to as a student at the University of Cape Town during the early 1970s.

According to experts in the field, many South African archival collections are contaminated by their own histories: they were influenced by an ideology of segregation and apartheid and shaped by unequal power structures, and can therefore not be read innocently. For the production of a documentary film constructed from archival material and the recording of living testimonies, such archives should be subjected to what Stoler (2008) calls an "ethnographic process" and as Harris (2000, p.11) argues "[b]ringing the hidden, the marginalised, the exiled, the "other" archive, into the mainstream" as well as a "reimagined reading of the principle of provenance" (Harris, 2002, p.81). Hamilton (2009) extends these

approaches in her plea for the development of a "biography" as an indexical companion for each collection.

Guided by these approaches I, as a documentary filmmaker and researcher, set out to work in a self-reflexive way and to keep a record of the process through which existing and new archival material was collected and combined with recorded testimonies. In this way the research strove to be self-aware, reflexive and aimed at making a creative work that is as far as possible transparent and open to scrutiny. The accompanying thesis also serves as the indexical account of the process.

The research draws on university records, Bruce Murray's historical account in *Wits: The "Open" Years* (1997), and a published reconstruction of events and experiences by Mervyn Shear (1996), deputy vice-chancellor of Student Affairs from 1982 to 1990. My project aims to add to these histories more personal experiences, or, what have been called "histories from below": audio-visual recordings of oral accounts that will extend the existing archive.

These more personal experiences are often lost in the subsequent construction of grand narratives, the most dominant of which may be the view that political protest was a clear-cut battle between oppositional forces and the police, or even between good and evil. The under-evaluation or even elimination of subtle nuances of human contestation in struggles for hegemonic power leads to a simplification and reduction of actual experience and memory – a tendency strongly resisted by intellectuals such as Njabulo Ndebele and Jacob Dlamini.

Since the political transitional period from 1989 to 1994, South Africans have been in the process of rewriting their collective and personal histories and doing what Nuttall and Coetzee describe as "negotiating the past" (2007, p.1) in order to make or remake. The shift in power from a repressive and totalitarian state advantaging whites to a more inclusive democracy has necessitated a re-interrogation of the existing historiographies, archives,

museums and memorial collections of all the cultural groups that constitute the South African population. This process has also brought to the fore the urgent need for the construction of new archives built from previously suppressed stories, with as prime example the collection of testimonies and recordings that emerged from the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. According to a declaration on its official website the commission – or the TRC, as it became known in South Africa – was set up by the new Government of National Unity "to help deal with what happened under apartheid. The conflict during this period resulted in violence and human rights abuses on all sides. No section of society escaped these abuses" (Department of Justice, TRC, 2009, p.1). As the publisher of Antjie Krog's book *Country of my Skull* writes in the prologue:

> [M]any voices of this country were long silent, unheard, often unheeded before they spoke in their own tongues, at the microphones of South Africa's Truth Commission. The voices of ordinary people have entered the public discourse and shaped the passage of history. They speak here for all who care to listen. (Krog, 1998, p.xx)

For the publisher these testimonies serve not only to illuminate a dark past, but to spotlight "present predicaments and future possibilities too" (Krog, 1998, p.viii). Nuttall (2009), writing about explorations of whiteness in *Entanglement,* considers *Country of my Skull* "one of the most important texts to emerge from the early post-apartheid context". She views the text as a construction of many genres in one book. Two of these genres are of interest to the researcher: the book as an autobiography of the author and a "biography of others", recorded and reflected upon during the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which Krog, as an Afrikaans-speaking South African, followed as a radio journalist (Nuttall, 2009, p.65).

The creative element of my research project involves the construction of a documentary film which draws heavily on the past, using recordings of reflections of selected interviewees who were involved in anti-apartheid protests at the University of the Witwatersrand as well as news footage drawn from various archives locally and in the United Kingdom.

Choosing a Topic for the Documentary Film

In an interview, archivist, filmmaker and writer Kenn Rabin (cited in Bernard, 2004, p.261), responding to the question whether the visual archives of the twentieth century have been overused and whether there could still be surprises or hidden gems within the material, contends that as filmmakers, "People should ask themselves, `Why am I picking the subject I'm picking?"

The topic I have selected for the documentary film centres on some of the anti-apartheid protests at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg from 1957 to 1987. At the start of the project it seemed prudent to take into account Rabin's question and use it as the point of departure for what I set out to do in constructing the indexical biography.

When the University of the Witwatersrand staged an anti-xenophobia demonstration in June 2008 on the campus steps facing Jan Smuts Avenue, I could not help but be reminded of student protests at the University of Cape Town in the early 1970s, events which made a big impact on my understanding of politics in South Africa. These experiences and others inform and underline my personal interest in the research topic and most probably provide the most comprehensive answer to Rabin's question.

For this reason, I now proceed to provide the broad context of student action during the first week of June 1972, which was to fight for free education and freedom of expression, and the ensuing police violence

A list of "some dates in the history of South Africa and Namibia" in *Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa*: *South Africa and Namibia, A Book of Data Based on Material Prepared by the Anti-Apartheid Movement*, 1972-1973 is included as a time of:

> Many strikes, particularly in Durban area.
>
> Emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement.
>
> [and] Increased student activity (1974, p.11).

According to the historian T. R. H. Davenport (1988) the year 1972 was one of unrest on black campuses. He writes that the recently founded South African Student Organisation (Saso) gave precedence to the "principle of "black power" rather than to that of non-racialism" (1988, p.433). When student leader Abraham[1] Ramobithi Tiro was expelled from the University of the North after receiving his diploma and speaking out against Bantu Education and the control of black universities by whites (Shear, 1996, p.43; UNESCO Press, 1974, pp.99-101), 1 146 of his fellow students staged a sit-in. The South African Police force was called in and all the participating students were also expelled. Extracts from Tiro's speech show some of the frustrations experienced by black students at the time:

> Our parents have been locked outside, but white people who cannot even cheer us have the front seats.
>
> My dear people, shall we ever get a fair deal in this land, the land of our fathers?
>
> The system is failing. We Black graduates are being called upon to greater responsibilities in the liberation of *our* people.
>
> Of what use will *our* education be if we cannot help our people in their hour of need?
>
> There is one thing the Minister cannot do: he cannot ban ideas from men's minds.

---

[1] Tiro's first name or names differ in three different sources. In Shear (1996, p. 43) he is called Abraham. In Davenport (1988, p.427) he is named O.R. Tiro and in the UNESCO publication *Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa* (1974, p.99) he is identified as Ramobitho Tiro. No source dates the graduation ceremony. According to Davenport (1988, p.427) Tiro was assassinated in Botswana, but his killer was never found.

> The day shall come when all shall be free to breathe the air of freedom (UNESCO Press, 1974, p.99)

So-called "coloured" students from the University of the Western Cape were the first to demonstrate in support of their peers at the Turfloop campus. Indian students from the University of Durban-Westville soon followed, as did black students from the universities of Fort Hare and Zululand. The publication *Strike* reported (cited in UNESCO Press, 1974, pp.99-101) that "By Thursday most of South Africa's 10,000 Black university and college students could be joined in a nationwide strike against university conditions".[2]

But by June 1972 the National Union of South African Students, or Nusas, a predominantly white student body, had also aligned itself with their black peers and more campuses across South Africa erupted in support of the expelled students. Protests by students in Johannesburg and Cape Town were broken up with batons and teargas and many students were arrested for unlawful protests and marches under the Riotous Assemblies Act (Davenport, 1988, p.247). The police response to a peaceful demonstration held by white students from the University of Cape Town made world headlines when the British newspaper *The Times* reported as follows (cited by UNESCO Press, 1974. p.99-101) on the 3rd of June 1972:

POLICE CLUB WHITE STUDENTS

> *Johannesburg*. Police wielding rubber batons attacked about 100 white students demonstrating peacefully against apartheid on the steps of St Georges Cathedral in Cape Town today. Students who attempted to take refuge inside the cathedral were dragged out – some by their hair.

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[2] The reference could be to a Jewish student newspaper, *Strike*. Copies are listed in an index for a collection of material on South Africa dating back to the apartheid era kept by the Special Collections of the University of Victoria in California.

I do not remember the day very clearly. I had hitchhiked from Main Campus in Rondebosch to Adderley Street in the centre of Cape Town to meet a friend. The driver of the car was on his way to join in the action and we parked near St George's Cathedral. Soon we were caught up in the maelstrom of students, the public, police and police dogs, but as tensions rose and the police charged and chased students into the cathedral, I fled as fast as I could.

I attach a handout issued the next day by the Student Representative Council in which the events are outlined. The document concludes with questions put to the police and an affirmation of the right "to protest legally and peacefully" (Addendum B).

Issues of Whiteness and White Guilt

Krog quotes from an anonymous letter written in Afrikaans and sent to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in which the author expresses some thoughts and feelings that are similar to ones I had in 1972:

> Then I cry over what has happened, even though I cannot change anything. Then I look inside myself to understand how it is possible that no one knew, how it is possible that so few did something about it. How it is possible that often I also just looked on (Krog, 1998, p.46-47).

Krog, writing in *Begging to Be Black,* explains how, as an unwitting accomplice in a political murder, she was terrified by the moral bewilderment of having to navigate the landscape between the political and the criminal issues that confront a white South African:

> My brain loses its capacity to maintain a physical integrity, a coherent skin around the story, as if my being becomes dispersed in the telling. I also know when I reach the end of this tale, completely worn out, I will still be asking: What would have been the right thing to do? – and the terror, the real terror of moral bewilderment, is lost among the words (Krog, 2009, p.5).

Nuttall (2009) writes that "entanglement" is revealed as a process of becoming someone you were not in the beginning. She posits that "entanglement" and its opposite, "disentanglement", are two intermingling processes: as the subject becomes entangled with issues of his or her whiteness, the person also shifts away from "whiteness in its official fictions and material trajectories, its privileges and access to power, now in an emerging context of black political power in South Africa – to become something, someone different" (Nuttall, 2009, p.60).

Nuttall (2009) presents her readings of whiteness and blackness from the perspective of the individual voice rather than that of the collective – a phenomenon of "singularity" that she sees as arising only post-1994, when the individual could extract herself from the collective voice. The exception in Nuttall's selection is Ruth First's prison memoir, *117 Days: An Account of Confinement and Interrogation Under the South African Ninety Day Detention Law*, which was published in 1965. To illuminate three very different experiences of whiteness in one family, Nuttall uses First's observations of "watching" herself as a white person incarcerated for political activities; Ruth's daughter Gillian Slovo's experiences of "passing for white" and as an "imposter"; and how Joe Slovo, Ruth's husband and Gillian's father, was "seen by South African blacks as a black man"[3] (Nuttall 2009, pp.60 – 65).

Whiteness in a singular (individual) and a plural (communal) sense are of importance to my research, not only for me as the filmmaker who must identify conscious and unconscious issues of race in constructing a historical documentary that is concerned with race and power, but also in terms of interrogating the effect of the emergence of Black Consciousness in South Africa and the impact of this movement on student politics in South Africa during the early 1970s and the period leading up to 1994. Most importantly, my task was to try to (re-)

[3] I presume by implication that Slovo's political, social, economical and ideological outlook coincided to such a large degree with that of his black struggle peers that the erasure of racial division became possible.

imagine my own position as researcher and create an opportunity to "reacquaint" (Krog, 1998, p.216) myself with what has been described as this "wide and sad land".[4]

At a special hearing for women held by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Gauteng Thenjiwe Mthintso opened the proceedings with these words:

> As women speak, they speak for us who are too cowardly to speak.
>
> They speak for us who are too owned by pain to speak (Krog, 1998. p.178).

In *Begging to Be Black* Krog (2009) grapples with the issue of how "to *live* a righteous life" in South Africa:

> That apartheid is wrong is relatively obvious, but how to live *against* apartheid is the harder question, because even the smallest decision has complicated consequences (2009, p.4).

At the end of her book, which is an interrogation of *being* in post-apartheid South Africa, Krog passes one of the four sphinxes standing guard at a bridge over the Herthasee in Berlin, Germany. At that moment, it seems as though the African figure becomes the perfect symbol for her experiences:

> For me she is not a hybrid, or a product of rape. She is what she is. Not split, not guarding dichotomies, but representing beingness as multiple intactness, not with the singular self, but with a bodily skin-ness to the vulnerability of being in and beyond this world (2009, pp.274-275).

My research is driven by unashamed curiosity (apparently a trademark of documentary filmmakers) and, at the same time, a drive that is similar to that identified by Krog: to search in history and historiographical sources for insight and identity.

---

[4] From "Oh wide and sad land", a poem by N.P. van Wyk Louw translated into English by Adam Small (1975).

The University of the Witwatersrand

As an academic staff member at the University of the Witwatersrand I became aware of the rich history of anti-apartheid protests at the institution, an awareness supported by participating in the anti-xenophobia protest by staff and students on Jan Smuts Avenue in 2008. With reference to this event, Professor Yunus Ballim described the role of Wits as follows:

> It continues to see itself as the social conscience of the greater Jo'burg area if not the country. It really was a proud moment when we walked onto the road with the xenophobia attacks […] Students were around on campus [and also joined the protest action]. But academics in academic gowns came out in those large numbers, [and] reminded us that our job is to act as a social conscience (Addendum A).[5]

Over the past ninety years the university, the premier English-language educational institution in the northern part of South Africa, established itself as an iconic leader in many fields of human endeavour. As an urban university, situated in the cosmopolitan city of Johannesburg, the business hub of the African continent, the institution is ideally placed to serve the professional needs of business and industry and has been closely aligned with the industrial and capitalist ideologies underlying South African policies and practices.

The university has from its inception embraced "universal" liberal ideals and as such developed a profile as a centre of opposition to the apartheid regime. That government's policy of barring students of colour from studying at the University of the Witwatersrand raised the ire of staff and students, and led to the first public anti-apartheid protest march by an academic institution in South Africa. Writing in his memoirs Professor G. R. Bozzoli, a

---

[5] For the sake of clarity, all hesitations, pauses and repetitious words have been omitted from the sections of the interviews used in this document, except where these occurrences do make a difference to the testimony at hand.

past vice-chancellor, recalls how shocked he was in 1956 to learn that "the government intended introducing legislation in 1957 to enforce apartheid on all the universities". Bozzoli describes the strong emotions "aroused among staff and students and [which] found expression in a campaign of protest which culminated in an academic procession on May 22nd 1957" (Bozzoli, 1997, p.91). Phillip V. Tobias remembered the same event clearly: "And we took a great protest from Wits, from the steps of The Great Hall, right through the streets of Johannesburg" (Addendum A). The university's international standing as an academic institution and its location close to the main media centres of South Africa allowed for this kind of political activism to attract the attention of the local and international media. The fairly large volume of archive material I have collected and will discuss in chapter six, attests to this.

Chapter Outlines

In chapter one, The Archive, I look at recent archival developments in South Africa as a preparatory step to assemble an archive for the documentary film accompanying my thesis. The political transition in South Africa in 1994 brought to the fore an urgent need to revisit archival practices and to allow for the inclusion of different voices from both political and social points of view (Hamilton, Harris, Taylor, Pickover, Read and Saleh, 2002). To renegotiate the past, the researcher has to figure and refigure the existing archive which has been labelled as contaminated, a reality which could be addressed by creating a biographical index (Hamilton, 2009) for every newly constructed data collection. The researcher should also act as an archival archaeologist (Benjamin, cited in Coombes, 2004) who reads the archive against the grain (Stoler, 2008) to interrogate and sidestep embedded historical and political value judgments.

How we remember, what we remember, both individually and as a cultural group or groups is intimately connected to what we collect in an archive and how we use what we have to reconstruct historical occurrences. I take a brief look at these factors and how they are likely to impact on the research at hand.

In chapter two, Aspects of Documentary Filmmaking, I consider the development of theoretical debates that focus on the degree to which documentary films can represent reality. The historical development of the genre has been described as an evolutionary process (Nichols, 1991; 1998; 2001) that aspired towards an improved approach to representing reality. Although Bruzzi (2005) does not propose an alternative, she problematises these attempts by suggesting that documentary material needs a context to acquire meaning and as such only ever represents the actual. Ellis (2012, p.45) suggests an alternative approach which focuses on a working hypothesis requiring an unpacking of "what is it that is going on here?" – which is a more useful approach, as I demonstrate in my research and reiterate in my conclusion.

I consider the different approaches for framing and constructing documentary films, using the documentary modes as set out by Nichols (1991; 1998; 2001), to determine a suitable method for my research. I also discuss the decision-making process which should be in place at the onset.

In chapter three, Cultural and Ideological Aspects Leading to Wits Student Protests during the Apartheid Era, I consider my choice of topic and the key factors that influenced the decision. Various factors such as geographical location, educational philosophy, and the intellectual and moral profile of the University of the Witwatersrand gave rise to the institution's reputation as an "open" university. The positioning of the university not only

initiated protest against the possible and eventual loss of academic freedom, but also created an avenue, even if at times reluctantly so, for student protests in later years.

The ethos of the university and South Africa's changing political landscape gave rise to a politically aware student body that, although mostly white at the time, challenged policies of segregation and apartheid. The rise of black consciousness under the leadership of Steve Bantu Biko and the movement's rejection of the liberal belief system, impacted heavily on white student politics as did the counter-culture youth revolution which swept the world during the 1960s.

In chapter four, Performative Dynamics of Protest Action I analyse more tangible aspects of student protest action. My approach is framed by Bozzoli's (2004) positioning of protest action as "theatres of struggle". Although the concept Bozzoli developed is based on struggle activism in Alexandra Township near Johannesburg, it seems that the model works equally well when applied to the 1957 march staged by the University of the Witwatersrand as well as subsequent student protest action. The main elements are ritual (academic processions and general assemblies), the accompanying dress code and the control and violation of space. Also discussed are the importance of visibility and magnitude, intended and unintended audiences, the effect of censorship in South Africa and the impact of the media on the protest action.

In chapter five, Public Protest at Wits: A Historical Overview, I examine three broad factors to situate and discuss protest action at the university during the apartheid era. These are, firstly, the conflict between the idea of an "open" university in favour of academic freedom whilst enforcing social segregation on the campus; secondly, the events which led to the first academic protest march in South Africa in 1957, and lastly, the impact of the changing student demographics at Wits.

The university staged the march in 1957 to publicly voice opposition to pending legislation then known as the Separate University Education Act, which was implemented as the Extension of University Education Act of 1959. The march set the scene for more than thirty years of protest action that did not always involve management and / or the academic staff. The nature of these protests changed as the apartheid government clamped down on struggle activism and the composition of the student population transformed in later years.

In chapter six, Production Research and the Production Process, I discuss the making of the documentary film by considering the scope, rationale and methodology required for this creative doctoral project. I provide a summary of materials available in existing archives and discuss the interview process and procedures followed to collect testimonies from alumni and staff who participated in the protest action. To initiate the construction of a biographical index for the new archive I reflect on the potential bias and subjectivity of the researcher and refer to the necessity for critical self-reflection during the process of orientation, selection and organisation of the collected data as well as the impact of financial constraints on the potential population of contributors. I also present a selection of quotes from the transcribed interviews which bears witness to the research in previous chapters.

In chapter seven, Shooting Sardines in a Barrel: The Post Production Process, after reflecting on the title for the documentary film, I discuss the methodological approach in greater detail before embarking on a biographical account of the editing process and the completion of the creative component. Included are the transcription of the interviews, the creation of an indexical system to organise the digitised materials, and an editing script to guide the cutting process. Post-production factors also include making editorial decisions regarding the structure, inclusions and omissions, duration of the film, music selection, the final cut, and the final mixing of the soundtrack. I also discuss the public screening and audience reactions and input.

In my concluding chapter I present my findings, which can be summarised in three pertinent observations: firstly, that in the process of making there is a gap between the ideal and execution; secondly, that the power of the artistic integrity of a creative endeavour starts at some stage to override many of the initial concerns established in the planning stage; and, thirdly, the authorial voice, with all its potential for imposition and appropriation, could, in the best of cases, become a respectful collusion of voices.

CHAPTER ONE - THE ARCHIVE

> *I come to the fields and vast palaces of memory, where there are the treasuries of all kinds of objects brought in by sense perception. Hidden there is whatever we think about, a process which may increase or diminish or in some way alter the deliverance of the senses and whatever else has been deposited and placed on reserve and has not been swallowed up and buried in oblivion* (St. Augustine, cited by Kermode in Wood and Byatt, 2009, p.3).

Introduction

In this chapter I consider in more detail some of the recent debates on the making of memory and renegotiating the past, with specific reference to South African contributions. Having located my project within this broad area, I then consider the issue of the "contaminated archive", and discuss the demand for the archive I have constructed to satisfy both the academic requirements of PhD study and the ethical requirements associated with the expansion of the archive. I also discuss how Hamilton's concept (2009) of the archival biography can be drawn upon to elucidate my own project. Some of the issues that are pertinent to a reading of the literature that interrogates the archive include the question of availability, which in turn depends on unpredictability and chance; and factors related to the selection and organisation of material, which are intertwined with the historical and political value judgments and bias that have informed the formation of archival collections, including national archives, in the South African context.

Some of the local endeavours to correct previous exclusions and augment the official archival collections include the recording of oral histories, the "history from below" movement and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's testimonies. I use these examples as guiding principles to illuminate the intent and scope of my research as an endeavour to record and archive interviews and stock footage which, although situated within particular segments of the recorded history of the struggle, have had limited exposure within the public domain. This is especially true of the testimonies of individuals, students and staff who were involved in protest activities during the apartheid era. When a researcher engages with a project of this nature and intends to create a biographical guideline for the new additions to an archive, important aspects to consider at the outset are the directorial intent of the project and the procedures that will serve as guiding principles in its execution.

As a researcher, I am a South African who has lived through the rise and demise of apartheid and the coming of democracy. In this project I make a very conscious engagement with the past, and with the question how selected aspects of that past are remembered and represented in the contemporary tableau of historical remembrance. This is done for several reasons, one being the simple curiosity that is one of the driving forces inciting documentary filmmaking, the other my own marginal involvement as a student during the 1970s at UCT, a terrain of political contestation and participation in which the impact of whiteness on being a national in this country was acutely foregrounded.

In an interview Isabel Hofmeyr (Addendum A) describes her experience of remembering as a very mediated process:

> I think the way one remembers has now been so mediated by the growth of museums and public history. So there's now a kind of a narrative of those events and it's often packaged as the growth of this anti-apartheid emergence of a new nation. So I think it's difficult to return to the specificities of the event because it's now so packaged as part of the bigger story.

Hofmeyr's statement also alludes to how memory and remembrance are shaped by both remembering and forgetting. One possible response to this view is that an ever-expanding archive offers the possibility of countering the reality of individual memory being usurped by the "bigger story". In support of this, one could quote Walter Benjamin's analogy of the researcher as archaeologist who is not afraid to dig deep and to revisit the past many times; who continues to sweep meticulously in order to find the treasures that are hidden there.

The Research Project as Archive

In the introduction to *Refiguring the Archive* three of the editors, Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris and Graeme Reid, argue that "[t]he archive – all archive – every archive – is figured" as a springboard for stating and supporting the need that what has been *figured* [my italics],

both in our apartheid and our more distant past, has to be challenged. These editors recognise a need for opening spaces in the archive by a transforming society, to allow for the voices with "scant place in government files", who were excluded by the bias of the official record, to also be included in the project of *figuring* and *refiguring*. Although they suggest that "[a]lternative visions require alternative archives", and list potential public archives as ranging from the oral record to literature, landscape, dance and art, the authors support Derrida demonstrates how the etymological origins of *arkhe* and *arkheion,* the "rootedness of these Greek archival concepts", demand that every reconstruction of the archive work with and respect the tradition of the archive (cited in Hamilton, Harris and Reid, 2002, pp.7-16).

In the abstract to an article by Schwartz and Cook (2002), the authors usefully summarise their position on institutional archives by saying that:

> […] archives are established by the powerful to protect or enhance their position in society. Through archives the past is controlled. Certain stories are privileged and others marginalized. And archivists are an integral part of this story telling. In the design of record-keeping systems, in the appraisal of and selection of a tiny fragment of all possible records to enter the archive, in approaches to and subsequent and ever-changing description and preservation of the archive, and in its patterns of communication and use, archivists continually reshape, reinterpret and reinvent the archive. This represents enormous power over memory and identity, over the fundamental ways in which society seeks evidence of what its core values are and have been, where it has come from, and where it is going. Archives then are not passive storehouses of old stuff, but active sites where social power is negotiated, contested, confirmed. The power of archive, records and archivists should no longer remain naturalized or denied, but opened to vital debate and transparent accountability (2002, p.1).

In *Refiguring the Archive,* Hamilton *et al* also insist on the need for an agreement between archivists and society, or what they call "an archival contract", which would disrupt the silence between the keepers of archives and the public, and shift the archivists' position of power through the construction of alternative archives – as required by societies in the process of transformation (Hamilton, Harris and Reid, 2002, p.6).

In a subsequent paper addressing archival methodology, Hamilton (2009) bases an important argument on anthropologist Stoler's proposal for "reading archives *along the grain, doing ethnographies of the archives,* a move which begins to regard *archiving/archives* as process rather than archives as things, grappling with the principles and practices lodged in particular archival forms, paying attention to cultures of documentation, archiving habits, genres and conventions". Hamilton argues that "*a history of the making of an archive* is a necessary prior step to any attempt to use the archive to produce evidence" (Hamilton, 2009, p.15). As is the case in producing a biography of a public person, the very private aspects and the dark secrets of archival collections should be an essential aspect of scholarly interrogation. For Hamilton the challenge is "to track the iterative and recursive relationship between the collection on the one hand and public, political and academic discourses on the other, one shaping and reshaping the others, and in turn being shaped" (Hamilton, 2009, p.11).

Hamilton's suggestion builds on what Verne Harris calls "a re-imagined reading of the principle of provenance", in which he includes a rereading of the information regarding "the origins, custody, and ownership of an item or a collection", and an analysis of the meanings and signification of records as they are situated in the "contextual circumstances of their creation and subsequent use" (Harris, 2000, p.81).

These ideas have major implications for any contemporary researcher embarking on an archival project. In order to avoid a recurrence of the problems Hamilton and Harris are

trying to address, it seems imperative to trace and record the origins of archival artifacts and thus to create a comprehensive "biography" for any new or expanded archival construct. In addition, the researcher must instigate a concurrent process of continual self-reflection by making a surgical incision into each aspect of the process in order to critically interrogate her personal motivations and the associated potential, possibly even unconscious, outcomes.

In this way, the researcher takes account of some of these contemporary discourses around what Schwartz and Cook call "Archives, Records and Power" and grapples in a hopefully far more transparent way with some of the issues of making modern memory (Schwartz and Cook, 2002, pp.1-19). Although these approaches are novel and offer no guarantees as the methodologies can be tested only over time, they should address some concerns such as those expressed by Robins regarding the transparency and focus of archives being created in the post-apartheid era. He asks "whether South Africa's contested past will be remembered in a form that does privilege particular historical experiences, collective memories, and nationalisms, and elide others" (Robins, 2005, pp.139-140).

What Robins hopes for is a new archive constructed not just from the grand narratives of a battle between good and evil, but a collection that will also include a variety of collective and personal accounts that would help establish a far more inclusive and nuanced history. His reiteration of the importance of ordinary experience is reflected in a variety of ways in the work of South African writers and academics such as Jacob Dlamini and Njabulo S. Ndebele.

In "Turkish Tales" from the collection of essays entitled *Refiguring the Ordinary*, Ndebele (1991) reflects on aspects of South African fiction writing and its reliance on grand narratives. His observation that "[w]hatever the reasons, it does look as if, both from the political and the cultural perspectives, an important dimension has been left out of the total South African experience as that experience attempts to be conscious of itself and to define

itself" can be juxtaposed with and extended to include new and/or refigured archives which not only conform to traditional archive practice, but also demand a more inclusive approach in which the *ordinary* contributes to the refiguring of experiences and memories from the past (1991, p.21).

Whereas Hamilton (2009) pleads for complexity and the avoidance of simple binaries when refiguring the archive, Ndebele argues from the point of view of the creative artist. But there are striking analogies. Commenting on South African writing of the time, Ndebele finds that many characters are portrayed as symbols that can "easily be characterised as either good or evil, or, even more accurately, symbols of evil on the one hand, and symbols of the victims of evil on the other hand". For Ndebele these symbols are presented to readers as completed products "without a personal history" (1991, p.23). In resisting this tendency he quotes Marcuse, who asserts that "[t]he need for radical change must be rooted in the subjectivity of individuals themselves, in their intelligence and their passions, their drives and their goals" (Marcuse cited in Ndebele, 1991, p.30). Only when readers are confronted by the dramatic progression or character development in unfolding narratives, can they understand how characters are able to purposefully deal with the evil that cannot be wished away (Ndebele, 1991, pp.30-31). In later writings Ndebele posits that there can be "no transformation of the curriculum, or indeed of knowledge itself, without an interrogation of archive" (Ndebele, 2000?).

Jacob Dlamini, who in important respects can be regarded as Ndebele's intellectual heir, writes with fond nostalgia about his childhood days growing up in a township in South Africa during the apartheid years. He writes: "There are many South Africans for whom the past, the present and the future are not discrete wholes with clear splits between them" (2009, p.12). Dlamini argues that this does not make him an apologist for apartheid: "Apartheid was without virtue". For him, it does however point to the "bonds of reciprocity and mutual

obligation, social capital, that made it possible for millions to imagine a world without apartheid" (2009, p.13).

According to Dlamini, the disruption between the imaginations of those who could and those who could not envisage a world without enforced apartheid, resulted in friction which led to protests, police and state violence, the armed struggle, mass uprisings – manifestations of civil unrest which have become known as the *struggle for liberation*. In posing such distinctions, however, Dlamini nevertheless resists the absorption of ordinary human life under apartheid into an unqualified experience of being oppressed.

One mostly unexplored but important aspect of the struggle against apartheid involves the more personal dimensions of the role played by staff, students and associates of the University of the Witwatersrand from the 1950s to the 1990s (Murray, 1997, p.289; Shear, 1996, pp.1-19) when resistance to the apartheid regime was often met with degrees of harshness that resulted in turmoil both locally and internationally. The country was at times under a state of emergency and freedom of speech and access to information were increasingly curbed by a large number of repressive laws. A number of the members of the institution were detained without trial and a staff member assassinated by the Civil Co-Operation Bureau, a secret agency of the government.[6]

As an industry-trained documentary filmmaker,[7] my approach has always included the intuitive notion that a documentary film can be viewed as an archive containing recorded testimonials, newly recorded visual material, as well as artifacts from other archives such as photographs, newspaper articles and home movies selected to enhance the construction of the narrative. This has been confirmed by other filmmakers such as the Chilean Patricio Guzmán

[6] "Former Civil Co-Operation Bureau agent Ferdi Barnard was on Monday convicted of murdering anti-apartheid activist David Webster and attempting to murder Justice Minister Dullah Omar" (South African Press Association, 1998).
[7] As opposed to being trained at a tertiary institution or a film school.

who contends that "a country without documentaries is like a family without a photo album" (2009, p.1).

Subsequent academic engagement with the history and theory of both documentary and fiction films has both supported my opinion and experience and raised a number of questions and concerns. As opposed to my previous, more intuitive methodology, the explicit aim of my current research is to interrogate the role of the filmmaker as archivist and the power that the filmmaker/archivist yields when constructing an audio-visual narrative. I propose to do this by carefully tracking the decision-making processes of the film director, and the research and collection of material as the production of a historical documentary film unfolds. This procedure should, as mentioned earlier, provide the new archive with an archaeological "biography" and contribute to the creation of a more transparent, just and accessible archive (Hamilton, 2009, p.11). In an attempt to counter the ideological contamination of a newly refigured archive, the following section is informed by the theoretical position that this project should ideally present in its own biography.

Research Orientation

A Context for Memory Making

> *People inscribe their histories, beliefs, attitudes, desires and dreams in the images they make* (Robert Hughes, cited by Giannetti, 2005, p.1).
>
> *Don't be satisfied with stories, how things have gone for others. Unfold your own myth* (Rumi, cited by Badenhorst, 2008, p.12).

National identities are shaped through what British sociologist Anthony Smith calls a mythomoteur or "myth engine" that offers "a use-able past". It is a complex network of

histories, myths and symbols that are instrumental in "(re-)inventing, justifying or reinforcing a nation's self-image" (cited in Engelen and Vande Winkel, 2007, p.6).

Homi K. Bhabha (1991), in the foreword to *Nation and Narration,* uses Walter Benjamin's idea of the ambivalent emergence of *nation* together with readings of Foucault and Bakhtin to develop the notion of a "more utopian inversion, as the incipient or emergent expression of the "national-popular" sentiment preserved in a radical memory". Bhabha alerts the reader to how such an approach draws attention to "those easily obscured, but highly significant, recesses of the national culture from which alternative constituencies of peoples and oppositional analytic capacities may emerge – youth, the everyday, nostalgia, new "ethnicities", new social movements, "the politics of difference". These "recesses" assign new meanings and different directions to the process of historical change" (1991, pp.1-3). For Stuart Hall such cultural endeavours produce meaning with which the nation can potentially identify. These meanings are then "contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past and the images which are constructed of it" (2001, p.293).

Although not all documentaries are driven by overt political agendas, some films use mythical representation for the purpose of presenting a political ideology (Grant and Sloniowsky, 1998, 21). Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*[8] (1935) would perhaps be the most famous example. Problems of colonialism, power and appropriation of the "Other" are often foregrounded in ethnographic films. For some critics these issues are inevitable outcomes of cross-cultural filmmaking. On the other hand, the more intimate genre of the

[8] Adolf Hitler commissioned the film as the official documentation of the National Socialist Party's annual congress of September 4-10, 1934. Tomasulo (in Grant and Sloniowski, 1998,p.101) proposes that Riefenstahl uses "preliterate symbolic imagery and vague patriotic appeals" to "address the emotional concerns of the populace". He adds that the film stresses "upbeat and patriotic themes that convey a renewed sense of national identity and unity following a period of economic and political instability" (1998, p.102).

autobiographical film, which might be considered as escaping such problems, is also almost always political. Many such films reveal, on closer analysis, a relationship between the intimate and "larger political and social issues". According to Grant and Sloniowski this subgenre of documentary filmmaking also provides the opportunity for "people who are generally marginalized and disempowered to gain a voice by making films about their own lives" (1998, p.22).

Memory

Byatt, in her introduction to *Memory: An Anthology,* argues that "memory is not quite the same thing as consciousness, but they are intricately, toughly and delicately intertwined" (Harvey Wood and Byatt, 2009, p.xii). For Nora (1996), "Memory is life, always embodied in living societies and as such in permanent evolution, subject to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of the distortions to which it is subject, vulnerable in various ways to appropriation and manipulation, and capable of lying dormant for long periods only to be suddenly re-awakened". He continues: "Memory is always a phenomenon of the present, a bond tying us to the eternal present", and he argues that "[m]emory, being a phenomenon of emotion and magic, accommodates only those facts that suit it. It thrives on vague, telescopic reminiscences, on hazy general impression or specific symbolic details" (1996, p.3). Nora strongly proposes the idea of memory being a reconstruction of the past in the present, prone to all kinds of interests and manipulations and thus unreliable. This is not a position all philosophers would agree to. Consensus is likely on the statement that memory constitutes the individual's sense of identity and continuity and that each individual life has a storehouse of memories. How memory is constituted is a specialised subject that lies beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it seems fairly uncontroversial to state that memory does serve interests connected to the present; and moreover, that it is formed in ways that lie beyond the conscious grasp of the individual. Without having to embark on an analysis of

these complex matters, any documentary filmmaker who relies on recollections of the past must work with an awareness of possible distortions which may be unconscious, and allow other memories and factual information to correct these where necessary.

Social Memory

In his book *Writing History in Film*, William Guynn problematises the notion of "films that fulfil the social need to remember" by investigating the idea of historical memory. He initiates his discussion by what he regards as a useful definition of historical memory: "[…] a kind of metaphor in which memory, in the individual faculty for reviving images of things past, is extended to an abstract collectivity existing in historical time" (2006, p.168). He supports his position with reference to a philosophically informed timeline constructed by Paul Ricoeur in *Memory, History, Forgetting*. In this work Ricoeur quotes Plato, who argued that individual or personal memory is "the present representation of an absent thing". For St. Augustine memory, which serves as a link between the present and the past, has a dual nature: that of the passive image held in the mind and that of the activity of recollection. He very poetically describes the "vast palaces" where memories dwell as follows: "memory's huge cavern, with its mysterious, secret and indescribable nooks and crannies, receives all these perceptions, to be recalled when needed and reconsidered" (Augustine of Hippo, 2008, p.186).

John Locke, cited by Guynn, also supports the notion that memory is an act of the individual mind. In addition to this basic view, Locke argues that memory is key to the formation of individual identity. Guynn summarises Locke's views by saying that "[t]he self, consciousness and memory are [therefore] inexplicably bound together, so that the self is the same agent of action who acts now and in the past" (Guynn, 2006, p.169).

The question arising from Plato's, St. Augustine's and Locke's notions of memory is whether there can also be a communal memory. According to Ricoeur (2004), Husserl's work represents the first shift in the history of western philosophical thinking towards the recognition of a collective memory. Husserl speaks of "intersubjective communities of a higher order" that are constituted on the basis of a process of "social communalization" (Husserl, 1960, p.132). Guynn summarises Ricoeur's thoughts on the notion of a collective memory as an analogous sequence, which allows the collective "we" to speak about time, memory and history. He quotes Ricoeur:

> […], it is important, however, not to forget that it is only by analogy and in relation to individual consciousness and its memory, that collective memory is held to be a collection of traces left by the events that have affected the course of history of the groups concerned, and that it is accorded the power to place on stage these common memories, on the occasion of holidays, rites and public celebrations (Ricoeur cited in Guynn, 2006, p.170).

These ideas have been developed further by social scientists. According to Halbwachs (1980) we are seldom alone in remembering and he questions the idea that there is a separation between individual and collective memory. He writes that to remember, individuals have to be members of an "affective community" in which "the social context throws a bridge across the apparently irreconcilable domains of individual and collective remembrance" (1980, p.22).

To support the above argument, it seems appropriate to invoke Benedict Anderson's (1991) concept of "imagined communities" as being necessary for the establishment of coherence in modern societies and as the connecting tissue between what Guynn, drawing on Halbwachs, sees as the "domains of individual and collective remembrance" (Guynn, 2006, p.171). Anderson defines the nation as an "imagined political community – and imagined as both

inherently limited and sovereign". For Anderson the concept is "*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion". He argues that communities are not differentiated by their "falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (1991, p.6). He concludes by summarising that the polity is "imagined as a community, because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may exist in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship" (1991, p.7).

For Hobsbawm (1997, p.10) a society's need to remember functions as a vital element which allows each individual to situate him- or herself within the group. He argues that "for the greater part of history we deal with societies and communities for which the past is essentially the pattern for the present".

Bourdeau (1965), writing on the social function of photography, posits that a family photo album acts as one of the many means of remembrance in a family through which new members are initiated into the group: "Ideally each generation copies and reproduces its predecessor so far as possible and considers itself as falling short of it, so far as it fails in this endeavor" (1965, p.53).

If, as posited by Husserl and a number of subsequent philosophers and social scientists, collective memory functions in a way that is analogous to individual memory, it seems logical to assume that collective memory will also be subject to the "appropriation and manipulation" or the "evolution" and "emotion" mentioned by Nora. Indeed, Guynn (2006) argues that collective memory is in no way immune to distortions and misrepresentations as memory is drenched with emotion and often led by the self-interest of a group. Nostalgia for

the past is another factor which impacts profoundly on how collective memory is shaped and lived.

Coombes (2004) cites Benjamin in this regard in *The Politics of Memory,* or *Making History Memorable (for All)*:

> Language shows clearly that memory is not an instrument for exploring the past but its theatre. It is the medium of past experience, as the ground is the medium in which dead cities lie interred. He who seeks to approach his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging … He must not be afraid to return again and again to the same matter, to scatter it as one scatters earth, to turn it over as one turns over soil. For the matter itself is only a deposit, a stratum which yields only to the most meticulous examination that constitutes the real treasure hidden in the earth: the images, severed from all earlier associations, that stand – like precious fragments or torsos in a collector's gallery – in the prosaic rooms of our later understanding (Walter Benjamin, Berlin Chronicle, cited by Coombes, 2004, p.116).

The poetic passage from Benjamin posits a view on memory as an immense and mysterious storehouse from which we extract "treasures" that serve to develop an understanding in the present. For Benjamin, memory is the "theatre" in which we construct the past. To this must be added the insight that all such reconstruction also is a mechanism for forgetting.

Derrida has argued that we write down [or record] so that we can forget (2002, p.54). This resembles the views of Alain Resnais who, reflecting on *Night and Fog* (1955), states that his considerations in making a documentary film on the concentration camps in Nazi Germany inevitably implied the inclusion of "forgetting". He is cited in Grant and Sloniowski (1998) as saying that "[i]f one does not forget, one can neither live nor function". For Resnais, this

approach and interpretation demand a consideration of both the "past and the future"; he adds to this that "forgetting ought to be constructive" (1998, p.204).

As this thesis would also be an attempt at a deeper understanding of political positioning by juxtaposing historical material with living memory, the researcher must take account of "constructive forgetting" as a probable outcome. According to the views cited above, any attempt at collecting memories implies an acceptance of the inevitability of the past.

Included in this process should be an analysis of Benjamin's views as referred to above, in which he poetically outlines an approach that serves to validate the researcher's role in the process. His metaphor likens the retrieval of memory to an archaeological excavation, where the archaeologist has to dig deep and return again and again to the same site where memories are kept in the way the soil contains artefacts. For Benjamin the finds are not necessarily the truth about what we remember, but an important clue to our understanding of our memories. We dig out what we can from the past and what we find are all the memorable images that will constitute a gallery or monument of our understanding; something we might also call a narrative of our own past.

Alexander, quoted by Coombes (2004), writes about the "strategic-political and ultimately moral-historical question" as how to progress "towards understanding without ever forgetting, but to remember without constantly rekindling the divisive passions of the past" (2004, p.1). As a working hypothesis for her book Coombes uses the premise that "all memory is unavoidably both borne out of individual subjective experience and shaped by collective consciousness and shared social processes, so that any understanding of the representation of remembrances and of the past more generally must necessarily take into account both contexts" (2004, p.8). Thus collective memory is not simply seen as an

analogical extension of individual memory; instead, individual and collective memories are inter-dependent.

Guynn (2006, p.165-168) considers film as a place of memory and as a site for public memory. He quotes Anton Kaes who writes that "[t]he mass media have become the most effective (and least acknowledged) institutional vehicle for shaping of historical consciousness" (1989, p.166). And although Kaes argues that the filmic image has the power to offer the public packaged substitutes for the act of reminiscence, he also refers to the efforts of the New German Cinema movement, which produced historical films with the aim of not only reconstructing the past but also to "jog the memory of the living". Kaes puts forward the view that these films "provide alternative ways of seeing with their self-reflexive narrative and visual style, their refusal for the most part to recycle endlessly repeated and clichéd images of the Third Reich" (1989, p.213).

Guynn (2006) argues that a too negative assessment of the media's role, or in this case film's role, as an "instrument of public memory" negates its ability to stimulate enormous public discussions of collective concerns". He cites Alain Resnais' film *Night and Fog* (1955) and *Le chagrin et la pitié* (1969) by Marcel Ophüls as examples of documentaries which acted as catalysts that brought about a "public reflection on the realities of the past and their meaning" (Guynn, 2006: 165 – 168).

Since the advent of democracy in South Africa the awareness that large aspects of our past had been silenced has led to a revisiting of that past, to attempts at reconstruction inspired by the aim to include many deliberate omissions and suppressed life stories. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, for example, represents what Njabulo Ndebele calls "a lifting of the veil and the validation of what was actually seen" (cited in Nuttall, 2005, p.20).

For Ndebele the experience of providing one's own testimony would be an essential component in the "emergence of a new national consciousness," and possibly the very first attempt at rewriting history on the "basis of validated mass experience" (cited in Nuttall, 2005, p. 20). In her chapter on "New Subjectivities for the New Nation", Coombes (2004) engages with the area of fine art in which she has noticed "inadequacies of representation". She mentions issues of trauma and violence and "those of gray areas often involving a complex acknowledgement of guilt, complicity, relating to the experience (most obviously) of being white – or indeed *any* colour – in apartheid South Africa" (2004, p.244).

One of the desired outcomes of the TRC is intimately related to what Benjamin considers memory to be: a large and unshaped storage house of the past. It seems that my research fits in with the TRC and other projects that were and still are intended to expand the archive as the South African store of memories. If we accept the postulate that memory is this large and unshaped storage house of the past, any delving into it must contain at least the possibility of discovering those images and fragments that make up what Benjamin refers to as our "understanding" (Benjamin cited by Coombes 2004, p.116) and what Ndebele would label as our "national consciousness" (Ndebele, cited by Nuttall, 2005, p.20).

Referring to Coombes' argument, I would like to draw a parallel to the political role of the documentary filmmaker researching material for a film that will address aspects of "individual experiences" that could become validated experiences of what is not the biggest group within the South African demographic, but is nevertheless an important group, and whose memories and traumas were not included in the meticulous historical projects of the apartheid state or at the TRC hearings – a group of mostly white South African academics and students, in this case attached to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, who actively opposed the previous political dispensation. Some of them never became struggle activists and their contributions have not yet been adequately recorded or acknowledged.

From the point of view of developing as comprehensive an archive as possible, these experiences should be recorded. As a researcher, then, I will contribute to the myth making of recent past events (Grant and Sloniowski, 1998, p.21) and construct from a diversity of memories an account which could enter our "national consciousness", although whether it will in fact do so, is a question only the future can answer.

At this stage, it is obviously not clear how the research project would be assessed in relation to Rosenstone's question (cited by Engelen and Vande Winkel, 2007, p.121-123) about whether historical films made in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century "interrogate the meta-narratives that structure historical knowledge or smaller historical truths, received notions, conventional images". However, I would like to argue that the researcher and the historical documentary film voicing the archive in the way that I am doing also contribute to what can be defined as the intertextual reality of the past. The particular nature of a documentary film may be characterised by what Rosenstone (2006) labels as a poetic-symbolic idiom, which is clearly very different from the rational-scientific vernacular of traditional historiography (Engelen and Vande Winkel, 2007, p.25).

Rabin expresses the view that he approves of filmmakers experimenting with ways to use archival footage even for very personal films. Rabin believes that "[t]he only rule is that you've got to tell your audience what your rules are" (cited in Bernard, 2004, p.260). His point of view has to be considered in a postmodern world where historians such as Hayden White's view of the function of the historian overlaps with that of the filmmaker when he suggests that "facts never arrange themselves autonomously to yield meaning … it is the function of the historian [or documentary filmmaker] to impose a meaning through the organization of the data as a narrative" (cited in Munslow, 2006, p.14).

The most important aim of the researcher is the inclusion in the "new South Africa memory bank" of previously marginalised voices: most importantly the voices that were not heard, but also the voices that spoke out against the policies of the previous regime. At a recent screening of the documentary film *Flat 13* (2009), directed and produced by Zarina Maharaj, the director voiced her motivation for making the film as an attempt to record in an accessible way for the young people of today the role played by occupants of Flat 13 during the struggle years (Women of the Sun screening at The Lab, Newtown, February 2010).

In a similar way, this researcher's aim is to trace and record the role of activists at the University of the Witwarersrand and make it accessible to a wider audience. When creating historiographies for what Coombes describes as "new sensitivities for a new nation" the inclusion of different points of view is essential as human memories continue to sprout from the consciousness, which is formed by personal and communal experiences that develop the acceptable myth that we live by (Coombes 2004, p.243,) (cited in Engelen and Vande Winkel, 2007, p.6).

Finally, it seems of crucial importance that the researcher who uses audio-visual methodologies for recording oral testimonies take heed of philosophical concerns regarding how humans conceive of, interpret and reconstruct the "truth". Deleuze (2005) writes of "peeks of presence" and "sheets of past" as he describes the "present" as existing only as "the extreme limit" or "the smallest circuit that contains all the past". He argues that the "present" is constructed, as "an infinitely contracted past" which is constituted at the extreme point of "already-there" (Deleuze, 2005, p.95-96). If this is so, any (re-)making of the past implies a huge social responsibility and constant vigilance. The use of memory, forgetting and remembrance, or, in Deleuze's terms, the now as a construction of what has been, should be as inclusive as possible for the future not to be a repetition of past follies.

CHAPTER TWO - ASPECTS OF DOCUMENTARY FILMMAKING

> *With a documentary we are never trying to be objective. As soon as any object appears on the screen, all objective criteria vanish, yielding their place to the absolutely subjective dictatorship of the filmmaker's will* (Sokurov, cited by Rascaroli, 2009, p.115).

Introduction

This discussion will offer a reflection on the history of documentary filmmaking, with a focus on its claims to depict "history" or "reality" as well as on some more recent approaches to the reading (and thereby also the making) of non-fictional cinematic representation. This is of importance for my research as the creative component of the thesis links with two strands within documentary discourse. The theoretical analysis in this chapter is intended to support and problematise the choices for the mode of representation of the project as well as the impact of the directorial voice while the film takes shape. The result of these choices and the director's ideas are discussed in detail in chapters five and six.

Two strands within documentary filmmaking and the discourse around it have had a significant impact on my understanding and subsequent practice as a filmmaker. Firstly, technological developments in filming and recording seem to have created the possibility of unmediated access to "the real" or other people. Secondly, there has been a growing analytical awareness of the inevitable mediation of documentary filmmaking by what one might call organisational procedures: the presence of the camera, the process of selecting material and the use of narrative structure and techniques

This awareness also brings into question the traditional divide between fiction and non-fiction in cinematic storytelling. Film theorist Bill Nichols (2001) approaches the "blurring of boundaries" in a new way by arguing that all films are documentaries in the sense that they provide evidence of the cultures that produce them and reproduce the likeness of the people who perform in them. He acknowledges that the two genres tell stories in different ways and labels fiction films as "documentaries of wish-fulfilment" while characterising non-fiction films as "documentaries of social representation". For Nichols "these blurrings of what used to be effective distinctions may be not simply logical confusions, but the arena within which

major political, or ideological contestation occurs" (2001, p.1-2). While this may be true, defining all films as "documentary" appears not to provide much more than a semantic solution to a familiar problem. One still has to account for the specific relationship between the "real" and the "fictional" in specific films. Ellis (2012, p.45) accepts the notion of inevitable mediation and instead focuses on the question, "What is it that is going on here?" In the second half of the chapter, his theories are explored in more detail.

The Documentary Film: "Real" or Constructed?

The researcher engaging with recent discourse on the status of documentary film as a valid social document has to dig deep and, in Benjamin's metaphor referred to in chapter one (cited in Coombes, 2004, p.116), make an archaeological sweep of the very origins of cinematic art in modern times. In this way she uncovers theoretical considerations and technical innovations across various periods of time and defines a position where there are "[b]lurred [b]oundaries" (Nichols, 1994) and an "entailment with new modes of representation" that have a significant impact on and which challenges "traditional and coherent historiographic narratives" (Munslow, 1997, p.13-14).

Despite the almost incredible Platonic foresight of using flickering images on the wall of a cave to illustrate the schism between the real and the human perception of reality (Ben-Shaul, 1985, p.90), it took centuries for technology to develop sufficiently to realise this age-old human vision: from Ptolemy's discovery of the persistence of vision in 130 to Leon Battista Alberti's invention of the camera obscura in 1250, from the patenting of the Zoetrope in 1834 to the kinetoscope patented in the United States by Thomas Edison in 1891 (Monaco, 2000, p.570-571). The latter machine was a box-like contraption that allowed one person at a time to view flickering images through an eyepiece (Cook and Bernink, 1999, p.3). The first camera used to record films for kinetoscope viewing was heavy and difficult to move.

Filming took place in a studio-like structure known as the Black Maria where “a vaudeville parade” of “dancers, jugglers, contortionists, magicians, strongmen, boxers, [and] cowboy rope twirlers” performed at “a fixed distance from the camera, usually against a black background, deprived of any context or environment” (Barnouw, 1993, p.5).

At the same time, across the Atlantic in France, the Lumière brothers, Louis and Auguste, built their own camera cum laboratory cum projector – the *cinématographe*. According to the historian Georges Sadoul (Barnouw, 1993, p.6), the camera weighed only five kilograms and as a result could be easily moved. The cinematographer could go out into the world and record life as it unfolded. The first projected films were one-minute reels recorded on hand-cranked cameras and the films depicted one-shot actualities such as *La sortie des usines* or *Leaving the Factory* (1895) and *L’arrivée d’un train en gare* or *Arrival of a Train at the Station* (1895) (Barnouw, 1993, p.7-8).

The writings of Barnouw (1993), Cook and Bernick (1999) reveal how even in the very early development of cinematic history this new method of representation was heavily reliant on new technological developments such as lighter cameras and portable sound recorders, faster film stock and better lighting equipment. The different technological innovations dictated what spectacle could play out and what would be recorded in front of the camera. It is somewhat ironic that, despite how the heavier camera designed by Edison necessitated the recording of performances in a single space, and the use of the much lighter more mobile *cinématographe* that could be taken out into the world to record *realities* or *actualities,* it was a French magician, George Méliès, who produced the first fiction film, *Le voyage dans la lune* or *A Trip to the Moon*, in 1902.

For Nichols (2001, p.88), tracing the origins of the documentary film requires paying attention to two aspects of early cinema recordings, that of “display and documentation”. He

sees these modes of recording coupled with three additional developments, that of "(1) poetic experimentation, (2) narrative storytelling, and (3) rhetorical oratory", all of which he sees as necessary steps for the non-fiction genre to reach fruition. Historical records reflect the production of what could be categorised as documentaries long before the British documentarian John Grierson first coined the term in 1926 – which was several years after the Canadian filmmaker Robert Flaherty, widely regarded as the father of *documentary* films, made *Nanook of the North* in 1922 (Barnouw, 1993, p.85).

Rothman (1997), presenting reasons for this event as the birth of the documentary genre, includes the argument that *Nanook of the North* signifies, even if sub-consciously, a split in cinematic production into two different genres, respectively associated with fiction and non-fiction storytelling (1997, p.1), a distinction that was probably inspired by the first commercial release of a non-fiction film of this kind (Grant and Sloniowski, 1998, p.20).

According to Grimshaw, both Flaherty and Grierson were critical figures in the development of the documentary film tradition as they took their cameras out "into society. It was used to film people within the context of their everyday lives". In subsequent years Flaherty was criticised for the way in which he represented the ethnographic "other" in *Nanook of the North* and his later films. These criticisms arose despite Flaherty's original intentions to "show them [the Inuit] not from the civilized [sic] point of view, but as they saw themselves, as "we", the people. I realized then that I must go to work in an entirely different way" (Grimshaw, 2001, p.47).

Malinowski's declaration at the beginning of his film on the Argonauts of the Western Pacific, that "the final goal of which an Ethnographer should never lose sight, is, briefly, to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize *his* vision of *his* world" (cited by Grimshaw, 2001, p.46) seems to have been an idealistic comprehension of how the world

of the Argonauts would actually be constructed on film, a process in which the filmmaker, the film crew and the recording equipment must surely have an impact on the representation of the "Other". For Grimshaw the discrepancy between vision and visualisation does, however, point to Flaherty's [and Malinowski's] insight that there was a need for a different approach to film, a different kind of narrative to what was being produced in the studios at the time. What Grimshaw finds "fascinating" in Flaherty's writing and his films points to the codes that filmmakers should and do apply when they approach documentary film production. These include "a necessary process of personal transformation" as a pre-condition for the insight required by the documentary filmmaker, with the individual being "separated from his familiar world and relationships yet being open to experiences of disorientation, vulnerability and ignorance" (Grimshaw, 2001, p.47-48).

Earlier observations about the impact of technological developments and storytelling techniques available to pioneers may be extrapolated in an attempt to understand why, despite Flaherty's insights into the cinematic requirements of representing the "Other", these early films do not satisfy later film critics when they consider aspects of the filmmaker's ethnographic eye and the historical aspirations of documentary filmmaking to the objective representation of reality.

Another important development in the history of non-fiction films came after the Second World War. In postwar peacetime the many technologies that were developed to improve and oil the war machine soon found application in the equipment required for filmmaking. These technological developments, coupled with a very different mindset in Europe and in North America, gave birth to new styles of non-fiction storytelling.

In France Jean Rouch and his filmmaking partner, sociologist Edgar Morin, employed the new, much lighter and more sophisticated cameras and sound equipment that could record

picture and sound synchronously to explore a new and more personal, if not intimate, approach to documentary filmmaking. Morin, quoted in *The Ethnographer's Eye,* asks if cinema can't "become the means of breaking that membrane which isolates each of us from others in the metro, on the street or on the stairway of the apartment building? The quest for a new *cinéma vérité* is at the same time a quest for a *cinéma de fraternité*" (Grimshaw, 2001, p.112), a cinema that dissolves the membrane between the filmmaker, her crew and equipment and the subject in order to record life as it happens.

In *Chronique d'un ètè* or *Chronicle of a Summer* (1960) Rouch and Morrin use the camera as a *provocateur (*Fieschi, 1980) to penetrate the invisible barrier between the interviewer and the interviewee in an attempt to elicit very personal experiences and opinions from the social actors who agreed to participate in the project. Both filmmakers become characters when they appear in the unfolding narrative to interview participants and to lead group discussions. Rouch and Morin allow the participants to view the rushes, elicit their responses after the screening and end the film with an on-camera discussion on whether they had succeeded in this experimental approach to documentary filmmaking (Grant and Sloniowski, 1998, p.193).

Nichols sees this more personal encounter as the interaction between "one who wields a movie camera and one who does not". He sees the filmmaker as stepping out from behind a "cloak of voice-over commentary, away from poetic meditation, [stepping] down from a fly-on-the-wall perch and becoming a social actor (almost) like any other". Nichols uses the bracketed "almost" to acknowledge that the filmmaker still holds the camera – and the power (2001, p.116).

Rouch (cited in Grimshaw, 200, p.120) believed that the *cinéma vérité* approach would allow for "moments of revelation" when the viewer could understand a foreign language without reading the subtitles and gain deep insight into the lives of the social actors.

Across the Atlantic, in the United States of America, a similar *reality style* approach to documentary filmmaking, labelled as direct cinema, evolved. An example of this is *Don't Look Back* (USA 1967), directed by D.A. Pennebaker and which focused on Bob Dylan and his successful 1965 tour of England. Wasserman (1967, p.10)) describes the film as "pure cinéma vérité. Pennebaker lugs his 16-mm camera into any available cubbyhole, lurks until he blends into the background, waits for a moment of vérité, then rolls". Hall (cited in Grant and Sloniowski, 1998, p.226) argues that central to the film's aesthetic was the notion that the viewer could get closer to the truth "just by looking", or, as she quotes Dylan from the film as saying to a reporter: "Don't you ever just be quiet? Keep silent? Just watch?"

Whereas it may seem as if cinéma verité and direct cinema came about as a natural progression in the art of documentary filmmaking, many film theorists such as Bruzzi (2000) and Ellis (2012), problematise the evolutionary development of the form, which has been conceptualised or supported and advocated by others such as Nichols (1994, p.2001). For Bruzzi (2000, pp.1, 5-6) the evolutionary approach to the history and development of documentary films is epistemologically contentious, and she takes issue with the contribution which direct cinema is assumed to have made to the genre. She writes that the "survival-of-the-fittest" or Darwinian approach suggested by Nichols and supported by others such as Rota, Renov, Barnouw and Winston, ignores the work of the early Russian filmmakers Dziga Vertov, Vigo and others. Vertov's self-reflexive films, such as *Man with a Movie Camera* (1929) were produced in the same decade as Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* and serve as an example of how "family-tree" approaches "impose a false chronology" on what is in essence a theoretically constructed methodological approach. For Annette Kuhn (1978, pp.71-83) the historical approach, in terms of which the apparatus and equipment used to produce documentary films have been foregrounded to the extent that it became the "determining feature of documentary film texts", has led to the films being read as documentaries rather

than “rich works of cinema”, or as epistephilic experiences (Nichols, 1991, p.31). Grimshaw articulates these concerns succinctly when she comments on the powerful approach Jean Rouch adopted as a filmmaker. She writes that Rouch, when making *Les maitres fous* or *The Mad Masters* (France, 1954) and his other ethnographical documentary films, appropriated “the Hollywood model of cinema – a dark place filled with magic, fantasy and fear – and into this space, he violently inserted the traditional concerns and subject matter of anthropology”. He lured the viewer into “an enclosed, dark arena”, set out to entice the spectator not only to watch, but also to think differently, “reconnect mind and body” and become involved as “active participant in the creation of an expanded notion of human society” (2001, p.101). Later in the chapter Grimshaw (2001, p.118-119) rephrases and reiterates her interpretation as “The spectator is transformed into a seer”, probably because Rouch found a way of “fusing the realism of Lumière with the fantasy of Méliès”.

Bruzzi continues her argument with a similarly critical look at the role of technological development as an engine for the development of the documentary filmmaker’s supposed quest to mirror truth and eliminate the inevitable element of representation in their work. The equipment that enabled filmmakers such as Rouch and Pennebaker to take their work onto the streets and into cubbyholes where they could “record reality” and “catch the truth” became, according to Bruzzi, the very label that would continue to dangle like a cement cast from the legs of most future documentary filmmakers, documentary film theorists and critics. For Bruzzi (2005, p.5) “American *cinéma vérité* has proved the crucial historical factor in limiting documentary’s potential and frame of reference […]”. She argues against the proposition of filmmakers such as Richard Leacock, D. A. Pennebaker and others that developments in technology would “collapse the distance between reality and representation, because the camera would become “just a window someone peeps through”” (Bruzzi, also citing Pennebaker, 2000, p.5). Such extreme views are theoretically not sustainable, and have

served to limit the scope of documentary filmmaking to a specific kind of realist style. Filmmaker Errol Morris expressed his dismay at how these claims have impacted negatively on the development of the documentary film: "I believe that cinéma vérité set back documentary filmmaking twenty or thirty years. It sees documentary as sub-species of journalism. … There's no reason why documentaries can't be as personal as fiction filmmaking and bear the imprint of those who made them. Truth isn't guaranteed by style or expression. It isn't guaranteed by anything" (Morris, cited by Bruzzi 2000, pp.5-6).

Bruzzi agrees with the generally shared view that it took time for the documentary to cast off the "burden of expectation" imposed by direct cinema. She argues that in our contemporary society, with the availability and diversity of technology, the machines can no longer be held responsible for the limitations ascribed to the genre but that the expectations projected onto the documentary by theorisation should be recognised as accountable for the impasse.

A documentary form that made its appearance in the 1980s and that is seen to be the most recent addition in the family tree approach has been labelled as work in the performative mode. Performative documentary films "stress subjective aspects of a classically objective discourse" (Nichols, 2001, p.138). Bruzzi (2000, p.6) delights in the fact that filmmakers such as Nick Broomfield, Molly Dineen and Geri Halliwell accept "authorship as intrinsic to documentary, in direct opposition to the exponents of direct cinema who saw themselves as merely the purveyors of the truth they pursued". She writes that many different kinds of documentary films have now been produced and suggests that "a complex documentary truth" has developed which always implies an "insurmountable compromise between subject and recording", an intersection which should be regarded as the "heart of any documentary" (2000, p.6).

Nichols agrees with Bruzzi's approach when he states that documentary, practised in this way, works to identify a "filmmaking practice, a cinematic tradition, and mode of audience reception" that is continually evolving and is without clear boundaries (cited in Grant and Sloniowski, 1998, p.12). For Grimshaw the value of cinema lies in the ability of the form to act as a "site for disruption and transformation" (2001, p.120). She sees contemporary reality as reflections in a hall of mirrors (2001, p.118). In this time, our time, some modes of documentary serve as mirrors in which aspects of individual and community experience are refracted and reflected for consumption, enlightenment or rejection by a wider audience.

As pointed out in the discussion of the work of Jean Rouch, the contemporary documentary filmmaker offers different perspectives on particular moments in modern history, and does so without assuming that there is a social whole to be grasped. And although Giannetti (2005, p.5) aptly describes the emotional impact of a documentary image as usually deriving "from its truth rather than its beauty", factuality alone does not define documentary films; it is what the filmmaker does, and how she interacts with those factual elements, weaving them into an overall narrative that strives to be as compelling as it is truthful and, at its best, results in a film that is greater than the sum of its parts. Documentary, as it applies here, identifies a "filmmaking practice," "a cinematic tradition," and "a mode of audience reception" that is continually evolving and without clear boundaries (Nichols, writing in Grant and Sloniowski, 1997, p.11-13).

It would seem that there are two leading, but intertwined strands pertaining to documentary filmmaking discourse. Right from the start the relationship of the documentary to the real, its claim to depict or "mirror" the real with minimum or no mediation, was questioned. Secondly, technological developments had an impact on this relationship as new, smaller and lighter cameras and improved sound recording equipment seemed to provide exactly that which was questioned: direct access to "the real". Theories on documentary filmmaking were

set back for a long time by the unsustainable theoretical claims about access to "the real", which failed to account for the clear elements of constructedness in documentary filmmaking. These considerations lead to an important question: Is there still a phenomenon which can be labelled "documentary filmmaking", and if so, how can this be defined? In the next section I discuss Ellis' more recent approach to this apparent dilemma.

"What Is It That's Going on Here?" (Ellis, 2012, p.45)

Ellis concurs with Grimshaw's position on documentary film as "a site for disruption and transformation" and develops the idea by positing the question "what is it that's going on here?" Ellis draws from work by Goffman (1986, p.8) to argue for a "situational analysis" of documentary filmmaking instead of being transfixed by the insistence on questioning the veracity of "showing the 'facts' in an 'accurate' manner". Working in this way "pays attention to the only reality that documentary can truly bear witness to: that of an interaction between individuals at a particular time, each individual bringing to that situation their own expectations and understanding of what is going on, and how that will define how they ought to, and want to, behave" (Ellis, 2012, p.45). Ellis builds on Goffman's notion that all human interaction is framed by situational dictates and that the recording of interviews can be regarded as one such instance of framing, where a series of "brackets" delimit the series of events required for setting up the interview, recording the interview and the subsequent relational expectations of both the "filmer" and the interviewee. The concept of bracketing relates to the more informal stages of filmmaking, which include tracking down and selecting potential participation, the arrangements for the interview, discussions regarding the intent of the filmmaker, the types of questions that will be asked and even what the participant should wear on the day, as certain colours and designs present technical complications for the recording camera.

Ellis argues that a more formal bracketing process happens when the interview is recorded. He lists elements such as the crew size, the technical requirements, the advantage of the director as often being more experienced than the interviewee and consequently assuming the position of power in the situation, the unnatural silence required for the sound recording versus the expectations and the nervousness of the interviewee as some of the aspects that help constitute the outcome of the process. Ellis highlights the fact that modern digital equipment enables the director to work with a much smaller crew, which often results in interviewees taking on a confessional mode, revealing more intimate details than they set out to do and, in some cases, even "flooding" the interview by reacting in anger or crying. According to Goffman, "Strategic self-representation leads to an iterative "information game", that is, to a potentially infinite cycle of concealment, discovery, false revelation, and rediscovery" (1959, p.8).

It is also important to acknowledge an absent participant present during the interview: the impact on the future audience, both in terms of how the director imagines the possible uses of the testimony during the editing process and the interviewee's ideas of how he or she would be represented in the completed work (Ellis, 2012, p.45–63).

Ellis proposes a different epistemological approach to documentary filmmaking. Instead of the film being seen as capturing reality, it *constructs* reality through a series of "frames" or devices of selection and processes of interaction.

The Director's Idea

The approach briefly outlined above repudiates the long-contested idea of the documentary film as an unmediated record of "the real" in favour of an emphasis on the "framing" that inevitably accompanies the construction process. However, this "framing" itself could bear some further analysis, and I do so by reflecting on aspects of the modalities of cultural

transmission identified by John B. Thompson which inform the work of the filmmaker as she sets out to produce and direct a film. Thompson (1990, p.138) defines the first modality as that of the "intentionality" of the symbolic form, with these symbolic forms being seen as "expressions of a subject and for a subject (or subjects)", "produced, constructed or employed by a subject who, in producing or employing such forms, is pursuing certain aims or purposes and is seeking to express himself or herself, what he or she "means" or "intends" in and by the forms thus produced". Thompson identifies other modalities which I consider as being pertinent to this project. He defines the conventional aspect as the production and the construction or employment of symbolic forms, which will to varying extents, be received and interpreted as such by the audience. He argues that these processes "typically involve the application of rules, codes or conventions of various kinds" (1990, p.139). Thompson furthermore emphasises that symbolic forms are constructions and display an articulated structure (1990, p.141) and that these forms are referential: they "represent something, refer to something, say something about something" (1990, p.143). Finally Thompson considers what he calls the contextual aspect, arguing that symbolic forms are always situated in specific socio-historical contexts and processes by which they are "produced, transmitted and received" (1990, p.145).

What this brief excursion into Thompson's model for the analysis of cultural objects highlights, is that the intentionality of the experienced filmmaker would be an amalgam of considerations that, to varying degrees and consciously or unconsciously, influence the process of making. The filmmaker would proceed with an awareness of the need to structure her product, of the way in which that structuring relies on established convention, of the complex relationship between the film and its referents, and of the context in which she is working. These are all processes of mediation and framing that further emphasise how untenable earlier ideas of a direct relationship to "the real" is, the more so because Thompson

further contextualises the aspects mentioned above with reference to “fields of interaction” which have a further impact on cultural production and transmission. The fields of interaction are all determined by possession and access to resources, which he identifies as economic, cultural and symbolic (1990, p.147).

Thompson highlights the tension between the creation of a work of art and the eventual reception of that work, which is dependent on economic, cultural and symbolic capital inevitably inscribed onto the product by the creator, but often also dictated by the projected target audience. Although the creative component of my thesis did escape many of the rigours demanded by commercial broadcasting, I do not underestimate the possible impact, even if mostly subliminal, of the discipline of always having to consider a target audience when creating a film. The SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation), for example, views target audiences as the main focus of broadcasting and lists the size of audiences, their social outlook and response to generic transmissions as key to researching viewership and developing programmes. The corporation uses parameters for determining trends in viewership in terms of factors such as gender, age, income, language, religion, interest groups, geographical location and educational levels, which all fit the Thompson model of interactive fields that are predicated on economic, cultural and symbolic inscriptions which emanate from the lived experiences of South Africans (Thomas, 2006, pp.42-44).

The director’s idea, while moulded by her own creativity and cultural background, is also tied to traditions and practices of cultural transmission as set out in this section and which impacts on the conception and production process. For the filmmaker who works with living testimony it seems essential to be not only acutely aware of the interviewing process and the factors which have an impact on the quality and usefulness of the testimony, as set out in the previous section, but also to fashion a text of expertly interwoven interviews and archive material shaped by important choices regarding the production design and the use of the

camera. In accordance with theories propounded by the French New Wave filmmakers, the camera can be seen as *La-camera-stylo* or the camera-pen, a phrase coined by Alexandre Astruc to suggest that the camera should be more than a filming or recording device, but rather a means for filmmakers to "write" with images and sounds. French filmmaker Jean-Luc Godard supported this idea by postulating that each shot is like a thought and captures real life as a sensory experience (cited in Cousins, 2004, p.271). Monaco sees the outcome of this approach as a series of thoughts put on the screen by a director; when the voice of the director is clear, "[s]pectators could approach the film not as if it were reality, or the dream of reality, but as a statement made by another individual" (2000, p.410).

Rosenstone (2006) conjectures how Eisenstein would have felt about his film *October (Ten Days that Shook the World)* (1928) and the many criticisms leveled at his portrayal of a historical event:

> I am a filmmaker. […] Any filmmaker has to know that no matter how much you are committed to putting the past on the screen, and no matter how accurate you wish that past to be, the one thing you can never do is to mirror a moment – all those moments that have vanished. You can only recreate such moments with the tools and the art of your trade. Every time you position the camera, or change the angle of a shot, or alter a shutter opening or use a different shot, or set up just one more light to create a particular shadow or ask an actor to make a certain gesture, you are inevitably creating facts and meaning about the past. Any filmmaker knows that facts can never speak for themselves. We have to speak for them (2006, p.54).

The director leads the film crew and the production process, which is mapped by the type of film she is making and requires conscious interrogation of the various theoretical (as discussed in this chapter) and practical (chapter 6 and 7) implications that arise before and

during this process. Dancyger (2006, p.10-11) suggests that " writing, directing and editing are all about storytelling. The writer uses words, the director the camera and performance [interview testimony], and the editor uses shots and sounds." By implication he reasons that although the means are different the goals of these agents must be similar: "Tell the story as clearly and strongly as you can." He defines the director as the person taking responsibility for translating a "script (words) into visuals (shots)" that the editor will put together to make the film (2006, p.3). In Dancyger's view the successful director will work according to an idea, the director's idea. He lists the three main features which would define a good director and shape the director's idea as text interpretation, attitude towards directing [social] actors and how the camera is used. Although Dancyger writes about the fiction filmmaking tradition, the approach of "blurring boundaries" expounded by Nichols and discussed earlier in this chapter allows for cross-generic readings and interpretations as all texts are based on human experiences, and actors are labelled as either "actors" performing in fiction films or "social actors" as participants in documentary films. For this reason, the Dancyger model can or should also serve as a route map or foundation for the director's idea for the documentary filmmaker (Dancyger, 2006, p.13; Nichols, 2001, pp.1-2, 5-6).

It would be prudent to mention that the director's idea can be severely compromised by time pressures and inadequate funding. For creative research work completed without a commercial commission both these factors are significant determinants of the process and the outcome.

The director's idea around the narrative structure and a stylistic template has to be in place before the production phase starts. The most important aspect of these choices undoubtedly is the different modes of documentary filmmaking, a topic which was addressed very briefly earlier in this chapter, but on which I would like to expand here. This implies that one

important "idea" of the filmmaker is derived from knowledge of documentary filmmaking, a familiarity with the genre.

Modes of Documentary Filmmaking

According to Nichols (2001, pp.99-138) we can divide documentary film into six modes or approaches according to its structural characteristics. Despite contestations from Bruzzi (2005) and others as well as more recent views on how to analyse the generic aspects of documentary films as addressed earlier in this chapter, the Nichols road map has given most filmmakers, critics and academics the vocabulary to index approaches to the most important characteristics of non-fiction storytelling. Nichols' modes of classification are expository, poetic, observational, participatory, reflexive and performative. Among these the expository and the reflexive modes are of particular interest to my research project.

According to Nichols the expository documentary can be defined as emerging from an overly didactic approach, which addresses issues in the historical world in a direct manner. He argues that in structuring a film in this way the director assembles fragments of the historical world into a rhetorical, argumentative frame rather than an aesthetic or poetic one. The viewer is addressed directly with sub-titles or voices that propose a perspective, advance an argument or recount history with the assistance of an authoritative commentary, usually read in a way that has become known as a "voice-of-god delivery", associated with a strong, richly-intoned male voice that informs the audience what they should glean and believe from the material they are presented with. As a result, the informing logic of the voice-over subjugates the images that are used to visualise the content. For the viewers the "truth" or the "real" lies therefore not so much in what they see but in what they hear, and what is presented as an omniscient view of the subject matter at hand. This is an approach which facilitates large-scale generalisation and argumentation. Nichols observes that with time the historical

facts may still stand but the specific point of view or "common sense" that frames it would have shifted, which explains why many older documentaries that are structured in this way no longer appeal to modern day viewers (2001, pp.105-109).

In the construction of my documentary film I deliberately chose not to use the expository mode; instead, I used the testimonies of the participants and selected archive material to drive the narrative. However, some of the clips I chose are from older documentaries that do employ the expository mode and "voice-of-god commentary" to situate arguments within the programme. I reflect on the impact of these choices in chapter six as the clips are used not only as bridges for the testimonies but also as a reflection on the "common sense" of the period, and on how the decision to include such material might have an impact on the final product and the audience's experience of the film.

I argue that a far more useful approach is to interrogate the impact of choices that are related to the director's idea; and that the reflexive mode of documentary filmmaking is therefore a more appropriate framework.

The reflexive mode, according to Nichols, questions the other documentary modes and in this way de-familiarises accepted methodologies. He argues that in this mode, the production process no longer observes the interaction of the filmmaker with the selected social actors, but rather questions and critically considers the process of interaction between the filmmaker, the participant and the viewer. The reflexive mode questions the assertion that the documentary film is only as good as its content by addressing issues of representation and realism and by asking: "What truth does the documentary reveal about itself and how is it different from a staged or scripted performance?" (2001, pp.125-130)

Nichols sees the reflexive mode as the most self-conscious and self-questioning mode of representation. It prods the viewer to a heightened form of consciousness about his or her

relationship to the documentary and what it represents. The viewing experience often results in what Brecht called the *Verfremdungseffekt* after the Russian Formalist notion of *ostranenie* or "making strange" which results in a shift or shifts of consciousness. Macey (2001, p.284) describes *ostranenie* as "a disruption of patterns, long descriptive passages, metaphors and other figures of rhetoric to produce a semantic shift which makes the habitual appear strangely unfamiliar rather as though it were being perceived for the first time". He writes that the disruptive effect makes the act of viewing more difficult by slowing down the process of interaction and destabilising "the relationship between the perceiving subject and the object of perception, […] and making it more difficult". *Ostranenie* essentially relies on a deliberate foregrounding not of the content, but of the way in which it is presented, on the specific devices that are used. According to Macey (2001, p.284), this is ultimately intended to enhance the reader's [viewer's] relationship to the real and "promotes seeing, as opposed to recognizing something, which is already familiar and known". Brecht, who in his dramaturgy broke with the "traditional values of and conventions of naturalism and psychological realism", rejected empathy, suspension of disbelief and unity of action which for him represented a bourgeois approach that no longer had a place in a modern scientific society. For Brecht the audience always had to be aware that they were watching a representation of reality, which would encourage them to think about what causes "the incidents they are watching" (cited in Macey 2001, p.8). Brecht developed the impact of *ostranenie* to not only enhance the perceptive qualities of the audience, but also to develop a critical awareness of the possibilities of individual and social agency in the audience (Macey, 2001, p.8).

I work in a different genre, of course, and I do not necessarily subscribe to Brecht's view on the theatre and its social function. Nevertheless, it does appear appropriate to refer to the theory of *ostranenie* and *Verfremdung*, derived from theories of poetical language and theatre

practice respectively, to emphasise that the documentary filmmaker, too, can employ techniques that are aimed at "slowing down the communication" and encouraging a critical awareness in the audience.

I propose that the choice of allowing the interviewees to speak for themselves without summations presented as commentary, even though this happens within a highly manipulated terrain, as well as the inclusion of the archive clips as discussed earlier, challenges the more familiar modes of representation and must inevitably have an impact on the viewing experience of the audience. By not summarising aspects of the testimonies or the historical period and presenting the information as a given in a written voice-over, the film should encourage the audience to experience and consider the images and the information in a somewhat "Brechtian" way. On the other hand the filmmaker should proceed cautiously as problems could emerge also due to this approach. Nichols ascribes the "making strange" approach as often too abstract for the viewers and in danger of losing sight of the actual issues (2001, pp.125-130).

For the researcher this far more cognitively oriented approach enables a substantial interrogation of documentary practice. As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, the impact of the decision to use this approach on the creative component will be discussed and reflected upon in chapters six and seven.

CHAPTER THREE - SOME IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS LEADING TO STUDENT PROTEST ACTION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND DURING THE APARTHEID ERA.

> *Most importantly, we seek to ask how empire's ruins contour and carve through the psychic and material space in which people live and what compounded layers of imperial debris do to them* (Stoler, 2008, p.203).

> *We have set out our quest for true humanity, and somewhere on the distant horizon we can see the glittering prize. Let us march forth with courage and determination, drawing strength from our common plight ... in time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible – a more human face* (*Biko, 1979; 2007)*

Introduction

In this chapter I present a brief historical overview of how Wits became known as a liberal institution or "open" university and how these traditions set the university in conflict with apartheid. As the study is focused on activities at Wits, I embark on an interrogation of the intellectual and moral profile of the university in order to come to a deeper understanding of how the protest actions came about and also how the nature of these actions changed over the years. Factors such as the impact of the university's geographical location and the educational philosophy of the institution are considered in relation to the protests, which were to continue over a number decades until the 1990s when the country assumed democratic governance. The chapter also considers how the changing student demographic over this period relates to shifts in ideological and political beliefs which influenced political protests at Wits. Whereas students were at first informed by liberal traditions and Western youth culture, the rise of Black Consciousness challenged the mostly white student population to reconsider their position and role in the liberation of South Africa. As more and more black students were admitted to Wits, very different experiences and ideological positions became the key factors in student politics and protest actions.

The Political Climate in South Africa – the Twentieth Century

In this section I provide a very brief overview of the political situation in South Africa during the time span of the protests. I also look at aspects of the popular sentiment that underpinned the protest actions.

British colonial rule peaked in Southern Africa after the Boer republics were defeated at the beginning of the twentieth century in what became known as the Boer War or the South African War. Pakenham (1979) in his seminal work *The Boer War* introduces the conflict as:

> The war declared by the Boers on 11 October 1899 gave the British, in Kipling's famous phrase "No end of a lesson". The British public expected it to be over by Christmas. It proved to be the longest (two and three-quarter years), the costliest (over £200 million), the bloodiest (at least twenty-two thousand British, twenty-five thousand Boer and twelve thousand African lives) and the most humiliating war for Britain between 1815 and 1914 (1979, p. xv).

Despite initial expectations of an easy victory, the British struggled to subdue the republics and, in the end, resorted to extreme measures: a "scorched earth" policy, which included the burning of crops and farmsteads, the incarceration of mostly women and children in what became known as concentration camps, and the exile of captured soldiers and guerillas to St Helena, Bermuda, India and other British colonies. The number of white women and children who died in the British concentration camps are quoted as exceeding 25 000 and although many sources quote similar numbers and the numbers seem exact, Stanley (2008, p.15) concludes that a closer look at the records of the "white camps" [her quotation marks] […] does reveal exactitude as highly problematic as "too many things were happening to too many people, for complete consistency in bureaucratic record-keeping to exist" (2008, p. 161).

Pakenham (1979, p.572) writes that "No one knows how many Boers – men, women and children – died in the concentration camps". He relies on a 1957 publication *The Concentration Camps 1900 – 1902: Facts, Figures and Fables* by Colonel A. Martin for what would be an official approximation of the number of deaths in the camps as between "18,000 and 28,000" (1979, p.572). Giliomee (2003, p.256)[9] lists the numbers at 4 177 Boer women and 22 074 Boer children who had died of disease and malnourishment in what he labels as badly administrated camps.

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[9] Giliomee does not include a reference for the figures he mentions on page 572.

Much has been written to justify or vilify Lord Kitchener's decision to implement this policy, which remains a sore point for many descendants of those who fought in the war or were affected by it, and was also a fertile breeding ground for some of the spurious ideologies that gave rise to Afrikaner Nationalism, fuelling aspects of the disruptive course South African history took over the next century (Thompson, 2010, pp.138 – 140).

Giliomee (2003, p.355-356) writes that following the Boer War, politicians, civil servants and clergy worked together to combine the "white poor and a militant working class into a consolidated white ruling class". This initiative was severely hampered by disunity among members of the white community. He writes that "power, status and economic opportunity split the group into three prominent parties": the ruling South African Party (SAP) led by generals Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, the pro-empire Union Party and General Hertzog's oppositional National Party. According to Giliomee the SAP had a mainly Afrikaner membership but also included "a not insignificant English component in both its leadership and grassroots support". Both sections within the party believed in maintaining strong ties with the empire to establish and maintain white supremacy. In stark contrast to the Unionists, who where blatantly pro-empire and preferred an exclusive English approach, the National Party was "an ethno-nationalist party in both its leadership and rank and file support" (2003, p.256).

Eight years after Boer leader general Louis Botha had laid down arms against the British, he became the first prime minister of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The SAP motivated for the white-dominated colonies such as South Africa, Australia and Canada to negotiate a more autonomous self-rule policy while remaining members of the Commonwealth and, as such, maintaining close ties with Britain (Thompson, 2010, pp.145-149). Whereas Botha and Smuts were perfectly willing to be part of the empire, Hertzog and his party insisted that "South African interests be put first and that a sound sense of white nationhood would have

to be based on the recognition of both the Afrikaans and English cultures". Giliomee argues that these different political positions would give rise to "a more exclusive Afrikaner identity and that these language issues would lead to the term "Afrikaner", previously often used in an inclusive sense, increasingly being defined exclusively in terms of both race and culture" (2003, p.356).

The decision to support the British during the First World War and Second World War is one of the factors which fuelled the growing Afrikaner Nationalism in South Africa and resulted in the National Party winning the 1948 election to take control of South Africa. (Thompson, 2010, pp.182-184) Although *separation* (what previous governments called the enforced divide between blacks and whites; it was the National Party that institutionalised the term "separate development") had been the policy of every government from 1910 onwards, it was not implemented systematically until the new government came into power. According to Giliomee, who relies on articles published in *Die Burger* newspaper during May 1948, the NP leader D.F. Malan, in a final appeal to voters "referred specifically to apartheid only in a single ambiguous sentence when he said that the question was "whether there could be apartheid at the same time as justice, peace and co-operation between whites and non-whites"" (2003, p.480). The Malan quote would appear to be questioning the workability of apartheid. Nevertheless, the victory provided the platform for the new government to implement a policy of apartheid which gradually encompassed all spheres of life – political, social and economic – and was designed to ensure racial "separateness" and white dominance in South Africa (Giliomee, 2003, pp.500-512). The new government did not heed the work of academics such as the philosopher R.F.A. Hoernlé who in his book *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit* (1945) had already explored and discarded the possibility of a complete separation between races. Hoernlé's realisation that "total separation" was a "pipe

dream" implied that enforcing the policy would require a plethora of new laws to implement separation and control the projected outcomes (Davenport, 1988, pp.573-574).

It was the proposed legislation to segregate universities by race, as one of these apartheid laws that initiated the first academic protest march by staff and students at the University of the Witwatersrand which lies at the core of the research I present in this thesis. I also address the impact of Hoernlé's work on the political climate in South Africa in more detail later in this chapter.

The University of the Witwatersrand: Origins and Early Liberal Traditions

The makings of Wits as an "open" university with liberal traditions, often at odds with the Nationalist Government, can be uncovered by considering its location, origins, scholarly research and the history of South Africa. Access to education and the discrepant standards of education available to the different population groups in South Africa have always been key issues in the battle against apartheid. Hendrick Frensch Verwoerd, the first minister of native affairs, later prime minister of South Africa and one of the premier architects of apartheid, is probably best known for his statement about the educational needs of the so-called Bantu child. According to him, "There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. Education must train people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live" (Shear, 1996, pp.20- 21 citing from Hansard 83, col 3576, 17 September 1953).

The University of the Witwatersrand, one of the oldest tertiary institutions in the country and the first English-medium university in the interior, had its beginnings in 1922 in "the South African School of Mines, which was established in Kimberley in 1896. The School

transferred to Johannesburg as the Transvaal Technical Institute in 1904, becoming the Transvaal University College in 1906 and renamed the South African School of Mines and Technology four years later" (Murray, 1982, p. xi) The thinking underpinning the establishment of the university reflected approaches to educational practices at the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the reasons cited for the foundation of this place of learning can be found in Murray's book *Wits: The Early Years:*

"The presence of natives in such overwhelming numbers in our midst renders the thorough education and training of European children on the Witwatersrand as a matter of supreme importance." (Murray 1982, p.63, quoting from a report by the Witwatersrand University committee published in June 1917)

The university was from the start intimately connected to the capitalist power of the mining fraternity. Wits soon stood at the forefront of local academic engagement, with many ties to international institutions and the cutting edge intellectual discourse of the time. Following the discovery of gold Johannesburg developed quickly into what Murray describes as:

> [a] major commercial and industrial centre supplementing and complementing its importance in mining. Johannesburg's town centre had developed into the largest retail outlet in South Africa: the town, focus of all major railroads in South Africa, housed the headquarters of the Union's railway administration, and served as the distribution centre for goods for most of Africa south of the Zambezi. Its accountancy firms, which had been founded to cater for the mining houses, led the nation in their field, while small manufacturing industries, notably in clothing, furniture, glassware, pottery and engineering were beginning to appear (1982, p.61).

According to Murray the development of the city fostered "a sense of civic pride and self consciousness" (1982, p.61) and these factors contributed to the establishment of an English-

language university in Johannesburg in 1922. Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, who was appointed as the principal of the South African School of Mines and Technology in 1919, became the first principal of the fledgling university (1982, p.65).

As a brilliant scholar Hofmeyr would lead the institution not only to be of value to the local community and to develop the Witwatersrand region materially, but also to become a centre of academic distinction. “He was seen as the man who could transform the School of Mines into a truly great university” (Murray, 1982, p.61). According to Murray, Hofmeyr as an Afrikaner fitted the vision of establishing a “non-racial image for the new university” (1982, p. 65) – a vision that deviated significantly from the idea that Wits would be a training ground for “European children”. At this time Hofmeyr also addressed the so-called “Native problem” facing South Africa. He wrote: ”[T]hey [South African universities] have not, to any great extent, applied themselves to the solution of our South African problems... Biggest of all is the Native problem, most difficult and yet most specially South African of them all – in essence the eternal problem of the reconciliation of justice and apparent expediency – a problem in regard to which our colleges have been almost entirely silent.” His belief that universities should contribute to the solution of typically South African problems seemed to have informed his vision for the University of the Witwatersrand (Paton, 1964, p.81).

In articulating a vision for the new university, Hofmeyr insisted that it should be more than an institution serving the practical and professional needs of the political and commercial sectors. He believed that a university should “provide a sound practical and professional training” for those who wanted it, but he was equally determined that it should be very much more than merely a school for professional training. His conception of a university was “distinctly liberal” (Murray, 1982, p.65) naming three principles for the institution. The first would be to equip students, not for a particular profession, but for life in general and for citizenship. In his view the fundamental task of a university was to provide its students with

what is generally understood as a liberal education. The second great duty was that "in respect of the discovery and publication of the truth the functions of a university with regards to both research and instruction could only be performed in a context of academic freedom, and he strongly advocated the need for diversity within a university" (Murray, 1982, p.94). For Hofmeyr the third principle was the university's commitment to its community. This included that the institution should be open to all groups in the community, "knowing no distinctions of class or wealth, race or creed and it should provide the community with leadership, assisting it to resolve the most fundamental of its problems" (1982, p.95). This last principle, particularly, would turn out to be at odds with the increasing racialisation of South African society as university autonomy also implies a desire for diversity. These academic ideals were fundamentally at odds with an unjust society where access to universities would depend on race and not on academic merit.

A Consideration of Some Aspects Underpinning the Liberal Tradition at Wits

Although a full historical overview of the development of the liberal tradition at the University does not fall within the scope of my research, a brief overview to locate the mindset of some of the students and staff interviewed for this project is of value.

In the 1920s and 1930s the University of the Witwatersrand emerged as the foremost centre for the liberal critique of South African society. According to Edgar Brookes in a lecture to the Institute of Race Relations in 1933, "The centre of gravity of South African liberalism has shifted from Cape Town to Johannesburg … the most effective institutional witness for liberalism in South Africa is that of the University of the Witwatersrand" (Murray 1982: 96).

According to T.R.H. Davenport, another important contribution to the development of South African political thought, not only nationally but also at Wits, was the work of Hoernlé, the professor in philosophy attached to the university during the 1930s and 1940s. He observes

that Hoernlé tried to distinguish between "segregation" and "separation" and developed a distinction, "if it could be applied throughout our period", between "petty *apartheid* (the minute rules for keeping the races segregated from each other, and protecting white privilege in a common area), and "grand" *apartheid* (the broad geographical separation of peoples on a basis of equal rights within their respective territories)" (1988, p.542).

In his influential book of 1939 Hoernlé discussed the factors which, according to him, established and maintained white domination in South Africa as racial differences, sociopolitical, economic, educational, and sexual control, all of which were put in place to establish "social distance between Whites and Blacks as well as preventing miscegenation, or race mix" (1939, p.2). He proceeded by suggesting that "trusteeship or guardianship" represents the "proper spirit in which Whites should govern non-Whites" (1939, p.57). Hoernlé proposed that a path of political wisdom might be to "develop Native communities to the point where they can become independent self-governing states". He added that for the realisation of the above proposal, "Native communities" should embrace and assimilate the "positive achievements of Western Culture, both material and mental" (1939, pp.101-102).

In search for an answer to his question "Is a liberal Native policy possible in South Africa"? Hoernlé urged fellow liberal thinkers to accept firstly, a short-term, and secondly, a long-term solution, but he struggled to imagine a positive outcome for the future of the country. He wrote that if South Africa should continue along the path of white domination it would ultimately learn from "the old historic truth" that "victories of the liberal spirit […] have been won by violent means and at a bitter cost in human lives" (1939, p.185). For the short-term solution he proposed that if South Africa is to "escape this fate through the realisation of liberty for all its races by peaceful change, then liberal-minded men and women must continue to bend all their strength to the task of spreading inter-racial goodwill by example and respect" (1939, p.185). For the long-term solution he put forward three possible

approaches: parallelism, assimilation and separation. Hoernlé defined the first as maintaining an inclusive, multi-racial society characterised by "the *co-ordination* of racial groups for *domination* by the rest of the group". He cited the example of separate school systems for the different races as a manifestation of the policy of "segregation-*cum*-differentiation" or parallelism. He described assimilation as maintaining "the multi-racial society, but abolishing race differences within it by the completest possible fusion, or amalgamation, of the races with each other". Separation, in his definition, would be a system "which breaks up the multi-racial society and organises the several racial components as mutually independent social units" (1939, p.158). In a footnote Hoernlé explained that he preferred the term "separation" to "segregation" as the latter implied a continuance of "the present caste-society, not the abolition, or dissolution" of it, which would be the aim of "separation" (1939: 158). After discussing each option in detail, he concluded that none of the possible long-term solutions could be implemented successfully at a time when the white population showed no signs of reducing or abolishing their position of dominance. He reiterated his position that the only solution for liberals would be to build a spiritual bridge between all races and to continue along this path until all South Africans could enjoy all liberal ideals (1939, pp.185-186). When the "inequity of the system of segregation" became evident to leading liberals such as Leo Marquard, Margaret Hodgson (later Ballinger) and J.H. Hofmeyr, they abandoned the political theories put forward by Hoernlé.

According to Davenport, it is nonetheless important to acknowledge Hoernlé's profound contribution to political thinking at the time, particularly because he paid close attention to possible alternative ways for building a just society in a multi-cultural South Africa. He lists "total integration", "parallelism" and "total separation" as noteworthy areas which Hoernlé investigated (1988, pp.573-574). Davenport mentions that Hoernlé soon realised that his preferred mode of total separation was "a pipe dream" and that the "high priests of the new

Afrikaner nationalism had by this time latched on to the notion of total segregation, which Hoernlé was in the course of discarding" as practically impossible to implement because of the economic integration of the country (1988, p.542).

In addition to these aspects of his work, Hoernlé also contributed to the liberal tradition in his collection of writings on race (1945), ideas that in time would develop as exposés of the myth of race as a fundamental human category.

In an interview Tobias (Addendum A) recounts how, when "the Nationalist Party, or the "Nats" as they were called colloquially, started campaigning and pressuring the "open"[10] universities to throw out their students of colour", he started his campaign, at first against academic apartheid and later against apartheid and against racism. Tobias remembers how in his book *The Meaning of Race* he was able to show that "What were the philosophical, or so called scientific, bases for the Nationalist government's policies. I was able to show from my own personal genetic studies and those of colleagues abroad that there was no foundation in genetics, in race studies, for what was being threatened and planned in the new South Africa of 1948" (Addendum A).

One of Tobias' substantial public lectures on "The Meaning of Race" was delivered on 8 May 1961 to launch a seminar on race organised by the Union of Jewish women of Southern Africa (Tobias, 1961). In the introduction of the subsequent publication Tobias wrote that he would be failing in his duty as a scholar and academic if he did not speak out that the "scientific truth about race runs counter to some or all of the assumptions underlying or influencing the race policies of this country" (1972, p.1). This campaign, spanning more than 40 years, was a remarkable effort by a single individual, demonstrating the values and ideals

[10] Shear (1996: 1, 282) quotes Boya 's definition of "open" as that "they admit non-white students as well as white students and aim, in all academic matters, at treating non-white students on a footing of equality with white students, and without segregation" (Boya 1987; n. p.).

which Tobias cherished and the tenacity and dedication which sustained him during a long and distinguished career.

Murray argues that Jan Hofmeyr's firm belief in a liberal education had a profound influence on how the university took shape despite him being defeated on certain fundamental issues, which included the admissions policy at the time. In this regard Murray refers to a 1977 study, *The Future of the University in South Africa,* in which James Moulder claims that all South African universities "have served the cause of white supremacy in South Africa, producing professionally skilled graduates who bolster the system of white supremacy in its economical, technical and professional aspects". Murray comes to the conclusion that in the period leading up to the Second World War, Wits "served rather than challenged the system of white supremacy in South Africa". During this period the vast majority of graduates were white and only one "coloured" doctor and one Indian lawyer completed professional degrees at the institution (Murray 1982, pp.94-95).

Bozzoli, who was the vice-chancellor of Wits from 1969 to 1977, writes that his years as a student at Wits coincided with "the turning point" in student politics when in 1924 Leo Marquard of Grey University College, the forerunner of the University of the Orange Free State, invited students from various student bodies to attend a conference to establish a national, all-embracing student body. Members from student representative councils from nine different universities or university colleges attended this gathering, where the National Union of South African Students or Nusas was formed and Marquard elected as the first president. At the event Marquard put forward three broad areas of interest for the new student body which he saw as defining the purpose of the organisation. He acknowledged that students were becoming more and more interested in national issues such as "education", "native affairs", "economics and the like." He also argued that student activities should be

better co-ordinated locally and that South African students should endeavour to "co-operate with student unions of other countries" (Bozzoli 1997, pp.24-25).

Nusas managed to include members from Afrikaans speaking campuses until 1934[11] when a long-developing rupture finally occurred. Afrikaner students under the banner of the Afrikaanse Nasionale Studentebond (ANSB) were still acutely aware of tensions between "British loyalties" and Afrikaner aspirations towards autonomy and very resistant to what they saw as encroaching Anglicisation. They also took the view that Nusas was turning into a leftwing organisation. The 1930 proposal to invite Fort Hare, a university college for blacks, to join Nusas brought about their decision to withdraw from Nusas (Bozzoli, 1997, pp.25-27). By 1968 black students also rejected the organisation to form the South African Students Organisation (Saso), a frontrunner for the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), and finally Nusas, an erstwhile multilingual and non-racial liberal union, disbanded in 1991 (Shear, 1996, p.61).

Although the history, development and demise of Nusas and other student bodies do not fall within the scope of the thesis, it is important to note that Nusas members were key role players in student politics in the decades following its formation in 1924. Even after losing its black membership in 1968, the organisation functioned as a "white student movement strongly committed to the anti-apartheid struggle". Shear writes how both the state and its supportive media targeted Nusas, its leadership and members by "vilification, intensive harassment and detention" (Shear, 1996, p.XIII). The majority of men and women whom I have interviewed for this research project were members of Nusas and played a significant role in how the resistance to apartheid materialised at the University of the Witwatersrand.

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[11] What was known as the Afrikaanse Studentebond transformed into the Afrikaanse Nasionale Studentebond when these organisations amalgamated. Subsequently universities in Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Potchefstroom withdrew from Nusas, with Stellenbosch following a little later. (http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/national-union-south-african-students-nusas [accessed 10 August 2012]

For the authors of (The University of Cape Town Academic Staff and the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Academic Staff, pp. 3-4) a point of view in South Africa, differing from the one that there should be different universities for the different population groups, is that a university may wish to "mirror that diversity among the members of the society which it serves". He maintains that UCT and Wits have "consistently advocated that proper university autonomy ought to allow the university itself to decide what its character and composition shall be". According to the authors this freedom cannot exist in an unjust society, as the infringements on "general liberty" will always impact on the freedom of universities. The group quotes the position taken by Professor Matthews from the University of Natal who stated that a university should be seen as a kind of intellectual furnace in which all thoughts, including the "sacred orthodoxies, conventions or dogmas of the day, are subject to the white heat of rigorous scholastic investigation" (cited in The University of Cape Town Academic Staff and the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Academic Staff, 1974, p.6).

It seems that the iconic status acquired by the University of the Witwatersrand, in view of its geographical location and often difficult placement between the capitalist economy whose needs it serviced and the ideals of a non-racial liberal educational institution functioning as the "social consciousness of it community" (Ballim, Addendum A), was already deeply enshrined in its early origins. Wits University was a place of conflicting values and ideals, which explains why the history of the institution is not uncontested.

According to Professor Es'kia Mphahlele:

> [t]here was a time in Wits' history, not long ago, when its administration hoped to maintain the old-fashioned stance of liberalism by playing the buffer-advocate to protest and plead by turns to Government on behalf of the students. As more and

> more white students sought their destiny among the black masses fighting for freedom, it was going to render the liberal stance at Wits indefensible, irrelevant. […] For it became for them more than the mere chanting of freedom slogans and dancing with the blacks. They were going to share the physical and emotional pain (cited in Shear, 1996, p. XXV).

Importantly, Mphahlele points to a development that would eventually bring about a major challenge to the university's self-confessed liberal approach. The question to what extent the university, despite its opposition to apartheid, was politically and morally compromised by the fact that it did comply with measures aimed at excluding or marginalising black students will remain a matter for debate. Shear concludes the introduction to his book with a number of questions, both to himself and readers: "Where does the truth lie? Did Wits do too little to promote racial justice or did it do too much? Could it have done more, or were its responses just adequate? Did it collude with authorities in the implementation of campus apartheid?" (Shear, 1996, p.XXVI) These questions presented a challenge which the Wits Faculty of Health Sciences took up in 1997. Advocate Jules Browde, Professor Patrick Makhoba and Dr Essop Jassat submitted a report to the dean in November 1998, which included an investigation and recording of the "history of racial discrimination in the Faculty" and the "history of resistance to apartheid by members of the Faculty", partly based on the stories of "those who were discriminated against" (1998, p.5). The publication lists a series of measures that were undertaken to resist "Apartheid Health Policies" and includes the role of student protests. The report mentions that during the 1960s and 1970s the largely white student body reflected the views of the society from which it was drawn but proceeds to recognise the "pockets" of both white and black students who did offer resistance to the measures of the apartheid regime both on campus and in the hospitals. Some of these students "were detained without trial and generally harassed by the security police" (1998, p.30).

The report acknowledges that it would be erroneous to assume that any of the anti-apartheid measures and / or activities did represent a serious challenge to the government or that these actions could be ascribed to all faculty members. What the paper does acknowledge is summarised in the faculty's submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: That "perhaps the activism of the 1970s and the 1980s – the many protests and petitions, public statements by deans and faculty members, the student activism, the tolerance by the University of dissent and support for those intent on challenging authority – while not in itself a threat to the apartheid system, contributed to the development of doctors who generally felt concerned about apartheid and its impact on health, and who challenged their own roles in challenging or perpetuating apartheid and the police state that defended it" (1998, p.32).[12]

Resolving these questions is outside the scope of my research. The questions did, however, fuel many of the responses from staff and students who participated in anti-apartheid protests and, as such, they should be recognised in a historical overview of the institution as background to the interviews and for a more indexical approach to the material that will be included in the documentary film. And although not all Hofmeyr's visions for the new university materialised, the long tradition of a liberal education functioning at its peak in an environment of academic freedom paved the way for the first academic protest march by staff and students in 1957, when the proposed Separate University Education Act threatened to disrupt the very early ideal set out by the first principal in his inaugural address in 1919 and in other communications from the following years. This Bill was a clear threat to the identity the university had fostered for itself over several decades.

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[12] Annexure 4: Wits Faculty of Health Sciences. Submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, p. 25

Student Protest in a Broader Context

> After 1968, none of the "other" groups in struggle – neither women nor racial "minorities" nor sexual "minorities", nor the handicapped nor the "ecologists" (those who refused the acceptance, unquestioningly, of the imperatives of increased global production) – would ever again accept the legitimacy of "waiting" upon some other revolution. (Immanuel Wallerstein, *1968, Revolution in the World System: Thesis and Queries*. 1988, n. p.)

According to some of the alumni interviewed for this project (Nettleton, Orkin, Bernstein, Addendum A), international student protest action did impact on similar endeavours in South Africa. Even though my research is limited to aspects of student protests at Wits, it is important to situate the local endeavours within a broader context. Despite the fact that Habermas (1970) writes about student protests in Germany and not about the South African situation, I would like to suggest that his writings do elucidate aspects of international student protests. Some South Africans were aware of these trends which could be verbalised as an intense discomfort with the developmental directions of capitalist societies. It is suggested that politics may have been the vehicle for protests and that the actions were strongly impacted by generational and cultural dimensions. It is also important that the student population at Wits was mostly white and although more students of colour were being admitted from the late 1970s, it was only during the 1980s that there was a significant shift in the demographics of this group.

Although the protest action at Wits arose in response to specific South African issues, students were inspired (Nettleton, Orkin, Addendum A) by an awareness of a new kind of turmoil amongst young people in the Western world, evidenced by the rise of pop music, a beat culture, the protest movements in France, Germany, the USA and elsewhere. According to Bernstein (Addendum A) students felt that they were a new generation – feelings echoed

by Mabin and Tomaselli in the narration for the student film *Wits Protest* that they produced between 1968 and 1974 as:

> The years nineteen sixty-eight and nineteen sixty-nine were student years. Student demonstrations and strikes punctuated them. Police violence frequently turned these demonstrations into riots. This happened in France, the United States, Spain, Argentina, Senegal, Zaire and the Sudan. Students had made a discovery; they had the power, the numbers and the sympathy, not only to challenge university authorities, but governments as well. The desire for social change manifested itself in various ways. They started questioning what they regarded as archaic and anarchistic ideologies and sought to replace them with values which took into account the needs and problems of the modern world. Student thinking, like the wind of change, did not leave South Africa untouched (Mabin and Tomaselli, 1968-1974).

Wits students also claimed a new vocal presence and demanded a new level of participation in decision-making that was inspired by and in keeping with these activities. Although they focused on local issues they were always aware of what was happening at an international level.[13] Fraser contends that although "there was nothing historically new about student rebellion", the new youth revolution that swept the world, was unprecedentedly widespread and threatened established capitalist and social orders alike (1988, p.1). He maintains that in this new youth culture and an accompanying youth-driven market, "adolescents had for the first time the feeling of belonging to a specific age group with a place in society (1988, p.3). It seems as if, rather by default, the burden of a radically different vision of society landed on the shoulders of students. According to Fraser this was a rather astonishing feat as the

[13] Refer to testimonies by Tobias (Addendum A) and Clive Glaser (Addendum A) included in chapter four and chapter seven respectively with regards to the importance of international student and media connections at the time.

students either did not have any real role models, or formulated their ideologies by reworking Marxist and socialist models. Although student movements across the world started from very different positions and passed through similar phases at different stages, the movements progressively converged by the end of the 1960s. Communalities evolved from the various movements around the idea of expanding the notion of democracy by "increasing people's control of their own lives". This would come about by direct action, leading to a radicalisation of the individual and to the concept of "organisation without leaders or [being] led, in which active participation rather than formal membership was the overriding criterion". There was perceived to be a need for new political arenas and supporting ideologies, coupled with a disenchantment with Liberalism and the Left, and a move away from parliamentary practices – all concepts which signified a move away from what the "Old Left" stood for (Fraser, 1988, pp.3-4).

As these movements started to engage more confrontationally with the ruling order, the students were met with "an escalating and often violent counter-offensive", which in turn led the students to embrace revolutionary Marxism and to mobilise the working class and the "oppressed strata of society" as the only means available to "overthrow that order" (1988, p.4). Fraser mentions as examples the May 1968 events in France when the authoritarian de Gaulle government was nearly toppled by a general strike that had followed ferocious battles between students and the "repressive police", and the impact of Czech student demonstrations on the attempt to usher in a "bloodless anti-Stalinist revolution in 1968 in their country" (1988, p.4). Fraser stresses that specific national conditions played a significant role and that the events of 1968 stemmed from "specific national circumstances" as well as "governments' response to protest" (1988, p.5).

Habermas (1970), writing soon after the protests, used the differences in social, political and economic conditions between West Germany and the United States to understand the roots of

student protests in the USA. This included, for the USA, factors such as the existence of an underprivileged black community and the Vietnam War, as "two acute, clearly defined and obvious conflicts, which daily produce[d] violence and therefore provoke[d] counter-violence" (1970, p.26-27). Habermas asserted that issues such as these were absent in West Germany. In that country, opposition against temporary technological unemployment in the mining industry in the Ruhr had led to the protest action being driven by a "coalition of trade unionists and intellectuals, and not primarily by rebellious students". For Habermas the biggest factor not present in West Germany was what he described as the "hippy scene" with its accompanying drug abuse; he also noted that other "apolitical paths" such as yoga and Zen Buddhism were almost absent. He did acknowledge that the "almost unbroken theoretical tradition influenced by Hegel and Marx", a tradition not present in the USA, might explain the articulation of student protest in West Germany (1970, p.27). He theorised that in both countries there seemed to exist fundamental attitudes which found expression in a "neo-anarchist worldview" which was fuelled on an emotional level by the Beatles and folk songs, on a political level by Castro-ism or the writings of Chairman Mao, and "reflectively on the level of a theory that somewhat existentialized Marx and Freud, as in the works of Herbert Marcuse" (1970, p.28).

Also of significance to Habermas (1970, p.280) was that the participants in student protests were "almost exclusively bourgeois youth – white middle class kids". These youngsters did not represent the "working class or blacks or the underdeveloped word" but saw themselves as acting for them and doing so in the name of the marginalised. He postulated that these students did not see themselves as "intellectuals who renounce their social class and place themselves as an avant-garde ahead of or at the head of the oppressed and exploited", but rather as the "first bourgeois revolt against the principles of a bourgeois society that is almost successfully functioning according to its own standards" (1970, p.28). The revolt was no

longer one against parental authority as before, but rather that of a generation that had become "sensitive to the costs for individual development of a society dominated by competition for status and achievement and by the bureaucratization of all regions of life" (1970, p.29). He further contended that the youth had become aware of and was sensitive to the reality of increasing aggression fuelled by military and economic forces, which produced global risks and "create the modern pauperism of the Third World" (1970, p.29). Habermas acknowledged that the sociologist of the time did not foresee the possibility of students playing such an active role in politics and concluded the chapter by suggesting the possibility, at "the transition to modernisation", to "*once again* find in the formative processes of the rising generations a correspondence with psychological development" (1970, p.30).

Anitra Nettleton (Addendum A) remembers that students were "very well aware of the kinds of protests that were happening in Paris and in the States and particularly Kent State of course. And so that kind of hippie culture informed a lot of what we were doing […]. So we were heavily influenced I think by those kinds of American and European happenings". Mark Orkin (Addendum A) concurs with these views and adds that "the international student scene was in ferment and certainly our protest activities, although constrained and within this particular framework, were hugely energised by those kinds of awareness". He also remembers the cultural flavours of the time: "I mean the mid-sixties was the time of Carnaby Street, the Beatles, and thank heavens for our sexual lives the advent of the pill; mini-miniskirts and student protests were part of that too".

The Rise of Black Consciousness and its Impact on Student Politics at Wits University

In this section I set out to highlight the intensely political and contested nature of the student protests at the "open" universities in South Africa during the apartheid years. Campuses

provided arenas where freedom of speech and the right to protest were ensconced in the tradition of academic freedom subscribed to by the liberal English tertiary institutions. I refer here to Anderson's concept of 'imagined communities' as mentioned in chapter one, being a helpful source for understanding how at the "open" universities an often very divided polity would have found a communal space in which protests would be conceived and performed by members who shared a common goal in opposing the apartheid system (1991, p.6) The campuses became, for the *imagined* communities occupying them, privileged spaces which allowed, and even encouraged, the kind of political agitation that was becoming difficult to sustain elsewhere. What is of interest here is how the "imagined community" at Wits had to re-imagine or re-define itself over time as the political situation in the country changed and as the student demographic at Wits was transforming.

Terry Tselane recalls his move from the University of Bophuthatswana to Wits as follows:

> We appreciated Wits greatly because black campuses were expressing a lot of repression, the kind of freedom that we had here, freedom of speech, as you've indicated, was one of the wonderful platforms we thought we could never experience, we never stopped talking about it, to say for the first time we can actually be able to talk and deal with the issues the way they were being dealt with here (Addendum A).

In these spaces many young people, including those with older brothers or sisters or parents who were aware of the political situation in the country, acquired through peer discussion, fields of study, workshops, community work and protest action the kinds of tools that Keyan Tomaselli describes as follows: "I had a gut feel about the situation in the country, but lacked the vocabulary to express feelings. It took six months at Wits to acquire the intellectualism to participate in debates and protest actions" (Addendum A).

With Wits having a largely white student population, the protest action at first provided a way for white participants to explore their own political standpoints and engagements within a broader field of tensions. With the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement black South Africans found a very different intellectual foundation for expressing their political attachments. Whereas earlier protests were to a large extent organised on behalf of the oppressed majority, representatives from that majority now entered the arena as independent agents who expressed their opposition to the government in their own voices.

This had an important impact on the attitudes of white students. For Wits alumnus Barbara Hogan, the views of many white students were initially "very much dominated by what I would call a liberal[14] perspective, but where we were challenged was by the Black Consciousness Movement which had started to emerge in the late sixties and that posed huge, I think, challenges for my generation of students" (Addendum A). The liberal approach as set out by Hoernlé and discussed earlier in this chapter does anticipate many of the ideological differences between accepted liberal politics and the increasing discomfort experienced by black South Africans exposed to these practices.

Stephen Bantu Biko, who joined the National Union of South African Students as a first year student at the University of Natal, grew increasingly frustrated at the organisation's "reluctance to adopt a more radical stance" and in 1968 broke away to form the South African Students' Organisation (Saso). Biko's growing activism put an end to his studies and by 1972 he and fellow activists saw the need for the establishment of a Black Consciousness Movement. Despite being detained and banned, he continued his activities until he died in police detention in 1977 (Van Wyk, 2007, p. xvii-xx).

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[14] Shear (1996, p.282) writes that it is difficult to define the term "liberal" in South Africa as ideological approaches range from "liberal conservative to liberal democrats". He does highlight a common thread of individuals and organisations opposed to apartheid but with very different ideas ranging from support for a universal franchise to a qualified franchise at the opposing ends of the belief spectrum.

For Biko, the dilemma facing the black man was summarised by the Saso slogan "Black man, you are on your own!" He wrote that for the liberals "the *thesis* is apartheid, the *antithesis* is non-racialism, but the synthesis is very feebly defined" (Biko, 2007). He understood the liberal approach as one which regarded integration as the ultimate solution, but argued that the real situation was very different: "The *thesis* is in fact a strong white racism and therefore the *antithesis* to this must, ipso facto, be a strong solidarity amongst the blacks on whom this racism seeks to prey." Although Biko did propose that a balance between the two approaches could lead to "true humanity where power politics have no place" he argued that the liberals failed in their reasoning as their antithesis was "already a watered-down version of the truth whose close proximity to the thesis will nullify the purported solution". For Biko the liberals were in search of an acceptable alternative, not for the black man, but for the white man (2007, p.154-155). He did not discourage whites from opposing the system but was highly critical of the approach of the liberals as, according to him, they wished not only to determine the "*modus operandi* of those blacks who oppose the system, but also [to lead] it in spite of their involvement in the system". He wrote that this approach could be read as spelling "out the totality of the white power system". Even when white people were the problem, they insisted on telling blacks how to deal with the situation and did so by dragging "all sorts of red herrings across our paths" and telling black people that "the situation is a class struggle rather than a racial one" (2007, p.153-154).

Biko's sentiments are echoed in how Belinda Bozzoli remembers her position at the time: "I was ideologically opposed to any idea that you should take race seriously. It was a kind of non-racial tradition that I attached myself to. Perhaps naively, because Black Consciousness again made it clear that you had to take race seriously […]" (Addendum A). Biko confirmed his position when he wrote that "[w]e can never wage any struggle without offering a strong

counterpoint to the white racism that permeates our society so effectively" (1971, p.4), expressing the view that the white liberal tradition was itself deeply implicated in racism.

Belinda Bozzoli recalls how "Black Consciousness really exploded that whole radical white world. And in a way destroyed it […] the kind of perhaps rather comfortable world that white lefties were in, was very much disrupted" (Addendum A). Hogan confirms this view when she recalls that:

> [t]he Black Consciousness Movement was a scary movement in that it was saying you don't belong. And so the whole issues of identity came up. What am I as a South African? Do I belong in this country? Do I have a rightful place here? What is the nature of the struggle? So it was, those first years were very turbulent years (Addendum A).

Darryl Glaser experienced the divide between the white liberal student approach and that of Black Consciousness, as well as the attempts to bridge the divide between the two, as "being put into a little organisation that produced pamphlets called the Student African Movement. The name was actually a product of the 1970s, which was a period in which there was the white left who was attempting to come to terms with the Black Consciousness Movement. And the name Student African Movement reflected this desire to Africanise Wits University and Africanise political opposition" (Addendum A).

While some white students felt attracted to the idea of Africanism, others were more inclined to embrace the ANC's non-racial approach. Hogan, for example, joined the ANC in late 1977 for two reasons. She felt committed to a non-racial South Africa but also believed that only an organisation with a military wing would be able to liberate the country from a state as repressive as South Africa was at the time. For her the ANC provided this umbrella: "And the ANC's absolute commitment to non-racialism was almost my response and my answer to the

Black Consciousness Movement. So "this country belongs to all of us", not just one of us" (Addendum A).[15] Importantly, the ANC's declared non-racialism was connected to the very reason the anti-apartheid protests at tertiary institutions started in the first place.

A decision such as Hogan's to join the ANC, an illegal organisation at the time, did not come without considerable danger on a number of grounds. While the liberal tradition enjoyed a great deal of respectability within the white community, the same could not be said for BCM and ANC connections, both of which embodied more radical responses to the repression of black opposition in the country. She remembers the time as being very "tough":

> You know this was no joke. This was no fun thing, you know. It wasn't just going on a student protest and having a wow. It wasn't that, particularly after you joined the ANC, you know, when you knew you could go to jail, when you knew you could be tortured, when so many of those around you were being detained, tortured, killed (Addendum A).

Alumnus Rosemary Hunter recalls how she and her housemates at their commune in Berea would find dead cats strung to their front door and how the house was firebombed. As an SRC president and a member of the ANC at the time, she remembers how, after being taken into detention and held at John Vorster Square, she was taken to "Sun City", the Diepsloot Prison just south of Johannesburg. "By then," she says, "I was really getting pretty terrified, particularly because I was a member of an ANC cell and I didn't know (…) whether they knew that, and whether they could extract any information from me and what would it take" (Addendum A).

Both Hogan and Hunter had crossed the divide between "legal" and "illegal" opposition and thus found themselves in the dangerous new territory that had been created by repressive

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[15] A quote from the Freedom Charter (http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72).

government measures resulting from mass protests during the late 1950s and early 1960s, especially after the watershed event at Sharpeville and the events that followed. On 21 March 1960 sixty-nine Africans were killed and 180 injured when police opened fire on a crowd of [pass law] demonstrators. On 27 March, Albert Luthuli burnt his passbook and announced the following day would be a day of mourning. The government declared that the ANC and the [Pan-Africanist Congress] or PAC would become illegal organisations on 8 April and used the new legislation to 18 000 people (Davenport, 1988, p.395-365).

According to Davenport (1988), the banning of the ANC and PAC in March 1960 gagged the anti-apartheid political voice to a significant degree and created a void that Hogan describes as follows:

> We, because the ANC had been banned, and the SACP, we didn't have an older generation, particularly being white, who could give you the line, or introduce you into political culture, or orient you politically, or induct you or help you to grow politically… We had to find out things for ourselves because we were completely cut off from an older generation of activists. Many had left the country, were in prison and whatever (Addendum A).

The banning of these organisations was followed by a significant shift in black oppositional politics. Davenport writes that "there were signs during the late 1960s and the early 1970s of a new approach to politics less optimistically liberal than [Albert] Luthuli's ANC had been before Sharpeville, more realistic in its appraisal of political forces than [Robert] Sobukwe's rival movement, and less vulnerable to the charge of collaborationism against the Homeland leaders in general" (1988, pp.417-418). The group under the leadership of Steve Biko took their inspiration from notions of Black Theology and Black Power derived from American movements and the writings of Franz Fanon in Algeria (1988, p.418).

Biko did not advocate Fanon-inspired mass uprisings, but appealed to the black man to reassess his position and identity in South Africa after "generations of conditioning to see himself as the underdog" and "to free himself from the tutelage of white liberals, who assumed too easily that blacks wanted merely to become incorporated in a social system dominated by white cultural values" (Davenport, 1988, p.418). The new perspectives advocated by the Black Consciousness Movement saw a proliferation of new movements, with Saso being one such example.

Tony Leon describes the divisions in the student and academic community at the time as a split "between the liberals of whom I was very much part and the radical left who never enjoyed a majority on the campus but managed to manipulate their position" (Addendum A). According to Hunter the divisions among students were troublesome for the ANC; the instruction from her handler was to try and make the SRC as popular as possible:

> [B]ecause there seemed to be a sort of alienation between the rather left wing SRC and Nusas and the massive student body I was told that my job was just simply to go and jol as much as possible, which was not really in my nature, but I spent a lot of time drinking with the mining engineers in their pub, hanging out with the Greek students…the Hellenic Student Society it was called, I think, jolling with Rag. I'd been jolling with Rag the night before I was detained, so I was still a bit tipsy when they got me (Addendum A).

At Wits, the Black Students Society or BSS, with exclusive black membership, was formed in 1977. Despite objections to the establishment of a racially exclusive body, the SRC and the university authorities did finally consent to the creation of the organisation (Shear, 1996, p.66). Ballim (Addendum A), who came to Wits as a first year student in 1977, recalls being a member of the organisation during the early years and how the strongly black

consciousness driven ideologies of the BSS demanded members to very much keep to their own:

> If we discovered that you had a white girlfriend or boyfriend, you couldn't come to our meetings. If you played sport on campus, you weren't allowed at the meetings. We never got involved, we never engaged with NUSAS, except on the occasional debate. We certainly didn't participate in SRC elections. There was very much a sense of you came here to get an education and a degree. You did it because you had to do it. You're here, get your degree and go home. Your life your political expression, your social value, your social worth, the place where you would seek affirmation remains in the townships, not here.

According to Ballim these students also held the belief that although "white people were jumping up and down and shouting about these things", the whites did not really know what they were shouting about as they had only read about these issues and did not appreciate or "have an empathy in essence of what the struggle was about" (Addendum A).

It was, however, only by the middle 1980s that the number of black students grew sufficiently for a strong black voice to emerge on the liberal "open" campuses. The practice of non-participation and, at times, selected cooperation between the different student groups continued through the 1980s. Past BSS president Terry Tselane remembers why it was felt that this kind of organisation was necessary on campus:

> The reason why [the] Black Students' Society was established was that black students who were now coming into liberal campuses found themselves in the minority in a country where they were a majority, and that if we had issues that we wanted to raise, those issues unfortunately were not finding expression because of the fact that we were a minority [on campus], so for us to be able to be a force, to be recognised and then be able to have an influence on campuses, we

> agreed that it was going to be important for us to organise separately […] So, the Black Students Society became an SRC of black students; black students here inclusive of coloured, Indian and African students and we found that it was much easier for us to be heard when we were operating as a block, as a block even though we were in a minority. We could actually influence the developments both on campus and nationally by organising separately, and felt that it was a good strategy to use (Addendum A).

In reaction to the formation of the BSS and the Nusas stronghold on campus, a group of right-wing students banded together as the Student Moderate Alliance (SMA). Russell Crystal, one of the group's founder members, claimed that "my political soul came about because of the left on campus" (Shear, 1996, p.67). In the experience of some students, student politics was becoming more exposed to organisational pressures and even to outside manipulation. Brian Civin, one of the SMA founder members, says:

> It was a very small group and with no real plan of action. It was just intended that when there was an activity there was an opportunity to provide an alternative. Unfortunately […] now I realise the things that happened on campus were really not just the students; the organisations were just puppets and being manipulated from outside. It was not something that just occurred in-house, it was just manipulated. We were just being manipulated (Addendum A).

Hunter recalls these divisions and the lack of "one non-racial progressive organisation" with sadness and regrets the infighting within the student left which she describes as follows: "[I] suspect it had something to do with the fact that we were actually isolated, fairly isolated and not particularly important in the greater scheme of things and so there was a lot of infighting. That was just within the white student left" (Addendum A). Despite the policy of non-participation in white student politics, the black students did form strategic alliances with

Nusas and, according to Tselane, "never abrogated our responsibilities to them; we still felt that as black students we had to raise our issues ourselves, we did not want Nusas to speak on our behalf, but through that collaboration our issues found expression in the broader campus situation" (Addendum A).

Leon (Addendum A) recalls Wits as "one of the very few places in the late 1970s, and the early 1980s, where the life on the campus to some extent reflected and was an offshoot of the real life across South Africa, whether it was in the townships or whether it was in the suburbs and whether in fact it was at the cutting edge where South Africa then was. And so it was a fairly interesting barometer, obviously it was an elitist institution, but not withstanding that caveat, it was a very interesting place". When the demise of apartheid became a reality most of the groups were dissolved and the student population voted for a united student body, the South African Students' Congress (Sasco) (Shear, 1996, p. 66; p.292).

As the above excerpts from interviews illustrate, the activities of political groupings on the campus and the anti-apartheid protests have to be read as public acts driven by intensely personal expression and the emancipation of individual participants, as well as by the existence of different organisations laying claim to student involvement – precisely the aspects that I would like to include in the research for my project. During these years of contestation campuses became important sites, microcosms of broader society, where conflicting ideologies came into contact with one another and where proponents of different points of view had to navigate the terrain of learning to redefine their cultural identity and make their voices heard according to their convictions. In such a situation, huge turmoil within the student polity was inevitable, as was a confrontation between the different impulses, beliefs and loyalties that drove all the role players.

In the next chapter I look in greater detail at the organisation and structuring of protest action as another way of understanding the recorded testimonies and archival material that form the basis of my research and documentary film.

CHAPTER FOUR - THE PERFORMATIVE DYNAMICS OF PROTEST ACTION

All the world's a stage,

And all the men and women merely players;

They have their exits and their entrances,

And one man in his time plays many parts (Shakespeare, *As You Like It*).

Introduction

In this chapter I consider the performative dynamics of protest action by using Bozzoli's concept of "theatres of struggle" (Bozzoli, 2004, p.11) as a theoretical tool for contextualising the events and examining elements of performativity that are comparable to staging for the theatre and for the camera. In her work on struggle activism in Alexandra, a township adjacent to Johannesburg, Bozzoli draws parallels between dramatic performances and the way in which many of the protests, funerals and other activities were "performed" during the 1980s. I demonstrate how theatrical concepts such as staging, choreography and costuming can serve to deepen our understanding of an academic protest march and the way in which elements such as academic processions and dress codes, spatial control and transgression, are negotiated in the struggle between diverse protagonists and antagonists.

Bozzoli claims that theories of dramaturgy could serve as a useful metaphor in analysing the nature of struggle protest in South Africa. Her approach suggests that opposition movements take their protest actions into the public domain through careful directing, scripting, staging, performing and "a myriad of other techniques within each of these broad groupings", thus "interpreting their definitions of power as a counter to the dominant ones" (Bozzoli, 2004, p.11). Recalling the protests at Wits during the late 1960s and early 1979s in an interview, Bozzoli personally confirms the aspects of ritualisation analysed in her scholarly work: "There was a format. As there probably is in all protests. In fact, protest is one of my areas of study and, I know that they do follow formats". She also emphasises the dimensions of spatial contestation in the anti-apartheid protests at Wits during her student years: "You would march around campus getting more and more angry and then you would march to the Braamfontein barrier between Wits and Braamfontein itself, shout and scream." There would be a rehearsal before the protest action moved into the public domain, with more or less

predictable results. The protest actions would invariably invoke the arrival of the police and lead to a subsequent standoff between the students and officers of the law. Bozzoli also testifies that "then the really brave students would cross the barrier and inevitably get arrested […]. So that was the protest mode". She also mentions how the protesting students would gather on the edge of campus and march through the streets of Braamfontein and into the city carrying placards and banners, and how these white students experienced their own actions: "[…] perhaps because they were quite protected people, it was considered extremely brave" (Addendum A).

The 1957 march was an institutional event in that it was directed by leading figures from the university community (which was often quite a fractured entity) against government policies and paved the way for later protests that the university did not and often could not direct in a similar way. Having established itself as a forum for a particular kind of protest, the university on a number of occasions found itself in a position where it had to manage the unintended consequences of a practice it had originated.

Important challenges facing the directors of such events include behavioural codes acceptable for the staging and choreography of the performance and the dress code acceptable for a performance of this nature. In these and subsequent sections I comment on some considerations in more detail and support my theoretical analysis with reference to testimony where possible. Although the visual appearance and the nature of protests would change as the organisation of the marches shifted from the university's hierarchical control to student leaders, the deliberate use of academic dress, banners, posters, silence or protest songs as well as the size of the groups all contributed to a spectacle that caught the attention of members of the academic community, the public, the inner city and the local and international press. The archive sources listed later in this proposal attest to this claim, as do recollections from participants in some of the recorded interviews, which also reflect what Coombes describes

as the irony associated with the "very public nature of what inevitably becomes spectacle". She argues that the large archive that can be collected with the technology available in our time also sets boundaries "on the means by which the multifarious forms and levels of personal pain and experience can be made explicit to the viewing public". The necessary fragmentation of experience confirms the difficulties of representing the truth and highlights the "inadequacy of representation of the complexities of personal lived experience …" (Coombes, 2004, p.244).

It is for this reason that the additions to the archive of personal memories that I have undertaken as part of my research become important. Whilst such recollections may be unreliable due to the passage of time, they help reduce the focus on the "theatrical" and public elements that characterises news footage; they introduce elements of personal experience and trauma that cannot be captured by cameras and news reports; and thus they insert an element of "personal lived experience" into the historical narrative.

Historical Forms of "Academic" Theatre: The Elements

In this section I look in closer detail at "academic" theatre referring to three aspects of theatricality, namely ritual (procession and assembly), dress code and space (the campus and the street). In order to elucidate the importance of the academic procession and its impact as a theatrical performance some aspects of the origins and uses of processions are included.

The Historical Procession and the Impact of Historical Practice on Academic Practice in the Twentieth Century

A procession is defined as "a number of people or vehicles moving forward in an orderly fashion, especially as part of a ceremony" (Oxford University Press, n. p.) and processions seem to have been a feature of human activity since very early times. In this section I include some early examples as an introduction to a closer look at the significance and performativity

of the 1957 march. A sketch made in 1894 of a rock drawing, which dates to the Late Predynastic – Early Dynastic period in Egypt and photographed in 1970, clearly presents a royal scene according to a paper written by Hendrickx and Gatto (2009, pp.147–150). The authors argue that although there are similar rock art scenes that have been interpreted in different ways, this one (Figures I and II below) is "in our opinion, related to boat processions (cf. Gatto et al, 2009b), which seem corroborated by the scene under discussion" (2009, p.149).



Figure I[16]



Figure II[17]

[16] Image reproduced with kind permission from Maria Carmela and Roberta Simonis from an article by Savino di Lernia and Marina Gallinaro, The Rock Art Journal of the Acacus Mountains (SW Libya), between originals and copies, published in the Sahara journal, Volume 20, 2009, p.13.
[17] As above.

Processions also almost always form an integral part of religious worship. The Catholic Encyclopedia mentions events such as the processions of the Ark in the Old Testament and Jesus riding on a donkey into Jerusalem as recorded in the "Christian Holy Bible" as "examples of the central role of visual spectacle in the public domain as expressions of important cultural activities and values" (Thurston, 1911).

It seems that aspects of these ceremonial processions have been retained in academic practice and are still standard procedure at tertiary institutions. According to the American Council on Education website "[a]n academic procession is a traditional ceremony in which university dignitaries march together wearing traditional academic dress" (American Council on Education, 2010). The hierarchical ordering in political, religious and other processions also plays an important role. Examples include the procession of the royal family at the palace of Versailles, where nearness to the king signified harmonious relationships as the party walked to and from church services. Processions often include artefacts such as banners, flags, icons, and special forms of transport such as carnival floats, the Pope's chair, exotic animals in Roman times, dancers and acrobats, music and scents provided by incense bearers, special costumes, gifts and special lighting.

The academic procession distinguishes itself from more extravagant and festive forms by its restraint and its focus on a small, selected number of ritualised elements that serve to signify dignity, authority and historical continuity. At the University of the Witwatersrand, for example, a mace-bearer leads the academic procession carrying a ceremonial rod onto the stage where it is placed in a special position to "authenticate" the graduation ceremony. The mace is a symbolic representation of the "University, this city, the Witwatersrand and the Republic of South Africa" and is a constant reminder to the Senate and the Council "to uphold at all times the rights, powers and privileges of the University and its governing

bodies" (Graduation Programme, 2011, n. p.). According to the publication, the custom dates back to medieval times when bishops were forbidden by canonical rule to defend themselves using weapons and instead carried a mace as protection. Over time the mace has acquired a symbolic meaning as that of "delegated authority vested in a person or an institution". The mace represents the authority vested in the chancellor and the mandate given by the legislature of the country to confer degrees on successful graduates (July 2011, n. p.).

The mace-bearer leads the procession today, a practice that seems to have differed in earlier times as shown in the visual material of a procession included in the film *Tomorrow Begins at Wits Today* (Hughes, 1982, TC 00 47' 30"). In this clip the bearer follows the Senior Executive, somewhat like the banner being preceded by a senior academic or administrative staff member in the visual material relating to the 1957 march, but with the obvious difference that the mace had been replaced by a banner that speaks to the central issue which gave rise to the event.

General Assemblies

In a circular (Wits Central Records, File 111, Academic Freedom at Wits before 1959), A. de V. Herholdt, the Registrar informs Head of Departments of a [Wits] Council decision to hold a "General Assembly of the University in relation to the Separate University Education Bill (now called the Extension of University Bill)". The Council invitation specifies members of the Senate, the staff, the student body and the executive of the convocation. The circular also states that at the end of the ceremony "all activities in the University buildings and grounds will cease for the day and persons will be asked to leave the University premises for the day"[18]. The extent of the invitation and the closure of the University for the day confirm the

[18] The directive specifies that "essential clinical duties in the Hospitals and the Dental Hospital, will, however, continue" (University Archives, Wits Academic Freedom before 1959, File 111).

extreme gravitas of the decision to call the first General Assembly of Wits University. In MacCrone's address (Wits Central Records, File 111, 16 April 1959) delivered at the Assembly he includes the alumni when he laments that:

> A forced break with an ancient, honourable and widely accepted University tradition, which we had taken for granted and incorporated as part of our University, will induce in all of us a feeling that in some kind of definite sense we have ceased to be the kind of University that we once were and in which we took pride; a feeling that as a University we have become spiritually impoverished as the result of the loss of our former status.

It is rather ironic that on the day that the University lamented the loss of its academic freedom, it was also breaking new ground by doing so at a General Assembly, the first in its history. In an article in the *Gazette of the University of The Witwatersrand, Johannesburg* (1959(1), 18 July)) the event is described as a protest action against "the loss of its most cherished possession – the right to admit, without regard to race and colour, all who would join in the acquiring and advancement of knowledge". The assembly, unlike a routine graduation ceremony, had a specific purpose, that of unifying the university community against a threat to the very principles underpinning its existence as an institution of learning. It appears that the pomp and ceremony, traditions, gravitas and symbolism steeped in human history and cultural development, bind the academic community as a powerful and esteemed collective. As nodal manifestations of fruition and success in the academic domain, these occasions have over time signified the academic procession with prestige, dignity and authority – especially at graduations.

Wits has called only eight General Assemblies in its history; seven during the apartheid era to protest against government action (Shear, 1996, p.353) and one in 2005 to welcome black

graduates who, due to apartheid legislation, were denied receiving their degrees at graduation ceremonies on the Great Hall stage.

General assemblies are steeped in dignified solemnity and far too static and constrained to contain the vigour of activist youth. It would also seem that general assemblies often performed a dual role. Although the intended function was as a collective mouthpiece for staff and students, the university did eventually lose control over the conduct of both student protestors and the police. From this perspective, the assembly can be seen both as a mechanism of expression and of control in attempting to unite competing forces. The decision to stage a "dignified" academic protest in the city of Johannesburg and host the first General Assembly took its cues from these worthy traditions, as I discuss in the next chapter.

Dress Code

Together with the ritualised movement of participants, a major element in the organisation of academic processions and political protests is the visual impact of the event. The appearance of protesters conspicuously entering the public domain also relies on the creation of a very deliberate visual spectacle. The black sashes worn by the women who at first called themselves the Women's Defence of the Constitution League soon became not only iconic accessories for protest actions, but also served as inspiration for the name *Black Sash* that exists to this day (Black Sash, 2010).

In this respect, universities have access to a long tradition. The Wits Health Sciences Review (2007) very succinctly describes the tradition, dignity and symbolic gravitas attached to an academic procession with academics clad in their academic dress:

> Is there any sight in academia more thrilling to watch than an academic procession making its way to the platform? Our academics looked splendid in their gowns as they made their way to the platform at the Linder Auditorium on

> the occasion of Welcome Day when second year students in all Departments were welcomed to Medical School Campus.

Wits, as with most other universities, has developed its own standards for the dress code for academics, office bearers and graduates. According to a graduation pamphlet, the university follows the guidelines as practised at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The gowns and hoods also include modifications modelled on practices at the University of London as well as "certain individual features". The section on dress in the graduation ceremony handout provides detailed specifications for all participants, which includes a scarlet silk gown with a broad facing of black velvet down each side, embroidered in gold, a black velvet cap with gold cord and tassels for PhD candidates, and black gowns for all bachelor and master degrees of "the same pattern as the gown for a Master of Arts at the University of Oxford" (Wits Graduation Ceremony, July 2011, n. p.)

According to the American Council of Education's code for academic dress, the tradition dates back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when universities started to develop from monasteries or church schools. With a few exceptions, most of the medieval scholars were members of the clergy who "had taken at least minor orders, made certain vows and perhaps had been tonsured". The scholars wore long gowns because of their religious backgrounds or as protection against the cold in the unheated buildings. To protect their unshaven heads they wore hoods that were later replaced by skullcaps. Sullivan writes that the University of Coimbra issued a statute in 1321 requiring that all graduates wear gowns. This also was a measure to prevent unwelcome frivolity. By the second half of the fourteenth century some colleges in Britain prescribed a long gown to be worn to prevent students from what Sullivan quotes as "excess in apparel" (1997, p.1).

He observes that during the reign of Henry VIII, colleges such as Oxford and Cambridge "first began prescribing a definite academic dress and made it a matter of university control even to the extent of its minor details" (Sullivan, 1997). Assigning specific colours to specific disciplines in academic dress and trimmings came much later. What is of interest is that red, an official colour of the church was selected to represent theology. To this day red is used to denote the highest level of academic qualification at Wits, the doctoral degree.

Importance and Impact of the Dress Code

In an interview with alumnus Tony Leon, he recounts the "electric atmosphere" on the campus after academic Dr David Webster had been assassinated in 1989. In talking about the general assembly and mass protest that followed this, he highlights the aspect of dress: "All the red coats came out, all the professors" (Addendum A). The synecdochical use of "red coats" for senior academics who have completed their doctoral studies indicates the dignity and tradition ascribed to the wearing of academic dress. The connotations of time-honoured tradition, as well as the many other reasons stated in this chapter, contributed to the 1957 decision for academics and students to march dressed in this way. Tobias (Addendum A) describes the march as a, "very impressive manifestation with many of us in academic dress" and "the medicals in their white coats, the clinical ones with their stethoscopes" and in this way also draws attention to the impact of the professional dress code for medical practitioners.

The University Campus as Performance Space

To consider the impact of the geographical location and its polity and relevance to protest-as-performance, I refer to three key spatial attributes which are relevant to the staging of protest action at Wits. Firstly, protest action always implies movement through space; secondly,

contestations over control of space, and lastly, the openness of the Wits campus during the apartheid era.

As discussed in the previous section, processions are designed and staged to display elements such as power, wealth, status, academic tradition and rigorous scholarly endeavour. To achieve the desired outcomes, the processions are staged in public spaces where audiences experience and take note of the displays.

The question whether university campuses should be deemed public or private spaces has been a matter of contestation ever since student protest action originated in South Africa. It appears that prior to the implementation of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Private Act, 1959 (Act no 15 of 1959), no doubt informed by the Extension of University Education Act of that year, universities operated in a far more autonomous way regarding the admission of students, the appointment of academics and control of campuses. Various subsequent redrafts of what became known as the Higher Education Act (1995; 1997) have been consolidated by the university to align governance with changes in legislation and although there are adaptations, the core definitions regarding the university and its legal standing remains consistent: It lists the name of the institution as the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg which is defined as a "juristic person, the activities of which are principally administered from Johannesburg in Gauteng Province and, subject to the Higher Education Act, is capable of performing such acts as juristic persons may by law perform". These powers of the university are however subject to the concurrence of the minister and it is stipulated that the university may not "dispose of or alienate in any manner, any immovable property acquired with the financial assistance of the State or grant any person any real right therein or servitude thereon" (Combined Statute of the University and

amendment /Internal Publication / LJA / Legal Office / 13 July 2005; Senate document S2000/ 2272, 1999: 3-4).[19]

A Wits[20] "statement handed to the press", which was published in the Rand Daily Mail on 9 June 1972 and The Star on 10 June 1972, refers to police action on campus:

> On Wednesday and Friday this week we witnessed horrifying scenes of brutality and violence perpetrated on our campus against defenseless students. This afternoon the situation deteriorated sharply. The baton charge and the brutal beatings were now carried out by men not in uniform. It proved impossible to find out whether these men are plainclothes policemen or thugs. Yet they beat and assault our students in the presence of uniformed police (University Archives, File 111, Wits Academic Freedom, 1970 – 1979).

According the 1974 updated version of *The Open Universities of* S*outh Africa,* now titled as *The Open Universities of* S*outh Africa and Academic Freedom* (p.34) gatherings of students on the steps of the Jameson Hall at the UCT and on the Wits campus were "roughly dispersed by police in baton charges and tear-gas raids".[21] The University of Cape Town applied for and won a Supreme Court temporary interdict in 1972 to prevent any future invasions of the

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[19] "Until 1997, the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg was governed in terms of the Universities Act, 1955 (Act No 61 of 1955) and the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (Private) Act, 1959 (Act No 15 of 1959). In 1997 the Higher Education Act, 1997 (Act No 101 of 1997) repealed the Universities Act, 1955. In 1999 the University submitted a Bill to the Department of Education to replace the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (Private Act, 1959 and bring it into line with the Higher Education Act, 1997. This Bill was however not enacted. The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (Private) Act, 1959 is, thus, still in force, though not in line with the Higher Education Act, 1997. In order to fill the gaps caused by the repeal of the Universities Act, 1955 and to overcome any inconsistencies between the Higher Education Act, 1997 and the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (Private) Act, 1959 it has been proposed by the Department of Education that the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Statute be amended to reflect these changes in the legislation" (Wits Legal Office, File S2000/2272). It appears that up until now there still has existed inconsistencies with regards to legal control of the University campus.

[20] The names listed as supportive of the document are A. Andrew, J. W. Brommert, J. Knox, R. Lee, J.T. Moelwyn-Hughes, H.E. Price, H. I. Schwartz, J.P.F. Sellschop, M. Shear and R. Tunmer.

Campus and I recall the notices erected subsequently at the university which proclaimed the main campus as private space and prohibiting access to persons not involved in university business. But in Johannesburg, in the case of *Bozzoli & Another v Station Commander, John Vorster Square* (1972 (3) SA 934 (W)) the court argued that "parts of the university were a "public space" for the purpose of the Riotous Assembly Act" (p. 34). Although students both in Cape Town and in Johannesburg were found not guilty and were paid damages by the minister of police, an amendment to the Act almost immediately put an end to the legality of protest meetings in both public and private spaces (1957-1974, p.35).

It is prudent to assume that in the years before the introduction of the Riotous Assemblies Act the university would have had a strong proprietary view of the campus. Tobias (Addendum A) remembers how the then vice-chancellor Professor Humphrey Raikes responded to the presence of the police special branch on campus, a space which he regarded not as public space, but as private property under his jurisdiction:

> It was on that occasion that I had my first brush with the special branch on the campus. And Sidney Brenner and I, after the meeting was over, when this man had come up to us and said can we have a copy of the resolution and said my minister is interested in what you so-and-so's are doing here. We gave him the copy. It was public property; it was in the Rand Daily Mail the next morning and The Star the next night. And we went straight up to Mr. Raikes the Vice-Chancellor and told him. He was infuriated and rang the head of Marshall Square, the police headquarters, and said: "Look here my man." And Sidney and I were standing in his office when he said, "until we have police state in South Africa, you keep your minions off my university, unless you get prior permission." It was a dramatic and rather historical moment. Sidney and I exulted.

Spatially the university was completely open at the time.



Figure III[22]

When the protest meetings and other more academic actions proved ineffectual against the onslaught on academic freedom by the apartheid government, the impact of resistance activities required a larger stage and audience: one offered by the city of Johannesburg, in a development that, with the help of media coverage, also guaranteed a national and international audience. Moving from the university campus onto the streets crossed the boundary between what Humphrey Raikes regarded as private property under his guardianship and the City of Johannesburg under the jurisdiction of municipal management structures. Although the first march proceeded peacefully this was not the case in later years, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Using concepts employed by Bozzoli one could argue that the "entire geographical space", including the Wits campus in Braamfontein and the streets leading to the City Hall of Johannesburg, became a "highly theatrical arena" in which the performance would be on display "to both insiders and outsiders" (2004, p.7). It became important to portray the university players as serious "actors" who represented the historical gravitas and contemporary relevance of Wits: an institution of tertiary learning and research following the

[22] Wits Historical Papers

long-standing traditions of universities across the world. The choreography, the visual appearance and the performance had to conform to these traditions and the gravitas of the academy.

Audiences

By moving into the public domain the university set out to make known its abhorrence of and resistance to the government and the legislation introduced by the ruling party. It was in the interest of the protesters to address local, national (primary) and international (secondary) audiences. Photographs, newspaper clippings and video recordings from the archive show examples of curious onlookers and supportive and critical audience reactions. The police, security police and members of the defence force who at first appear on the scene as onlookers or audience members are often drawn into the performance as co-actors. These actions have also been captured in the archive material. Tomaselli remembers how motorists driving up Jan Smuts Avenue "would either drive straight at the students or they would hoot and flash their lights in solidarity", although in his experience it was "mostly … support" (Addendum A,). For Tabor (Addendum A,) the experience was different. She recounts how hundreds of students walking through Braamfontein were targeted by sections of the community [the primary audience]:

> […] And from the South African Airways building I think it was, somewhere, they used to throw, but that became de rigueur, plastic bags filled with water down on us and people would have placards and this and that.

She also remembers that the police would "keep a sort of a polite distance and then […] I remember being outside John Vorster square and at a certain moment somebody, something happened and we all just ran" (Addendum A).

At a secondary level the presence of the media facilitated exposure to a far larger audience both in South Africa and overseas. However, when censorship legislation seriously curbed media coverage in South Africa during the apartheid era, large sections of what was or should have been recorded never found its way into the archive. There are many instances where research is hampered by a "dearth of documentation", which Merrick (1995, p.94) ascribes to "the culture of censorship which included the proscription of people, organisations and publications in South Africa during the apartheid era".[23] Thompson (2001, p.229) observes that "in order to re-establish control of the black population, the government resorted to bannings, arrests, detentions and treason trails", which were "largely unreported because of draconian restrictions on the communications media".

In South Africa the introduction of television in 1976 (Merrick, 1995, p.90) in the form of public broadcaster the South African Broadcasting Corporation, made a big difference to film and video collections of news and actuality in South Africa. By the 1980s, at the height of the struggle against apartheid, the media had become much more important players in protest actions than they had ever been before.

Clive Glaser (Addendum A) remembers how, especially during the periods when states of emergency were upheld in South Africa,[24] the press played a vital role in the staging of protests and demonstrations. He mentions how important it was to invite the press when organising a mass meeting. According to Glaser the organisers would gain from having the

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[23] "On 12 February 1987, Adrian Vlok, minister of law and order, admitted that 13 300 people, a high proportion of whom were children, had been detained under the emergency regulations; unofficial estimates ran as high as 29 000. […] During that year the government banned more than 30 organisations …"(Thompson, 2001, p.229). Thompson does not provide a source reference for the statistics.

[24] The first state of emergency in the Union of South Africa was declared in 1960 (Thompson, 2001, p.205). The next State of Emergency (in the now Republic of South Africa) was declared on 20 July 1985 and covered the Eastern Cape and the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal (PWV) area. The subsequent state of emergency declared in 1986 included the whole of South Africa and was lifted in 1990 in all provinces except in Natal (now known as KwaZulu-Natal) (2001, pp.228-233, pp.237-238).

press present and “if you were lucky a camera, and if you were very lucky the overseas media … you had BBC and CNN and the like there”.

Modern technology and rigorous censorship controls enable selective and biased reporting in the interest of a political agenda. In South Africa the comprehensive state machinery increasingly allowed access to “acceptable” content only. Thompson (2010) writes that in 1977 alone the state’s censorship apparatus banned 1 246 publications, 41 periodicals and 44 films. The consequences of the strict control over what could be read, viewed or heard, was that the materials collected by news teams dispatched by the SABC, or by international news agencies, were not always accessible to the local public.

Merrick considers the arc that state-initiated political censorship, secrecy and intellectual repression followed in South Africa during the twentieth century. He writes that South African history after the National Party government came to power was “characterised by an avalanche of security legislation which, among other effects, created a massive structure of censorship and self-censorship” in a movement which was set in motion by the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 (1995, p.21) and continued until after the demise of the apartheid government. Merrick comments on the hypocritical semanticism demonstrated by the government as a post-totalitarian state when the Extension of University Education of 1959 was proclaimed. The legislation instituting segregated university education gave the state power over the admission of students, “the appointment of staff, dismissals and curricula at state-run black universities and prevented intellectual contact as well as empowered the rectors of the five University Colleges (the so-called “bush” universities) to control all student publications and relations with the press” (1995, p.33).

Amongst many other legislative control mechanisms the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 prohibited the recording of banned meetings and the Official Secrets Act of the same year

"limited the publication of information about widely defined official secrets, especially police and military matters and could be used to close off wide areas" (Merrick, 1995, p.39). By the end of the 1950s the government had in place "every legal form of censorship it would employ over the next three decades" (1995, p.39). The police became "a law unto themselves" and after the state of emergency that was declared in 1960 in the wake of the Sharpeville killings, the country remained in a semi-permanent emergency with the introduction of even more repressive legislation to cover any possible loopholes and curtail the rights of individuals. The state introduced a new and most serious addition to their armoury in the form of detention without trial. At first this allowed incarceration for twelve days without trial but by 1965 the period had been extended to 180-day detention without trial (1995: 49). Banning, listing and placing individuals under house arrest were some of the other analogous powers the state devised and legalised to marginalise and control individuals during these tumultuous times (1995, p.41-57). Merrick includes the curtailing of collective action by the Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960, legislation that enhanced the powers already available under the much earlier Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 (p. 21; p. 57).

This act had a big impact on the political future of the country, also for young people as articulated by a number of interviewees for the research project. Hogan (Addendum A) talks about how her generation experienced a lack of political leadership during her student years and had to fend for themselves. Ironically, after the banning of the Black Conscious Movement, the state in a sense almost paved the way for the re-emergence of the ANC as a political force on campuses, which she remembers as not easy, "It wasn't achieved overnight. It was a major, major political battle to achieve that".

Tselane (Addendum A) remembers how after his expulsion from the University of Bophuthatswana and his acceptance at Wits student, he continued to assist with struggle

activities at his old alma mater. He recalls how after the banning of many student organisations, he would go there and communicate "with the people who [were] still working underground there because everybody had to be underground in repressive campuses".

According to Merrick (1995, p.76) prime minister H.F. Verwoerd had reached the prime of his power in 1966 by having eliminated (sic) most of the dissident elements in his own party. He then set his minister of justice, B.J. Vorster, onto the opposition, both white and black. Orkin (Addendum A) refers to Vorster's "obsession with smashing student protests" and Leon (Addendum A) recalls "the absolute repression of the John Vorster era". Merrick writes about the government's "sustained assault on all intellectual and political activity which could be described as Marxist, radical Left, liberal, Africanist or humanist" (1995, p.76). He quotes Bram Fischer, who in his trial in 1966 told the judge that "The laws were enacted, not to prevent the spread of communism but for the purpose of silencing the opposition of the large majority of our citizens to a government intent on depriving them of the most elementary human rights" (1995, p.76). What is remarkable about student protests during this time is that despite the draconian legislation and the heavy-handed response by the state, students continued to voice their opposition to the apartheid regime and its imposition of restrictive measures such as censorship, bannings and detentions.

What is of importance to this study is the advent of television broadcasting in South Africa in 1976. Merrick proposes that the "integration of SABC and apartheid ideology continued to be well entrenched in the age of South African Television". He adds that the SABC saw its role as "fostering spiritual, economic and military preparedness and a spirit of optimism about the future" (1995, p.90). Dave Dalling, opposition spokesperson on broadcasting, verbalised this as a policy which "left South African whites in complacent ignorance of the pressures and tensions building up in the country" (1995, p.297).

Writing in a 1974 *Survey of Race* publication Helen Suzman (p.64) postulates that The Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act 30 of 1974 was primarily aimed at students and workers. According to Merrick (1995, p.95) the act extended magisterial powers over gatherings in public places and afterwards many meetings were banned. As a result of the Soweto Uprising "a blanket ban under the Riotous Assemblies Act was imposed on all outdoor meetings, except those of a purely religious or sporting nature". He contends that the ban was renewed annually and became "part of the protest landscape in South Africa" (1995, p.95).

Merrick remarks how severe restrictions on the freedom of the press resulted in large gaps in the recorded history of the country and how the government succeeded to some degree to "break the mental strands linking struggles of the past with those of the present" (1995, p.119), to keep the public ignorant of the extent of the censorship (1995, p.118) and to create "an atmosphere of normality in circumstances of supreme abnormality" (Marcus cited in Merrick, 1995, p.118). From July 1985 to June 1990, 54 000 people were detained, some for periods of up to thirty months, and most under the emergency (Merrick, 1995, p.115, quoting from the Weekly Mail 6 (24), 29 June 1990, p.4).

Historical aspects of processions and local interpretations, primary and secondary audiences and the increasing might of the state contributed to the nature of student protest action. The prevailing climate of state militancy, of "uncertainty and even fear" and the "disruption of the flow of information" (Merrick, 1995, p.114) created the circumstances that increased brutality against student protests and student activists and severely restricted access to media coverage of these anti-apartheid endeavours on behalf of the students.

Evidence of Performative Protests Action

The interviews I recorded with participants and other members of the university community bear testimony to the experiences of the primary audience. The archives provide informative fragments of how the secondary audience (local, national and international media) perceived and recorded the student protests and reactions not only from the police but also from members of the Johannesburg public.

Fortunately some of the material is still available in the respective archives and can now be accessed and viewed in the public domain. While sifting through the SABC video archive in search of suitable material for possible inclusion in the documentary film, I was struck by a number of observations regarding the "raw footage" I was looking at. In contrast to the selected clips one can buy from other more commercial archives, a large section of the material contained in this one was unedited and as such revealed many, often hidden facets of the impact of the presence of recording devices as well as the recording process. Although I have experienced the uncontrollable urge exhibited by learners and others to be filmed, recorded or photographed during the making of documentary films or taking of photographs at schools or on other locations, the presence of recording devices hit home during these sessions at the SABC. I refer to two specific instances from the 1980s; one at a school in the Eastern Cape, where a small group of boys climbed a fence to start a fire in a classroom after a strange non-verbal non-directed interaction recorded by the news crew camera (SABC Stock Shots, Master Tape 1043 - 16/4/85),[25] and the other how mourners at a mass funeral changed course after spotting the camera crew (SABC Stock Shots, Master Tape 1043 –

[25] The SABC description for the scans located at 36 minutes and ten seconds is as follows: P.E. UNREST ARSENAL NEW BRIGHTON H.P. SCHOOL (EX-BBC) Sign New Brighton H.P. School"; v/s [various scans] school bldg burning SADF on duty; firemen fighting the fire; Hippos on patrol; SAP checking TV crew permits; fire brigade; SAP and SADF on scene; w/s youth chanting in the street (Night shot) fire and black cloud in Background; Traffic with lights on. (16.4.85) 6'58"

16/4/85).[26] I would like to suggest that the researcher has to take cognisance of the media presence at protest meetings and demonstrations, and of how recording devices influence the performativity of the participants – an aspect which will also be noticeable when viewing the accompanying documentary film.

When the 1957 march took place there were no television broadcasts in South Africa. The overseas media representation was small, something which is obvious from the size of the archive related to the event. This would change significantly from the late 1970s when the SABC launched its television service and the political situation in the country attracted a much larger media contingent to South Africa.

Any theatrical presentation or filmed or recorded news event that finds it way into the public domain also assumes an audience. Due to the ever-increasing availability and mobility of technology that enables the recording of public events, the audience extends beyond those immediately present to any potential viewer who has access to technology that can receive still or moving images. This does not only mean that the availability of such images has become much larger. It inevitably also implies that the "staging" will proceed in the awareness of much broader audiences and the possible effect the event and the implied ideological content selected for the screening could have on them.

White (1995, p.4) argues that "novel technologies of representation" have changed the "performance or performing of historical" events. "The events of the twentieth century," he writes, "are less inherently novel, but [have] made a significant impact on how historical events play out in these times". Raven (cited by Gibbons in *Contemporary Art and Memory*,

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[26] The description for the funeral footage is as follows: P.E. UNREST ARSENAL NEW BRIGHTON (EX CBS) SCANS w/s bldg on fire; firemen fighting fire; v/s fire brigade; smoke and flames; v/s spectators, firemen armed;; (58'00") w/s township with smoke drifting over; SADF Hippos on patrol; v/s youths giving black power salute and chanting on patrol; v/s youths giving a black power salute and chanting while fire in street is burning. (16.4.85) 6'65"

2007, p.96) expands these opinions in her observation that "public art isn't a hero on a horse anymore". She mentions a range of practices such as "oral histories, protest actions and guerilla theatre alongside sculpture, painting and craft" as examples of work situated in the public realm. According to her, the more "enlightened producers" took their endeavours into the public domain to allow for observation and participation by various "communities or constituencies". According to White one could argue that "the events of the twentieth century are less inherently novel than the novel technologies of representation that have transformed events by bringing to them unprecedented visibility and magnitude and that have narrated them in ways that have made the very mechanisms of narration explicitly visible" (1995, p.4).

Recording technologies contributed to the fact that there was, from the early protests, onwards, an international dimension to events at Wits. Murray (1997) attributes international interest in local resistance to the ever-growing constrictive legislation imposed by the National Party during the 1950s. He refers to the international ties held by some South African universities and Nusas's links to student organisations across the world, which ensured widespread coverage of the actions. Tobias (Addendum A) mentions the coverage in a follow-up interview I recorded with him:

> Overseas television knew about it, of course and they had a field day. And the images of that march went all over the world. But we had no television in South Africa yet. And so people had to rely here only on pictures in the print media.

Murray mentions a variety of media representatives who were present at the 1957 march – local and overseas pressmen, newsreel photographers, television cameramen as well as the Special Branch of the South African Police (1997, p.309). It is therefore also important to note that technology enables not only the recording of events; it also presents more opportunities for surveillance.

Despite the presence of recording devices and the recordings made of earlier events such as the 1957 and other public marches, the archive, even when it has been preserved, may not be readily available to the researcher as a result of inadequate preservation techniques, obsolete technology or poor digitisation processes, an aspect of historical documentary filmmaking which will be addressed in chapter six.

CHAPTER FIVE - PUBLIC PROTEST AT WITS: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

And so it was a 40-year long struggle that we kept going and it is a pity that sometimes the story has been forgotten (Tobias, Addendum A).

Introduction

In this chapter I present a historical overview of protest action at Wits and support my theoretical analysis with reference to testimony where possible. The intention of the research is not to present a conclusive historical account of all protest activities at the university but rather to engage with trends that would provide the basis for a documentary film focusing more strongly on personal experiences than on historical events of the era. This makes it necessary to present an overview of conditions and protests in the following section in order to provide a backdrop to the testimonials and the documentary film.

The university found itself in an increasingly complex situation as an institution, challenged by its location in a political environment which impinged on its understanding of tertiary education and academic freedom. Three broad strands emerge from this troubled history: firstly, the conflict between the idea of an "open" university and actual practice, especially as manifested around issues of social integration; secondly, the events leading up to the 1957 protest march and the action as a point of departure for what followed. The third strand that emerged speaks to the impact of demographic changes on the nature of protest action on the campus.

A Brief Historical Context for Public Protest Action in South Africa

This research project aims at furthering an understanding of protest action using Bozzoli's (2004) interpretation of protest as performance as set out in the previous chapter, to investigate the phenomenon and to identify some of the main players, isolate some of the major shifts over time and interview a sample of participants for the creative section of this work.

Using Mervyn Shear's book *Wits: A University in the Apartheid Era* (1996) I identified a fairly extensive list of events that triggered student protests. Meetings, marches and

demonstrations were often connected to specific government actions affecting universities, such as government interference in the appointment of lecturers (Shear, 1996, p.39), student quotas (Shear, p.54, p.98, pp.149–159), threats to withdraw subsidies at universities (Shear, 1996, p.169) and police presence on the campus (Shear, 1996, pp.95-96). Inviting controversial speakers to the campus and restrictions on politicians invited to address students (Shear, 1996, p.69, p.119, pp.100-102, p.161, p.107, p.108, p.162) also often evoked fierce debate and action, as these events raised the issue of freedom of speech.

A well-publicised example was the 1987 refusal to allow Helen Suzman to address students at the School of Law on the upcoming national elections (Shear, p.107). Suzman remembers how "[…] Wits refused me the right to speak and I was furious. I wrote a very angry letter to the press and said whatever became of *audi alteram partem*, in other words, hear the other side, because they had allowed Winnie Mandela widespread opportunities on campus to put the case for non-participation" (Addendum A). According to Tony Leon (Addendum A), Ken Owen, the then editor of the *Business Day* newspaper, took up the matter "very vehemently by writing that any university that bans people, particularly people like Helen Suzman is no longer a liberal institution, it's become something else" (Addendum A). Leon continues that the banning of Suzman was "a direct spill-over of the kind of militancy and the rise of the left and Black Students Society […] against what they called apartheid elections". He thought [it] was a terrible blight on the university that proclaimed free speech, but didn't practise it (Addendum A).

Other events which led to action on the campus included more general political conditions that extended beyond that which directly affected the university, including deaths in detention (Shear 1996, p.61, p.62, p.291, p.75, p.82), South African Army raids into neighbouring countries (Shear 1996, p.122), repressive measures by the government such as the appalling standard of so-called Bantu education (Shear, 1996, p. 81), states of emergency (Shear, 1996,

pp.81 – 82, 92 – 99), the banning of political organisations (Shear, 1996, p.202), as well as days commemorating Sharpeville (Shear, 1996, p.102, p.110, p.111) and the Soweto uprising (Shear, pp.1996, 62- 66, 121).

Although it seems that the events and the resultant protest action mentioned in this section mostly relate to reactions to the apartheid government, it would be negligent not to look at what *liberalism* at Wits held in store for the university community. Murray (1982, p.299) writes that it was never only issues of "race and colour" that challenged the so-called "openness" of Wits; the "place and rights of Jews, Afrikaans speakers, and women were also key issues raised from time to time during the 1920s and 1930s". For the purpose of this study, the admission of black students to the Medical School during the Second World War "became a watershed" […] "as the university became far more "open" in its admission policy as blacks secured access to the Medical School" (1997, p.1). According to Murray the majority of South African black doctors received their training overseas until the war put an end to "overseas migration for university studies" (1997, p. 27). At the time the Botha committee on Medical Training in South Africa warned that there was a dire need for basic medical services for the black population which white doctors could not provide, a report which "provided the main levers to open up clinical training for black medical students at Wits (1997, p.27). The wartime government of general Jan Smuts requested that the university increased its intake of blacks and black student numbers increased from "4 in 1939 to 87 by 1945" (Murray, 1982, p.298). However the vice-chancellor Humphrey Raikes did devise a scheme, endorsed by the Senate in 1940, whereby black students had to obtain their initial tuition at the South African Native College at Fort Hare (Browde, Jassat and Makhoba, 1998, p.7), a requirement endorsed by Tobias (Addendum A) as "[t]hey got a degree there first, [then] they came to Wits and they were admitted straight into second year".

The government also introduced annual scholarships for five black students a year to study at the Wits Medical School, a practice which the National Party government terminated soon after it came to power in 1948, which led to student protest action at Wits. The students established the African Medical Students Trust Fund to which students contributed two pounds and ten shillings annually (Tobias, 2005, p.59-60); an action which set the scene for more repressive legislation, which initiated student protests against the apartheid regime.

Despite these actions and although the University's Private Act and Statutes provided for "open"[27] admissions, Murray (1982, p.298) cautions against notions that the "two universities [UCT and Wits] followed "open" admission policies from their inception". He gives two reasons why Wits never adopted a policy of exclusion or restrictive admission for black students as proposed by the university's Council and Senate during the early 1920s and 1930s when blacks did begin to apply: the example set by UCT in its strict adherence to its statutes in its admission policies, and the influence of J.H. Hofmeyr, who in his inaugural address as principal in August 1919 suggested that Wits "should know no distinctions of class or wealth, race or creed" (Hofmeyr, quoted by Murray, 1982, p.298). According to Murray the university appointed a committee in 1926 "to ascertain what procedure is necessary to empower the University to take action itself, to exclude students on the ground of colour" (Murray, quoting from Council Minutes, III, 2 December 1926, p. 298). This happened after Wits admitted a coloured student to the medical school in that year. According to Murray the liberal approach during the 1920s and 1930s was for blacks to have access to the professions but "not to receive professional training in the same institutions as whites" (Murray, 1982, p.300). He mentions how "the leading liberal intellectual of the inter-war years", Hoernlé,

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[27] "The word "open" is here used in the special sense of being "open" to all races. The "open universities" in South Africa are not to be confused with the "Open University" in England, which was previously known as the "University of the Air"" (The Academic Freedom Committee University of the University of Cape Town and The Academic Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1974, p.vii).

had argued in the 1930s that "integration did not represent the only response to the problems of a multi-racial South Africa that was consistent with liberal principles" (1982, p.300).

Tobias (Addendum A) recalled how when he joined Wits in 1943, the circumstances initiated a huge change in him:

> The first thing […], there were black students at Wits University […]. So, there I was in a class with African students, Indian students, a few Coloured students in the terminology of the day, and they were sitting at the same desks in the same lectures, attending the same practicals, confronted with the same problems that I was confronted with. And it was a lesson in itself, that human beings are basically all alike.

In his memoir *Into the Past* Tobias writes how black and white students shared the same "problems and difficulties, both in the academic arena and on the tennis courts" when a delegation of church representatives visited the vice-chancellor H.R. Raikes to complain and Tobias's weekly tennis games with Abdul Hak Bismillah and other fellow students came to an end. According to Tobias this was the time when the University officially adopted the "academic non-segregation, but social segregation" policy (2005, p.55).

Reading the Tobias memoir, the interviews for this project and Murray's history of the university (1997), it becomes evident that Tobias remembers Wits as a far more lenient and embracing environment for black students than it actually was. However Somers (Addendum A) who left South Africa after completing his medical studies at Wits, reinforces the Tobias view as he remembers his student years with nostalgic overtones when he recounts how after the National Party came to power "so much changed; the open years became the closed years. But all the same you know, I think that Wits was such a free society, it was an ocean of freedom in what was desert around".

While Raikes was open to provide academic opportunities for blacks, "he was adamant that he would not challenge the social customs of the country" (Murray, 1997, p.29). Raikes was not to stray from this position, even though students, from time to time, tried to persuade him to change his approach. In a letter to Raikes dated 9 June 1932 the honorary secretary of the SRC, Max Gluckmann requested a written response apropos the vice-chancellor's ruling regarding "the attendance of natives and coloured persons at University Society functions" (Wits Central Records, Academic Freedom at Wits before 1959, File 111). Evidently tension between students and the governance structures of the university regarding social integration on the campus dates back to the early years.

George Bizos recalls how the presence of Second World War veterans had a strong impact on the political awareness of students of his generation. Some of these mature students saw the National Party victory as an insult to their experiences fighting in the war. They wanted a just society after risking their lives fighting on the side of the British. The younger students could not have participated in the war, "but were old enough to understand and believe the older students". Bizos remembers the many "fiery" meetings on the steps of the Great Hall, in Central Block and in the Amphitheatre where speeches were made not only against the government and its policies but also against the university authorities. He became radicalised as a student and served for four terms as a member of the Students' Representative Council. Raikes " kept on telling us that if we kept quiet about it, the government would not act against the university. We thought that keeping it quiet was not the right thing to do" (Addendum A).

Vice-chancellor Raikes tried to keep to the "middle course […] but, as a result, both he and the University found themselves exposed to attacks from both flanks" (Murray, 1997, p.33). On the one hand, even before the National Party came to power in 1948, "the University came under fire from the Afrikaner nationalists for allowing blacks into its Medical School",

then from Indians outraged by discriminatory policies for admission at a first year level and "finally from all directions simultaneously"(Murray, 1997, p.33).

Habermas (1970, pp.2-3) identified, as two of the most important aspects of a university education, instilling, interpreting and developing the cultural traditions of a society, and facilitating growth of the political consciousness of students. From Murray's writings it seems that the institution faced a difficult challenge in this regard. The National Union of South African Students (Nusas), the most influential student movement on the campus with leaders such as Tobias and Bizos, invoked the ire of the Afrikaanse Nasionale Studentebond (ANS) when, at the annual national congress in Bloemfontein in 1947, it decided to accept students from Fort Hare as members of the previously whites-only organisation. According to Murray (1997, pp.85-92) the decision of the University to admit black students and the political stance of the Wits SRC and Nusas were unacceptable to the ANS and over the 1940s the "SRCs of [universities in] Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Bloemfontein" and finally Stellenbosch severed relations with Wits, which were chiefly in the field of sport, as well as their membership of Nusas (1997, p.87).

The political consciousness and expression of students, as well as the principles for a university education as highlighted by Habermas (1970, pp.2-3), should be considered when looking at the political spectrum at the university. For alumnus, academic and administrator Gerrit Olivier it is obvious that "students all over the world, and you can pile up the examples, often are the leading agents of change. They might not be able to effect that change, but the first signs of change to come, emerge from students" (Addendum A). Murray argues that although the National Party victory in 1948 can be seen as the watershed in student politics at Wits as the new government took special aim at the "open" universities, and "student politics became more deeply involved in the politics of the wider society", Wits already had a "politically alert student leadership as well as an organised left" which tried for

the next eleven years to "contend with the Nationalist Government and the threat it posed to the openness of Wits and UCT" (1997, pp. 116 -117).

The university's policy of "social segregation evidently evolved piecemeal and was never encompassed in a single code" (Murray, 1997, p.48). The policy developed in an un-planned way and was determined by decisions taken by Raikes or the Council, with or without student participation. The university's decision to impose a quota of 20 non-European second-year students in 1953 was met with an "immediate outcry from the Students' Medical Council, the SRC, NUSAS and the Convocation, as well as from the excluded students, who threatened the university with legal action" (1997, p.132). Bizos was among these students and he recalls how "We demonstrated against the university's decision to have a quota of African students in Medical School" (Addendum A).

When in 1952 two black medical students, Deliza Mji and Harrison Nthatho Motlana, who were both members of the African National Congress Youth League, were arrested on the campus in an attempt by the police to "break the Defiance Campaign" (Murray, 1997, p.127), students immediately reacted. Although the acting vice-chancellor banned a planned protest meeting, about 200 Wits students joined a demonstration outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court where Mji and Motlana were charged in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act along with nineteen others including Nelson Mandela. These activities provoked a series of reactions, which included a "new round of Nationalist attacks on the "open" universities, and Wits in particular" (1997, p.128); they also set the SRC and Raikes on a collision course regarding the involvement of students in politics and "the University's own practice of racial discrimination" (1997, p.129).

Murray draws from *The Rand Daily Mail* (1 September 1952) and the *Pretoria News* (4 September 1952) to quote from the public attacks on the university by the then minister of

posts and telecommunications Tom Naudé: “there was no social segregation at Wits, and white girls went about with “kaffirs””. Naudé also raised growing concerns in the National Party about the students’ political activism and participation in the Defiance Campaign, which was of course exactly what Raikes had wanted to avoid (Murray 1997, p.129). Later that year Raikes met with the SRC and different faculty councils to discuss the issues at hand. Raikes had prepared a statement that he presented to the students and which was later released to the Press and sent to the parents of all Wits students. He informed the students that neither he nor the Council was “prepared to tolerate attempts to involve the university in politics” (1997, p.128). He added that individual students were free to practise politics but did not have the right to damage the university’s reputation in any way. “The University itself, he insisted, must respect the rule of Law”(Murray, 1997, p.128; Wits Central Records, P12/8, 8 October 1952).

As time passed, pressure on the university to maintain social segregation on campus increased. Raikes, in the statement quoted above, even mentions how “any demonstration against the operation of the duly established is wrong, but demonstrating in University blazers and in close association with non-Europeans makes things worse” (Wits Central Records, P12/8, 8 Oct. 1952).

Raikes faced the challenge of maintaining and promoting “academic non-segregation” in a segregationist society and he found the visibility of Wits students in public protest particularly worrisome. He formulated as the central problem that “our White students were tending to outrun the constable and endangering the position of our African students” (quoted in Murray, 1997, p.116). It seems that this very patronising and nervous position arose as Raikes feared that the visibility of students protesting against the new government would result in retribution against the university. Although Raikes believed that students “should be

in advance of the political views of their seniors" and the university stood firm in its support of academic freedom, social segregation was still enforced on campus (1997, p. 113-120).

According to Bizos, the "litmus test" when considering possible close associations between the races at Wits was the swimming pool. "No black person would dare, even suggest that he would use the swimming pool" and despite the university's approach of "academic freedom but social segregation" racial prejudice also made its way into the academic sphere. Bizos describes how he came into conflict with the Dean of the Law Faculty Professor Hahlo who, according to Bizos, was a great teacher,[28] but would not allow black students to attend the Law School dinner (Addendum A). The annual dinner of the Law Students Society was organised as an all-white affair until Bizos challenged this in 1951. Bizos, as a member of the SRC who provided grants to host these events, informed Hahlo that the SRC would withdraw the money if black students were not allowed to attend the dinner and it was in this year only that black students attended the annual event (Murray, 1997, p.50). Bizos recalls how "you know the SRC controlled the purse strings, a hundred pounds for this dinner, and we said it would not be granted (laughs)". The dean tried to "soft soap me because he had heard that I was one of the initiators of this move, and I wouldn't budge". Hahlo then did not speak to Bizos for two and a half years and although he never discriminated against him as a student, "in the corridors he would look the other way" (Addendum A).

Despite the official enforcement of social segregation, there was continuing resistance to the practice – and not only from the students. A short announcement in the [Wits] *Convocation*

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[28] According to Murray (1997, p.219) Hahlo, during his long tenure at Wits, established "an outstanding reputation for himself as an administrator, teacher and scholar […]", but it seems that he was strongly opposed to social integration on the campus. Murray writes that Hahlo advised Africans and women who entered the Law School that they should rather choose another career, as their minds were unsuited to study Law. He draws on *Long Walk to Freedom* (Mandela, pp.83 – 84) and Joseph (1963, pp.168 -170) to write about the intuitive sense black students developed about how Hahlo was "particularly unhelpful to them"(Murray, 1997, p.54) Both Nelson Mandela and Duma Nokwe were given this kind of advice. Nokwe decided that he owed it to himself and his people to prove Hahlo wrong and in 1955 he became the first black student to graduate in law from Wits.

Commentary, 1959 (3), reports on a resolution passed at a Special General Meeting of Convocation held on September 15. The resolution contains a paragraph which reaffirms support for academic freedom and also states that "In view of the fact that a university education comprises not only formal tuition, but also social, sporting and cultural contact with other members of the University, this meeting favours the extension of such facilities to all members of the University" (1959, p.18).

In its stance on "academic freedom and social segregation", the university's position was nervous and contradictory. Only when the threat to "academic freedom" became a legal issue for the National Party government did various constituencies at the "open" universities mobilise to protest against pending legislation which would impact on the nature of universities in South Africa for years to come.

Protest as Performance: Correspondences and Departures – A Historical Overview

Moving into the public domain, although no longer in practice after the completion of the Great Hall, was not completely foreign to the university. Furthermore the university's location in a "turbulent mining town" (Giliomee, 2003, p.328) and the public protests staged by white miners in 1907, 1913, 1914-1915 and 1922 highlight the ideological trends and occurrences of public protests in Johannesburg during the early part of the twentieth century (Giliomee, 2003, pp.328-336), at a time when plans for the new university were being forged.

Despite a large bequest from Alfred Beit and others to start a university in Johannesburg, the government decided in 1916 to funnel the Beit bequest to the University of Cape Town and to establish a federal university in Cape Town (Murray, 1982, pp.3-58). A "cleverly stage-managed" (1982, p.55) protest meeting was held in Johannesburg's new Town Hall and although the Bill could not be stopped, amendments were approved which in the end paved

the way for the establishment of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in 1922. A documentary film *Tomorrow Begins at Wits Today* (1982) includes archive footage of the event and describes the procedures as follows: "In Johannesburg a major campaign to invoke civil consciousness was mounted. Led by Johannesburg's Mayor O'Hara a protest meeting was called…attended by two thousand five hundred people and the mayors of eight other Reef towns. The result…a joint declaration condemning the proposed university Bill out of hand" (Hughes, 1982, TC 00 05' 13") and calling for the creation of a government-funded university college which could evolve into a "State-supported Teaching University" in Johannesburg (Murray, 1982, p.55, quoting from The University Question, 1916).

By 1921 two Private Acts, 15 and later 7, paved the way for the founding of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (Hughes, 1982, TC 00 06' 46") and plans were set up for the ceremonial opening on 1 March 1922. Internal strife at the new university and the mineworkers' strikes delayed the official event. Classes were cancelled for four days and the Witwatersrand became the battleground for a civil war (Murray, 1982, p.71). Hughes (1982, TC 00 07' 00") includes archive material of the protest marches staged by miners in the streets of Johannesburg and the commentary mentions how the events impacted on the official business of opening the new University.

According to Giliomee, in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War poverty and unemployment generated an influx of poor whites, mostly Afrikaners, to the cities and mines. Emotional reactions to the Anglo-Boer War, inflation, the falling gold price, and the attitude of mining magnates, all contributed to a tense atmosphere. Giliomee (2003, p.329) quotes as follows from *The Star*: "South Africa would never become a white man's land like Canada or Australia, and the best future course was to spur growth by drawing on black labor freely and in the process create more opportunities for skilled white labor". This approach did succeed.

With more and more black miners being appointed, even in positions which required higher skills, the situation on the Reef became uncontrollable without serious military invention (2003, pp.328-336).

The coal and diamond miners' strike of 1922 turned Johannesburg into a war zone for three months. The town and the strikers were "bombed by the air force and shelled by artillery as the forces of General Jan Smuts brutally suppressed a general strike known as the Rand Revolt, "in a terrifying confrontation that brought bombs and shells raining down on Johannesburg, killing about 150 people" (Davie, 2002).

Giliomee (2003, p.335) sets the number of deaths at 214. A series of challenges brought about the strike against the union government at the time. An economic depression forcing smaller mines to rationalise staff, and the replacement of white miners who had fought for the Allies during the First World War by black miners who were willing to accept a much lower remuneration package, incited the white workers to launch a full-scale strike against the government.

At the time, the unionist and Communist Party activist Percy Fischer advocated for the abolition of capitalism and the nationalisation of industry and warned that "bloodshed was inevitable". According to Shorten (1970, pp.307-334) there were "4 692 arrests during the three months of the battle; 853 people were brought to court; 46 were charged with high treason and murder; and 18 were convicted and sentenced to death. Fourteen of these were reprieved and four hangings took place". Over the period 153 people died and 534 were wounded.

It was only in October of 1922 that the existence of the university could officially be confirmed. The first graduation ceremony on 4 October 1922 was staged at the Johannesburg

Town Hall (Murray, 1982, p.73), a practice which continued until the completion and opening of the Great Hall in 1940 (1982, p.145). During these earlier times the academic procession moved through the streets of Johannesburg (Hughes, 1982, TC 00 08' 29") from Milner Park now known as Braamfontein, to the heart of the city. The archive footage and narration in the film show how a procession in academic dress in 1922 was led by students carrying the "corpse of the now defunct University College to the Town Hall for the graduation ceremony that followed …" (Hughes, 1982, TC 00 08'34").

Although the practice was long since abandoned by 1957, the practice of moving into Johannesburg did exist in the history of the university and was in some way still being repeated by the Rag processions,[29] an annual event with a very different purpose to that of the protest march.

It is important to acknowledge once again that, in 1957, the university community was not undivided in its stance against the government and the proposed new law. The solidarity displayed by Wits in 1957 arose only after intense contestation between the principal and the Council, and the SRC. The conflict stemmed from a "drive to destroy the hegemonic position of the left in the SRC', a position described by Bizos (Addendum A), which centered mostly on continued social segregation practices still embedded in campus life. The solidarity was never complete, as the diverse student population could never be amassed under one umbrella. The more conservative students, mostly budding engineers and dentists, did not join the march but "jeered from the sidelines" (Murray, 1997, pp.289-290). As the protest action moved into the public domain, onlookers also included the general public, the media, security police and armed police in uniform. Although the Council approved of the march and cancelled classes to accommodate the event, Murray does not mention the need to obtain

[29] The first Rag procession took place on October 1922 to coincide with the official inauguration of the university and its first graduation (Murray 1982, p.368)

any special municipal or police permission to sanction university activities spilling over into the city.

According to visual archive material (Murray, 1997, cover photograph; BBC Archive, film clip, 1957) the procession was led by what looks like a senior male figure in academic dress, followed by a graduate and an undergraduate carrying a solitary banner with the inscription "AGAINST the SEPARATE UNIVERSITIES BILL". The first group following the banner, as far as one can distinguish from the existing visual material and as confirmed by Tobias (Addendum A), was made up by "the chancellor, vice-chancellor, members of the Council, chairman of Council, members of the Senate, other professors, members of the lecturers association […]".

The importance of the academic procession is emphasised by the press coverage it usually received. For example, the narration accompanying an *African Mirror* newsreel insert (F926) for a graduation procession in another year states that "The University of the Witwatersrand holds its summer graduation ceremony … observed with time-honoured academic solemnity and dignity… [and] inside the Great Hall the congregation is addressed by the principal and vice-chancellor W G Sutton […]".

The 1957 Protest March

As pointed out in the previous section, the university already housed a politically alert student leadership as well as an organised left, and many non-University inspired protests meetings and marches had been undertaken before 1957. Marches in university blazers and including non-Europeans invoked the ire of the upper echelons of the administration as well as the wrath of the National Party government (Murray, 1997, pp.116-117).

According to Giliomee (2003, p.500) apartheid was supported by several measures which he summarises as "restricting all political power to whites, the enforced separation of existing

communities, segregated education, protection for whites in the labour market, and influx control that restricted the African movement into the cities". Segregated education had been a long-standing societal practice in South Africa, but the new government now set out to take total control by ensconcing its ideologies in legislation. In parliament Hendrik Verwoerd, regarded by many as the master architect of apartheid, introduced The Bantu Education Act of 1953 by proclaiming that "Racial relations cannot improve if the wrong type of education is given to Natives. […] I just want to remind Honourable Members that if the Native inside South Africa today in any kind of school in existence is being taught to expect that he will live his life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake" (Shear, 1996, pp.20-21, quoting from the Hansard 83, col. 3576, 17 September 1953).

It is important to acknowledge that despite friction between members of the Senate and Council regarding the admission of black students and restrictions on these numbers, the new and more concrete threat to academic freedom, "more than any other, moulded an institutional attitude to the iniquity of apartheid and evoked determination that this philosophy should have no place within its precincts"(Shear, 1996, p.21). Before this, there had been tension and clashes between the administrative bodies and sections from the staff and student bodies who advocated "a more enlightened policy on black student matters" (1996, p.21).

When the government appointed the Holloway Commission of Inquiry into Separate Training Facilities for Non-Europeans to investigate "the practicality and financial implications of providing separate training facilities for non-Europeans at universities" (Shear, 1996, p.22; Murray, 1997, p.116; Wits Central Records, File 113, Misc. C/57A54), Wits responded by submitting a memorandum in which the university voiced its strong opposition to the impracticality of separate facilities for tertiary institutions as well as the creation of separate universities for white and black students. The university reiterated its policy of "academic

freedom and social segregation" and cautioned that "academic separation might result in racial prejudice and hatred being cultivated among the intellectual elite of less privileged races" (Shear, 1996, p.22).

On June 12 1956 the Wits Convocation called a special meeting to consider the motion drafted by the university in response to the recommendations of the Holloway Commission and reiterated the university's condemnation of the introduction of apartheid in the "open universities" and the accompanying threat to academic freedom.

At the Nusas annual assembly in July 1956, members agreed that the organisation would oppose any plans to impose university apartheid and would seek support from as many groups as possible. At Wits, as at UCT and some other universities, the student body led by Magnus Gunther and Ada Bloomberg established an Academic Non-Segregation Committee to monitor any action in this regard and to politicise students against university apartheid, an intervention which was intended to "build up a University-wide consensus for a collective protest" including not only the students but all members of the institution (Murray, 1997, p.304-305).

When Verwoerd announced the government's intention to introduce the legislation for university apartheid at the next session of parliament, 1 400 students met in the Amphitheatre on 13 September to re-affirm the belief in "university autonomy and the principle of university admission based on no criteria other than those of academic qualifications" (Shear 1996, p.22). The students also decided to mount a lecture stay-away for one hour on 19 September despite a refusal by the acting vice-chancellor to grant permission for the action. On that day 1 000 students withdrew from classes and held a protest meeting (1996: 23). The students met on the Great Hall steps before moving inside for the meeting, which soon became chaotic as "a rowdy group of mostly engineering students at the back of the hall

[hurled] abuse at the speakers" (Murray, 1997, p.304), who were the Right Reverend Ambrose Reeves, Dr Ellen Hellman and Dr S.S. Israelstam, president of the Convocation of the university (Shear, 1996, p.23).

A group of seventy academics showed their support for the students by signing a petition to MacCrone, asking him to support the students' initiatives; "several even cancelled their lectures as a sign of solidarity" (Murray, 1997, p.304). In October 1956, the Lecturers Association set up the Open Universities Vigilance Committee and sponsored a meeting of representatives from the Senate, Lecturers' Association, Convocation, the SRC and the SMC [Students Medical Council] to establish the Open University Liaison Committee (Witwatersrand) under the chairmanship of Professor J.S. Marais. The group set to work to "co-ordinate protest action and co-operation with UCT" (Murray, 1997, p.305, quoting from the Lecturers Association Newsletter No. 6, November 1956). They staged a protest meeting in the Great Hall on 7 December where the threat to academic freedom and the danger of inferior standards at the proposed universities for non-Europeans were discussed. The gathering passed a formal resolution against the proposed legislation and reiterated the belief that "the University of the Witwatersrand should continue to be free, as it has been ever since it was established" and should have the right to "decide for itself whom it will admit to be taught within its walls and how they shall be taught" (Shear, 1996, p.23, quoting from File 111, Academic Freedom at Wits before 1959, Wits Central Records).

At the same time a special meeting of the Council was held where it was decided to send a special delegation to the minister of education, arts and science to discuss the university's admission policy. The minister informed the delegation of the government's firm intention to introduce the legislation, which would enforce university apartheid, during the next parliamentary session. At a Council meeting on 14 December 1956, it was agreed that Wits

and UCT should stage a conference in early 1957 to co-ordinate the universities' opposition to the proposed legislation (Shear, 1996, pp.23-24; Murray, 1997, p.306).

After the conference in 1957, a group of academics from the University of Cape Town and the University of the Witwatersrand produced a booklet titled *The Open Universities in South Africa*[30] in an attempt to demonstrate institutional opposition to "university segregation and to declare their attitude towards academic freedom" (The University of Cape Town and The University of Johannesburg, Johannesburg, 1957, pp.11-12). From the very origins of Hofmeyr's approach in 1919 (see chapter three) as well as the formulation of academic freedom by Dr T.B. Davie, the group reaffirmed the Four Freedoms, which at the time served as the pillars of academic freedom. These were the right of a university to "determine for itself on academic grounds who may teach, what may be taught, how it shall be taught, and who may be admitted to study" (1957, pp.11-12). The group included two additional areas of concern which extended the freedoms listed above: that of freedom of expression and the idea that "academic liberty is meaningful only in a society in which few restrictions are placed on free expression" (1957, p.9, pp.33-34) and in which "non-conformity is not viewed as heresy" (1957, p.10). Universities are founded upon the principles of Western philosophy, which is grounded in "respect for the dignity of the individual" (1957, pp.25-26, p.31, p.38).

At the conference the Wits Council also decided to appoint a standing committee consisting of the chancellor, the vice-chancellor and the Council's representatives to monitor developments and to advise should any course of action become necessary (Shear, 1996, p.25; Murray, 1997, pp.308).

Despite opposition from various constituencies, the government pushed ahead with the legislation and in March 1957 introduced the Separate University Education Bill in

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[30] The booklet originated from papers presented at the Wits-UCT conference (Shear, 1996, p.2).

parliament. On 22 March vice-chancellor Sutton addressed the Wits academic staff on the implications of the proposed legislation and actions which the institution should engage in. These included a resolution to present a petition to the minister of education, arts and science. The delegation saw the minister on 1 April 1957 in what Murray (1997, p.308) describes as a tricky encounter that resulted in an exchange of who said and did not say what and which had no effect on the government's forging ahead with its plans. In April an amended Bill was read in parliament, the Bill was published and in May passed a second reading. The Bill was then referred to a parliamentary sub-committee that was transformed into a Commission of Inquiry to which various sectors of the university community submitted evidence (Murray, 1997, pp.26-28).

Murray (1997, p.309) writes that "[t]o symbolise the unity of the University in opposing the separate Universities Education Bill, a well-orchestrated corporate academic protest, the first of its kind in South Africa, was staged on Wednesday 22 May 1957".

The March in Support of Academic Freedom

The decision to stage a "dignified" protest march through the streets of Johannesburg" was the culmination of several years of protestation, deputations and submissions (Murray 1997, p.309). The university took this step only after various methods of persuasion had failed. Murray writes that the decision originated with the staff/student Open Universities Liaison Committee and the SRC's Academic Freedom Committee which had been coordinating protest action since the end of the 1956 academic year, including the protest meeting held in the Great Hall mentioned in the previous section. These actions also included the deliberate endeavour to politicise and mobilise the student community (1997, p.309).

The Open Universities Liaison Committee advised all members of the academic staff and Convocation that the decision to hold an academic protest march was not taken lightly and

could "only be justified by the gravest objections to a measure such as the proposed legislation" (Shear, 1996, p.30). The Senate gave its "formal blessing" to the action and even agreed to the suspension of classes on the day of the planned march (Murray, 1997, p.309).

Tobias, who registered as a first year in 1943 and joined the teaching staff after completing his studies, writes that he spent a large amount of his time during the 1950s "speaking, organising, writing and demonstrating against the long-flaunted bill" (Tobias, 2005, p.185). He recalls how for the march staged on 22 May 1957[31] the staff and students were arranged in thirty-five orderly blocks with rows of six people walking abreast with the files at "an interval of five yards between columns" (Shear, 1996, p.30). The organisers "toyed with the idea of having a solitary drum beat accompanying us" but the proposal was rejected in the end. He mentions that it was decided to march without agitation, shouting or singing. The almost ghostly silence would emphasise the solemnity of postgraduates and staff clad in their academic dress and the medical students in their professional dress of white coats and stethoscopes (Addendum A).



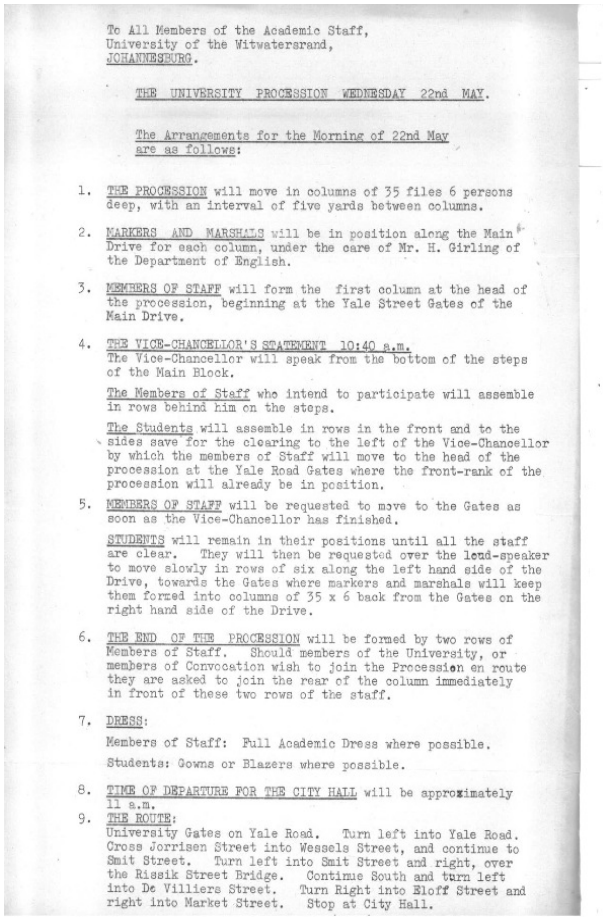
Procession moving along Rissik Street towards the City Hall on 22 May 1957.

Figure IV[32]

[31] The *Open Universities in South Africa* publication (1974, p.10) states the date as 21 May 1957 but all my other sources (Murray, 1997, p.308), Shear (1996, p.29) as well as the front page of the *Wits Student,* published on the day of the march and reproduced in Shear (1996, p.27) give the date as 22 May 1957.

[32] Wits Central Records, accession number: Separate Universities Act, PL 73/10/a+9

Two students dressed in academic gowns carrying a banner that read "Against the Separate Universities Bill" led the procession (Murray, 1997, p.309; Shear, 1996, p.29; Tobias, Addendum A).



To All Members of the Academic Staff,
University of the Witwatersrand,
JOHANNESBURG.

THE UNIVERSITY PROCESSION WEDNESDAY 22nd MAY.

The Arrangements for the Morning of 22nd May are as follows:

1. THE PROCESSION will move in columns of 35 files 6 persons deep, with an interval of five yards between columns.
2. MARKERS AND MARSHALS will be in position along the Main Drive for each column, under the care of Mr. H. Girling of the Department of English.
3. MEMBERS OF STAFF will form the first column at the head of the procession, beginning at the Yale Street Gates of the Main Drive.
4. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S STATEMENT 10:40 a.m.
The Vice-Chancellor will speak from the bottom of the steps of the Main Block.
The Members of Staff who intend to participate will assemble in rows behind him on the steps.
The Students will assemble in rows in the front and to the sides save for the clearing to the left of the Vice-Chancellor by which the members of Staff will move to the head of the procession at the Yale Road Gates where the front-rank of the procession will already be in position.
5. MEMBERS OF STAFF will be requested to move to the Gates as soon as the Vice-Chancellor has finished.
STUDENTS will remain in their positions until all the staff are clear. They will then be requested over the loud-speaker to move slowly in rows of six along the left hand side of the Drive, towards the Gates where markers and marshals will keep them formed into columns of 35 x 6 back from the Gates on the right hand side of the Drive.
6. THE END OF THE PROCESSION will be formed by two rows of Members of Staff. Should members of the University, or members of Convocation wish to join the Procession en route they are asked to join the rear of the column immediately in front of these two rows of the staff.
7. DRESS:
Members of Staff: Full Academic Dress where possible.
Students: Gowns or Blazers where possible.
8. TIME OF DEPARTURE FOR THE CITY HALL will be approximately 11 a.m.
9. THE ROUTE:
University Gates on Yale Road. Turn left into Yale Road. Cross Jorrisen Street into Wessels Street, and continue to Smit Street. Turn left into Smit Street and right, over the Rissik Street Bridge. Continue South and turn left into De Villiers Street. Turn Right into Eloff Street and right into Market Street. Stop at City Hall.

Figure V[33]

The front page of the student newspaper *Wits Student*, published on the day of the march, attests to the great care that was taken by the university in scripting the sequence of events for this public and decidedly theatrical event. The leading article mentions the importance of student activism in bringing about change in society and highlights the motivation for peers to join in the march as "IT IS OUR DUTY TO DEMONSTRATE OUR IMPLACCABLE OPPOSITION AGAINST THE VIOLATION OF OUR RIGHTS AS A UNIVERSITY". The

[33] Wits Central Records, *Wits Student,* May 22nd, 1957, File 111, Academic Freedom at Wits before 1959

page also features a hand-drawn map showing the route for the march and a set of instructions for the procession (Figure Shear, 1996, p.27).


MARCH TO-DAY!
DEMONSTRATE OPPOSITION
REFLECTIONS ON THE CAMPAIGN
"THE FUTURE IS YOURS"
Creeping Control
Academic Freedom Committee Urges Action
AND NOW
1957

Figure VI[34]

Although Murray (1997, p.308) lists participants in the march as members drawn from the academic staff, students and the Convocation, Shear's list (1996, p.30) also includes members of the Wits Senate and Council. Murray also distinguishes between academic staff and support staff whereas Shear suffices with "staff" as members of the procession. The group assembled on the steps of the Great Hall where they were addressed by vice-chancellor W. G. Sutton before marching to the City Hall, where I. D. MacCrone addressed them (Shear, 1996, p.30; Murray, 1997,p.309; Tobias, Addendum A). According to Murray (1997, p.303) Sutton did not find himself "temperamentally" suited to the "politics of protest" and kept to himself while allowing the Chancellor Richard Feetham and Professor I.D. MacCrone, now a senior member of the Council, to serve as the university's spokesmen, which is probably why Sutton did not deliver the public address at the City Hall.

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[34] *Wits Student,* May 22nd, 1957, Wits Central Records, File 111, Academic Freedom at Wits before1959

MacCrone told the meeting that the public demonstration could never be dismissed as a "mere futile gesture"; that the university community would obey the law should academic freedom be curtailed by legislation but that "we would never accept it" and declared that the institution would continue to "maintain our claim to be an open university, whatever changes may be enforced upon us" (Murray, quoting MacCrone, 1997, p.309). Tobias recalled the speech by MacCrone who later became the vice-chancellor of Wits: "he gave a wonderful address urging us to fight against the sacrifice of our academic freedom to make a Roman holiday for the Apostles of Apartheid, or words to that effect" (Addendum A). Tobias became very emotional at this point of the interview, an emotion which Shear contextualises as he draws from various Wits Central Records files: "It [the 1957 march] was an impressive and very moving ceremony which has become part of the folklore of the University, and is frequently referred to by members of the institution who participated" (Wits Archives and Registry, File 111, Academic Freedom at Wits before 1959; Shear, 1996, p.30)

Tobias (Addendum A) remembered how disciplined and peaceful the march proceeded: "No trouble, nobody shot at us or hit us or charged at us […] and then we marched back and broke up quietly", this despite the presence of both uniformed and armed police who monitored the march and the Special Branch who photographed the event, as reported in the *Star* (Murray 1997, p.309) of 23 May 1957. The newspaper also reported how "local and overseas pressmen, newsreel photographers and television cameramen" covered the event. It is ironical that the only moving images of the event I could trace were from the BBC Archive and constitute less than 30 seconds of film. Even more ironical is the fact that the copyright of the material belongs to the University of the Witwatersrand. The researcher can safely deduce that the institution itself funded the recordings, which underscores the importance Wits attached to the event.

Die Transvaler newspaper reported on a very different aspect of the event, that of how "some 100 of the students in the march were Natives, Coloureds, Indians and Chinese" (Murray, 1997, p.309), exposing very glaringly aspects of the political ideology which fuelled the content of the publication.

Despite a home-made teargas canister attack and other resistance to these endeavours, the organisers felt that the main objectives of the campaign with the public protest march as highlight had been met and did at least force the government to delay the implementation of the separate universities legislation (Murray, 1997, p.311), an aspect which will be addressed below.

The 1957 March Modelled as an Academic Procession for a Public Performance

The format of the 1957 protest action was closely modelled on that of the academic procession at a graduation ceremony. Despite the obvious differences, which I will discuss below, it is important to note that what has for centuries been the opening and closing ceremonial display for the very important occasion of capping and hooding successful candidates, was now taken into the public arena for a very different purpose: protecting the integrity and freedom of academic citizenship.

As mentioned earlier, the mace bearer leads the academic procession today, a practice which seems to have differed in earlier times as shown in the visual material of a procession included in the Hughes film *Tomorrow Starts at Wits Today* (1982, TC 00 47' 30"). In this clip the bearer follows the Senior Executive, somewhat like the banner being preceded by a senior academic or administrative staff member in the visual material relating to the 1957 march, but with the obvious difference that the mace is not included, but rather a banner that speaks to the central issue that gave rise to the march.

The Aftermath of the 1957 March

I address the subsequent clamping down on academic freedom in this section before I present an overview of the increasingly severe restrictions on protest action by city authorities and the police during the early 1970s and in later years.

Despite various protest actions in the period running up to 1958, the Extension of University Education Bill was introduced in Parliament on 26 February of that year. According to Murray (1997, p.312) the Council decided on 15 August 1958, to close the university for a morning, at a time that coincided with the second or third reading of the Bill, and also to "stage a General Assembly comprising all the official constituencies of the University, Council, Senate, academic staff, students and the executive of Convocation to affirm the University's adherence to the cause of the "open" university". It was decided that the protest would not be a public one but an internal affair, staged in the Great Hall as a "symbolic statement of principle".

The first General Assembly of the University of the Witwatersrand was held in the Great Hall on 16 April 1959 to affirm the institution's strongest objections to the new act and to dedicate the activities of the university to maintaining the ideal of autonomy and academic freedom (Murray, 1997, p.312; Shear, 1996, p.30). The congregation made a solemn affirmation and undertook to recall and reaffirm these principles on an annual basis. The British Pathé archive has a short film clip, which includes some aspects of the event and shows the large banner on the front of the Great Hall:

> "We affirm in the name of the University of the Witwatersrand that it is our duty to uphold the principle that a university is a place where men and women, without regard to race and colour, are welcome to join in the acquisition and advancement of knowledge: and to continue faithfully to defend this ideal against all who have

> sought by legislative enactment to curtail the autonomy of the University. Now therefore we dedicate ourselves to the maintenance of this ideal and to the restoration of the autonomy of our University."35

I also found a number of references in official University records to the 1959 General Assembly at the Wits Central Records. Not only did Wits "close for a day in protest against academic apartheid" on Thursday 16 April 1959, but "members of the Council, Convocation, the staff and the student body" met in the Great Hall where the "University stood in silence […] in protest against the loss of its most cherished position – the right to admit, without regard to race and colour, all who would join in the acquiring and advancement of knowledge" (University Gazette, July 1959(1)). The article also describes the big canvas which covered all the pillars of Central Block on which the words of the dedication appeared.



Figure VII[36]

The ceremony included an address by Professor I. D. MacCrone, a reading of the dedication by the Vice-Chancellor Professor W. G. Sutton and the observation of a minute of silence. The article describes how after the "impressive and moving ceremony, the academic procession and the congregation filed from the Great Hall, and all activities in the University

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[35] Punctuation marks as used on the original banner
[36] Wits Central Records

buildings and grounds were halted for the rest of the day" (Wits Gazette, July 1959(1)). *Convocation Commentary* ((2), 1959, p.1) describes the event as "[a] sad and proud occasion" and mentions that many participants were in full academic dress and that the hall was filled "to the last square foot with students and graduates".

Tobias (Addendum A) recalls his experiences of the 1950s as "the saddest and most unpleasant period" and how in 1959 the students decided to douse "the flame of academic freedom in a big copper urn on the steps in front of the Central Block on the Main Campus". Tobias was invited by the students to perform the symbolic action. He described the events of the 1950s as the beginning of "the long story from the 60s when people like Clive Rosendorff, SRC President and Mervyn Shear when he became a Deputy Vice-Chancellor and others subsequently carried on the struggle, and I myself kept going, carried on the struggle, right through until the end of the 80s". In the interview Tobias reminisces about the fact that it was a forty-year struggle and it was "a pity that it sometimes has been forgotten"(Addendum A).

Both Murray (1997, p.312) and Shear (1996, p.30) comment on how, despite the rather successful manifestation of solidarity by the university in May 1957, ideological differences between the students and the university authorities soon reappeared. Whereas the authorities were content to express their concerns and abhorrence regarding the threat to and loss of academic freedom, the social segregation enforced on the campus was unacceptable to the students who were aligned to the SRC and Nusas. Shear (1996, p.30) writes that students campaigning for SRC elections labelled themselves as the "Liberal Ticket" and included in their manifesto their point of view that the university was hypocritical with regards to the impending governmental legislation and should ignore the law once it was implemented. Murray (1997, p.312) describes the rupture rather succinctly as students "seeking to mobilise opposition against the apartheid system itself" and challenging the continuing practices of

racial discrimination within the university, notably the quota system in the Medical School, the exclusion of blacks from the Dental School, and the overall policy of social segregation" issues which were also contested by Wits students during the early 1950s.

According to *The Open Universities in South Africa and Academic Freedom* (1974, p.17), university autonomy implies that "a university shall be free to determine who shall teach its students". They also state that there were no laws which "govern appointments to the teaching staff of the open universities and many African, Asian and Coloured scholars have been appointed to academic posts". When the government intervened in 1968 to prevent the appointment of Mr Archie Mafeje as a senior lecturer in social anthropology at the University of Cape Town and the university rescinded its decision, UCT students staged a nine-day sit-in in the university's administrative block. The protest spread to the University of the Witwatersrand where, despite the prime minister B.J. Vorster's banning of a protest march through the city of Johannesburg, a picket protest was "held on University property" for several days, this "despite extreme harassment from pro-Government supporters" (1974, p.17-18).

By the time Wits hosted a second General Assembly in 1969 to commemorate the loss of academic freedom ten years earlier, the political landscape and the nature of protest actions had changed significantly. The 1974 publication *The Open Universities in South Africa and Academic Freedom* (The University of Cape Town Academic Staff and the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Academic Staff, p.13) refers to how the "tenth anniversary of the passing of the Extension of University Education Act was marked by mass protest and solemn meetings at the open universities". The authors also mention how these actions led to a confrontation with the police and to the arrest of nineteen students who handed out pamphlets condemning university segregation.

The night before the "Day of Affirmation", a group of about a hundred men, many of them claiming to be from the Naval School of Technical Training, attacked students holding a placard demonstration in the "thoroughfare outside the University" (Shear, 1996, p.32). Alumnus and SRC president at the time Mark Orkin (Addendum A) recalls how after the night vigil and a few rain showers only a handful of students remained in position on the edge of the university and "there was the usual line of police just keeping an eye on things and we thought just bugger this we're going to actually go across halfway across Jan Smuts Avenue so that we would be on the traffic islands so that we could put our posters in the faces of the complacent motorists driving into town". The decision to cross the boundary between what was Wits and the public domain aggravated the police. "In the eyes of authorities and Vorster with this curious anti-Nusas anti-student protest obsession, we had crossed a kind of invisible line. And the might of the state descended on these six rather innocent protesters […]. Bakkies,[37] dogs, policemen with machine guns all swooped to pick up this hapless little band of six wet protesters with their runny posters […]".

Orkin's interpretation of the police conduct sheds light on why the state reacted in this way: "[…] the police had this view that if protest was contained on the campus it was harmless and stepping at all into society, the symbolisation of this idea of ours of a free universe and of a free society, that was to be stopped with the full arm of the state". The arrest of the Orkin group and others in turn exacerbated the students' reaction. "The campus now really had an issue to take up as far as a free university and a free society is concerned, much more interesting to the students than commemorating the desegregation which had been our original much more principled focus" (Addendum A).

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[37] Utility vehicles

Soon local authorities became less willing to grant permission for protests marches through the centres of Cape Town and Johannesburg and in 1970 the General Law Further Amendment Act impeded this right for all practical purposes as even with permission from a town council, the chief magistrate of the district also had to agree to the march.

In 1972 the government also halted picket demonstrations after a nationwide response to the "rustication of the entire student body of the University after it had protested against the expulsion of Mr Abraham Tiro" (The University of Cape Town Academic Staff and the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Academic Staff, 1974, p.32). The police brutality with which students were treated while picketing on the steps of St George's Cathedral in Cape Town sparked even more protests and in Johannesburg after "28 students were arrested for marching, without the legally required permission to St Mary's Cathedral on 5 June". Another 53 students were arrested the following day for participating in an allegedly unlawful procession" (1974, pp.32-33). On 7 June the minister of justice, under the Riotous Assemblies Act, banned for a month in all towns or cities which housed universities, "the assembly in any public space of any public gathering of a political nature, that is to say, a public gathering at which any form of state or any principle or policy of the government of a state is propagated, defended, attacked, criticised or discussed, or which is held in protest against anything: with the exception of such a public gathering which, for as long as it lasts, takes place within the walls of a building"(1974, p.33). On the same day (1974, p.33; Shear, 1996, p.43 (giving the date as 8 June 1972)) Wits held a General Assembly at which 7 000 people gathered indoors, filling the lower and the upper halls of the university's Sports Centre in protest against these restrictions.

Shear (1996, p.45) observes how the students, "far from being intimidated", held another peaceful demonstration on the edges of the campus on 9 June. After a warning from the Commissioner of Police that they were contravening the Riotous Assemblies Act, a group of

plainclothes policemen twice charged at the students and students were grabbed by the hair and manhandled, with 68 being arrested, as were two journalists who were covering the event. Some participants had to be treated for possible concussion and severe facial injuries

This event was indicative of police attitudes over time as confirmed by retired police officer David Bruce (Addendum A), who recounts an incident from the 1980s when he was instructed by the district commandant brigadier As Venter to visit professor Shear, the deputy vice-chancellor in charge of student affairs, in his office and to warn him that

If the students demonstrated on that particular day and left the campus, they would be bliksem-ed[38] by the police with sjamboks. Well, I must admit I was a bit taken aback by the language and I looked at him and he said to me, you tell him exactly what I have said.

On occasions, such as when prime minister B.J. Vorster's government threatened to stop subsidies to universities where "loafers" disrupted learning, and the introduction of the Quota Bill of 1983, the higher authorities of the university supported the student body in their opposition to the threat to academic freedom at South Africa's "open" universities (Shear, 1996, p.54-55). It seems that protests involving the whole university were always focused on fighting threats to academic freedom, but for students this was not always the only concern. For them the university also provided an arena in which other forms of opposition to the apartheid government could be expressed. In the struggle to protect academic freedom and freedom of expression, the university became both an agent or actor and a host for the expression of protest action by both staff and students from the institution. In its role as a protector and guardian, the institution was not always able to speak in one voice. There were internal opposing dynamics between the management and Council, as Shear describes in his book and the interview I conducted with him in 2009 (Addendum A). For example, after a

[38] Severely beaten.

particularly vicious response from the South African Police to a student protest march, he screened video material recorded by a BBC cameraperson during the event to members of the Executive Committee of Council. Professor Shear records his horror when a member, Mr. Michael O'Dowd, responded that "it served them right" (Shear, 1996, p.27).

Two important new aspects arise from the above: that of plainclothes policemen assaulting students and the shift in the actor and audience relationship. The physical assault on students by men dressed as civilians led the executive committee of the Academic Staff Association to say that "It proved impossible to find out whether these men are plainclothes policemen or thugs. Yet they beat and assault our students in the presence of uniformed police" (1996, p.45).

Clearly visible markers that used to distinguish actors from perpetrators were thus disappearing. Alumnus and academic John Dugard (Addendum A) remembers how he was "on one occasion particularly upset that the Security Police came on to campus with sjamboks and were beating everyone left, right and centre and I was miraculously spared. And I said this to friends and they said, "Well, the problem is that you were dressed just like a Security Police officer. You were wearing a brown suit with a green shirt and they obviously mistook you for one of themselves"".

The audience was increasingly becoming the potential enemy as the traditional divide between actors and audience shifted and was redefined. Whereas the earlier marches represented an organised venture into a public, potentially dangerous space of confrontation, the increasingly confrontational encounters now shifted onto the campus and into what had been perceived as a safe space. Another outcome was that the audience who initially were onlookers now participated in the performance as actors. The arena, the performance and the actors took on very different qualities compared to especially the 1957 protest march. An

activity that started as a dignified protest action became with the passage of time an activity with unpredictable outcomes.

A second important development relates to the shift in the actor and audience relationship. Shear (1996, p.46) refers to Pogrund who wrote about student protests in the *Rand Daily Mail*, highlighting the dilemma facing white students at the time. "In addition to the formidable body of apartheid legislation with which they had to cope, they became marked people in the eyes of the Security Police and were subject to surveillance and harassment for years after they left university" (1996, p.46).

By 1974, the right to protest had been severely restricted. By now even meetings within buildings could be prohibited. Although this falls outside the parameters of my study it must be noted that during this time legislation and measures inhibiting individual liberty became increasingly draconian. These included individuals being banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, detention without trial and the power to "deport or refuse residence visas to foreigners, and to prohibit the travel abroad of South African nationals or to insist that when they travel, they leave on non-return exit permits" (The University of Cape Town Academic Staff and the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Academic Staff, pp.35 – 39).

The developments discussed in this section had a deep impact on the students who participated in the protest actions, who were subjected to many of these repressive measures and whose testimonies I recorded. These issues will be considered in more detail in chapters six and seven.

As spatial control and territorial boundaries shifted significantly since the early years, it is appropriate to revisit what could be labelled hegemonic invasions of spaces. Bozzoli points out that although space cannot be reduced to power, it is the "physical terrain and symbolic expanse over which contestations of power take place" (Bozzoli, 2004, p.7). She argues that

"there are some settings in which physical space, and the technologies which accompany it, are particularly central to the control of subordinate or distinct populations". She draws on the writings of Frantz Fanon to elaborate on her initial point that when and where a government has a "disproportionate" degree of power over its subjects, as in societies where power is determined by colonialism or racial or ethnical domination, space is employed to "assist in controlling them in a highly instrumental fashion". She also refers to Foucault's statement that "the meaning of space in modernised societies has almost entirely to do with its capacity to control us rather than our ability to resist such control" (2004, p.7). Foucault's notion of panopticism relies not only on repressive measures, but also on the constant surveillance of the population and their activities (Macey, 2001, p.290). This ideological viewpoint has been interpreted with reference to how architecture can allow control over minds. It is probably most relevant to Foucault's interpretations of prisons, but finds an echo in the way in which the apartheid government took control of what was regarded by the university as private property, but which for the state became a space to control as part of the apartheid's government's panoptic vision for total control of the country.

By 1973 the student population at Wits numbered 9 803 (The University of Cape Town Academic Staff and the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Academic Staff, 1974, p.14), of which 21 students were coloured, 385 Asian and 26 African. The overwhelmingly white student population was mostly cut off from the broader context of the South African population and relied on academic staff and student leaders who, despite the legal clampdowns enacted by the government and entrenched societal prejudice, managed to provide a broader context for political and social enlightenment. The academic staff (1974, p.14) expressed concerns over the fact that in 1973 the enrolment of African students at open universities had dropped from 113 in 1959 to only 31, a fact verbalised by Gillian Godsell (Addendum A) who recalls one Indian student, "called inexplicably Boetie", who attended

classes during her tenure at Wits. She also expresses her gratitude towards academics such as Tobias who were instrumental in keeping students aware of the possibility of easily falling into

> a deep white prejudice, in those years, on Wits campus because there were no black faculty and there were no, almost no black students, and they kept alive in us the belief that the way things were was wrong and that there was a better way to do things […] because I think particularly in those years, particularly the white years, you needed people to keep that dream alive.

Orkin met black students for the first time when he attended a Nusas training seminar at Mariannhill. He recalls how he experienced being "a young white Northern suburbs liberal and from an overwhelmingly white campus to be in a seminar with appreciable black representation". Participants were being politicised during their stay and "being in a political and social environment at that time was terrific. It was huge emancipation". He met Steve Biko at one such seminar, an encounter that continued to make a big impact on his life (Addendum A).

Yunus Ballim (Addendum A) obtained a permit to study at Wits in 1977 and he found his "first year was quite frightening". He was one of only 25 black students in the Faculty of Engineering in that year and one of about 120 on all the campuses. He recalls that "for most of my undergraduate years I knew every single black student by first name. We were that few". What also stands out for him was the "idea that white people were involved in politics, oppositional politics".

Changing Student Demographics and the Impact on Student Protest

Shortly after his installation as vice-chancellor in 1978, Professor D.J. Du Plessis initiated a research project to develop a long-term academic plan for Wits, which when published in

1980, acknowledged that the university had historically served a predominantly white middle-class community and that future planning should open the doors to all who were sufficiently qualified and who wanted to be educated in English. The report also indicated that the university would have to grow its numbers to 22 000 to accommodate the black students who would apply (Shear, 1996, p.79). In an interview (Hughes, 1982, TC 00 44' 56") the vice-chancellor expressed the university's decision to allow all South Africans to enrol at Wits despite governmental controls in place at the time

In the future the University of the Witwatersrand accepts the responsibility to provide tertiary education for South Africans. By that I mean South Africans of all races. The important thing to remember is that in the process of providing educational opportunities in an area growing like the Reef, we have to grow as a university […] We believe we are well suited to do this because of our mixed Campus we have had ample opportunity to experience the value of education with mutual tolerance and respect and we know that with these three activities the problems of this country can be overcome […] We know we have the potential to build it into a truly great nation.

Issues connected to the impact of a growing population of black students with different needs included financial constraints, a lack of accessible transport, very limited if any accommodation on the campus and language barriers which arose when mostly second language English speakers arrived at Wits (Cuzen, Freer, Kekana, Shear, Standenmacher, Swemmer, Tselane, Addendum A). Nepo Kekana (Addendum A) recalls how some black students felt: "The black students on the liberal campuses are there as guests. But ironically, you know, it's as guests of the apartheid government, because you've got to get ministerial consent".

In addition the black student population was strongly aware of the overall political situation in the country and the pressures emerging from it. These students came from a very different background of activism and were far more critical of the university management. This had an enormous influence on the nature of political protest at the university, as many of the black student leaders were political activists, expelled from the so-called bush universities. Former registrar Derek Swemmer (Addendum A) explains how Wits, by transgressing an inter-university understanding that an expelled student should not gain access to tertiary education elsewhere, became "the haven for all those activists, [and] we also had amongst them extraordinary leaders". According to him these "political activists became key players in the strength behind the Black Students' Society, and later Sasco and the other student structures that were created". These students were no longer *innocents* as many of them came from an aspirational context fuelled by 1976 and subsequent events such as the banning of Black Consciousness organisations and the detention and murder of Steve Biko. They had been exposed to challenges to authority and were willing to extend those challenges to the university itself. From feeling alienated at Wits they progressed to taking centre stage and made an impact on the thinking of many white students as well.

Terry Tselane (Addendum A) remembers how students felt that they "could not effectively deal with the student issues without addressing the socio-political situation" that they found themselves in. These students believed that they were "members of our communities before we are students, so whatever issues affect our communities we cannot ignore them". He says that coming from "Soweto being surrounded by the army and the police, you can't say that you are going to study freely from those kinds of pressures and concerns, so we then became active in community issues but also transferring those issues to campuses, so we would address student issues but at the back of our mind we realised that student issues on their own would not be able to bring about the freedom that we want. We therefore had to couple them

with broader political issues that affected our society". Tselane mentions some of these issues as the repression in the country, and to get the leadership who was on Robben Island to be released.

Shear postulates that the disenfranchised black students "felt themselves to be the victims of apartheid and idolised the banned and exiled liberation movements while conservative white students were persuaded by the Government's "total onslaught" strategy to regard these movements as the terrorist enemy". These "irreconcilable differences" (Shear, 1996, p.73-74) brought about by conflicting ideologies and socio-economic circumstances were exacerbated by the notion of "total strategy" advanced by the then minister of defence Magnus Malan to cope with what the government put forward as the "total onslaught by Marxist enemies against the Republic" (Davenport, 1988, p.438).

Alumnus and lecturer during 1980s, Tony Leon, (Addendum A) recalls how the campus had become radicalised. It had become a lot blacker and there was a lot more student activism. The campus housed a lot of students with "time on their hands" and who were looking for "diversionary activities" but he importantly reflects how

> [s]ociety as a whole [was represented on campus], in a slightly distorted way because there was obviously a white majority on the campus, but they pretty faithfully reflected the schisms and the fissures in society as a whole. And that found its consequence in diverse and often vehemently opposed activities on the campus. Which I suppose is actually what you want if you're going to have the university as a theatre of ideas and contesting policies. But of course they weren't discussed always very rationally and openly, but there was a lot of agitation on all sides.

As the student population continued to grow and to diversify new political groupings took shape and led to the formation of new organisations such as the Student Moderate Alliance

(SMA) and the Black Students Organisation (BSS). These students presented alternative views and opinions to the Wits Council where student representation had always been strongly Nusas-driven and not "closely allied to the opinions that were held by the black African students who were imbued in the philosophies and beliefs of change that would come through other mechanisms, and the revolutionary tactics that that very often entailed" (Swemmer, Addendum A). Jeremy Clark (Addendum A) recalls how the white SRC had a bigger challenge in later years when he was a part-time student and already practising law as they were "the official structure, but there was this large organised body of black students who were gaining momentum and going their own way".

Clark (Addendum A) also mentions how "the BSS was gaining confidence while I was a student and finding a voice of dissent, its own voice, and certainly was not prepared to have its positions articulated by white students". He describes how these fellow students were well organised and did not participate in any official university structures, but often had parallel lines of communication.

The sheer size of the student population and the rapidly deteriorating political situation in the country prevented university authorities from exercising the degree of control over student action as they were able to before. The increasing diversity created a bigger microcosm, which in turn created more tension and managerial challenges (Shear, 1996, p.159-160). However, by the late 1980s, it seems that students did manage to cross many of these divisions and presented a far more unified voice in opposition to the state:

> For the first time, we had the opportunity to get as many people as we could, on our side and we started this thing called the United Front. We were meeting with all student organisations, South African Jew[ish] Students Organisation, Muslim Students Organisation, all the societies on campus. We met with them and strategised together. "Guys, What is important for us to show unity against

> Apartheid". We got every person; it was one of the biggest marches I've seen on campus. Black and white students together, fighting against Apartheid, it was a fantastic moment in my life. (Tselane, Addendum A)

The Legacy of the 1957 March

The 1957 march served as a central event, this being the outcome of the highly planned, organised and publicly staged performance by the Wits community. The decision to stage it represents a nodal confluence of the university's history and related factors such as its location in Johannesburg, the liberal tradition embedded in the ethos of its constituency, and the reaction to the National Party government's ideologies entrenching separate development and apartheid. In time, with the escalation of national political conflict and the entrance of black students, it gradually became more difficult to maintain a disciplined and controllable approach. The university management could no longer be seen as a "neutral mediator" as the state systematically took control of all aspects of academic freedom, and as the political situation in South Africa became more and more unstable.

CHAPTER SIX - PRODUCTION RESEARCH AND THE PRODUCTION PROCESS

I think that we are a dying breed of people with memories of this kind (Dugard, Addendum A).

Introduction

This chapter offers a systematic record (akin to what Carolyn Hamilton calls the "biography") of the way in which my archive has been constructed. This includes a summary of research and data collection done in available archives and a discussion of my own research process, with a focus on the selection of interviewees, the procedure followed during interviews, the possibilities and constraints of the interviewing process, and the potential bias of the interviewer. A second and more complex section of the chapter offers a critical self-reflection on the processes of selection and organisation that have guided the making of the documentary film.

I also discuss the methodological approach pursued for this study. I initiate my discussion by looking at the relationship between history and film with special emphasis on the historical documentary project. This section is followed by a reflection on the orientation of my research and an analysis of the recorded interviews and collected archive material.

To delineate the scope of my research I turn to interactions with Tobias who recalled how despite the "protests", "marches" and "appeals" discussed in the previous chapters, the academic body at Wits could not "produce a change of heart or of action of the government" (Addendum A). Ultimately, the "change of heart" did not happen until 1990 and the anti-apartheid protests at the university therefore extended over a period of more than thirty years. Tobias was the first to suggest the project should include the whole period. This implied a formidable extension of scope but was necessary because of the continuity and changing dynamics of political protest at Wits. While crucial aspects of the research are addressed in this thesis, many uncovered themes and areas of interest that emerge from it would have to become the subject of post-doctoral studies.

This project set out to create a historical documentary film constructed from newly recorded interviews as well as existing archival material and to interrogate the process from an academic perspective by identifying the empirical research and creative processes that underpin the production of such a film. As an initial step in understanding the scope of the project and developing a methodological approach, I constructed a timeline, relying on a number of key sources such as Shear (1996), Murray (1997) and Bozzoli (1997). I also isolated key role players and some of the main events that provoked protest action at the time and at "anniversaries" in the years that followed.

The selections of key players and events enabled me to initiate the pre-production process: a process that proved to be fairly challenging as neither the availability of potential interviewees nor the existence of archive material concerning the main events were known or confirmed at this stage. There was also no indication whether the available interviewees and the existing archival material would be such that the testimonials and the stock footage could be combined meaningfully to provide a narrative for the documentary film. The distinction between a training video and a documentary film lies at the heart of the dilemma I was facing. The training video production has an instructional purpose and outcome whereas the documentary film sets out to foreground social issues in an informative way. The genre envisages a very different viewing experience: an informative and visually pleasing engagement based on the presentation of historically appropriate and aesthetically suitable audio-visual material.

As discussed in chapter two, I chose to use the testimonials of the interviewees to construct the documentary narrative instead of the expository documentary mode where an omniscient voice-over informs the audience of events and how these came about. Although the film does seem to unfold chronologically, the narrative is driven by these testimonies and the interweaving of events and experiences, especially when generic events are discussed which

are not linked to the unfolding of time. This aim became an important and often decisive criterion in selecting the material and participants without compromising the highest possible degree of authenticity of the narrative, the provenance of the archival material and the recorded testimonials. Like any other filmmaker, I also had to confront and negotiate the constraints imposed by the availability of time and funding. With a less restricted time frame and access to adequate funding, it would have been possible to overcome many of the limitations identified in this section.

During the research phase I was often asked why I chose this topic, which to some of my interlocutors seemed to hark back to "the apartheid days" and did not focus on urgent contemporary issues. These arguments take no account of Deleuze's position that the "present" exists only as "the extreme limit" or "the smallest circuit that contains all the past" and his related argument that the "present" is constructed as "an infinitely contracted past", constituted at the extreme point of "already-there" (Deleuze, 2005, pp.95-96). Equally appropriate is Resnais' approach to his documentary film *Night and Fog* (France, 1956), about which he spoke as a demonstration of his belief that "forgetting ought to be constructive" (Grant and Sloniowski, 1998, p.204). Nuttall and Coetzee confront a similar issue when they ask themselves in the introduction to *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa:* "[W]hy write a book which investigates the ways in which memory is being negotiated in South Africa, at a time when many are urging their fellow South Africans to forget the past and to look to a new future?" (Nuttall and Coetzee, 2005, p.1).

Forgetting can only be constructive when the archive is as inclusive as possible and not dominated by a hegemonic point of view produced by the political ideologies of the ruling class. Obviously, an archive can never include all aspects of the past. But in a country such as South Africa, it seems evident that the information collected should as far as possible include points of view that are representative of the various cultural groups that constitute the nation.

An archive constructed from voices representing staff and students from the University of the Witwatersrand must make at least an attempt at contributing to the array of testimonies that will support a constructive and inclusive act of forgetting. This consideration was also informed by recognition of the University of the Witwatersrand's historical role. The university has always been a leader in the field of political protest; it hosted the first anti-apartheid academic protest march in 1957 and became a prominent site of protest largely due to its positioning in Johannesburg, the economic hub of the country where a cosmopolitan atmosphere prevails. It has become emblematic of many important historical narratives in South Africa and in this respect I can add that Wits Historical Papers has agreed to house the archive I collected as a result of my research.

Creative doctoral study requires a different methodological approach to traditional research conventions. Producing the creative component targets research aimed at locating relevant historical accounts, interviewees and illustrative materials to construct a non-fiction narrative supported by a theoretical analysis that also serves as provenance for the archive and the film.

Copyright Issues: Restrictions on Using Archive Material in Historical Documentary Films

Visualising the context of the historical period and illuminating the testimonies in a documentary film structure relies heavily on archive material whose usage is tied up with issues of access, duplication and copyright. To comply with copyright requirements and enable the editing process, indexing all the acquired material becomes an essential first step. Such ordering should ideally accompany each step of the collection process to enable smooth labelling and cataloguing of all the materials, as many copyright and access problems are pre-empted in this way. Most stock footage and photographs originate from copyrighted collections and clearance agreements for usage depend on providing an accurate identity tag

for each shot, which must be included in the final documentary film. Clearance agreements usually include "special permission", final credit listings and licensing agreements and fees, which in turn depend on the broadcast territory for screening access. For any filmmaker, establishing such agreements is a necessary, important and often very expensive aspect of documentary film construction.

According to the Dramatic, Artistic and Literary Rights Organisation (DALRO), the South African Copyright Act 8 of 1978 as amended governs all aspects of copyright in South Africa. Although copyright is territorially defined, the principles are common to all countries (including South Africa) which subscribe to the Berne Convention and the Universal Copyright Convention. The DALRO website lists protected works which include "cinematograph films" (Creative Entertainment Agency, 2011). The University of the Witwatersrand Copyright Services Office[39] also references Section 12(1) of the Copyright Act which allows for exceptions to the rule by permitting reproduction without permission for use including "research or private study" and "personal or private use". The Wits site draws attention to the important differences between the South African use of the phrase "fair dealing" and "fair use" as applied and practised in North America according to USA Copyright law. The South African clause "fair dealing" is far more restrictive than in the USA and the "reproduction of copyright works is only allowed in the above circumstances, and not for multiple copies" (Nicholson, 2013).

The argument for *Best Practices in Fair Use* (Centre for Social Media, 2005) in the USA is set out in a document that was developed by various film-related organisations in conjunction

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[39] Acknowledgement is given to the University of the Witwatersrand, Copyright Services Office, 1 Jan Smuts Avenue, Johannesburg, South Africa, 2011

with the Washington College of Law. The document outlines the ways in which it has become more and more difficult for documentary filmmakers to access copyrighted material. The increasingly rigid approach to copyright compliance, the document claims, restricts the ability of filmmakers to communicate effectively with the public, who suffer as a result. The filmmakers acknowledge their own right and position as copyright holders whose creative expression depends on the willingness of others to honour their claims as copyright holders, and who would therefore not "countenance exploitative or abusive applications of fair use […]" (2005, p.1).

The authors of the *Best Practice* in Fair Use document put forward four classes of situations in which greater lenience should apply, of which the fourth one is particularly pertinent to this research project. This class refers to instances where "[g]iven the social and the educational importance of the documentary medium fair use should apply"; this particularly refers to what is described as "Using Copyrighted Material in a Historical Sequence". The purpose of fair use here is to not deny "the potential of filmmaking to represent history to new generations of citizens". This does not imply that fair use allows for an abandonment of rights or further exploitation of the material. Filmmakers have to acknowledge that the material is from an archive and credit the origins of the material (2005, p.5-6).

Unfortunately this more flexible approach adopted by the Americans has not been accepted into South African lawmaking or general practice. Clearing copyright and paying for licensing agreements remain a costly exercise when producing historical documentary films that rely on the inclusion of archive material as an essential element of visualisation. The weak position of the South African Rand in relation to most overseas currencies has also impacted significantly on the cost of using archive material housed in overseas collections. This is especially relevant for this film as many of the recordings were made by foreign news

agencies before the advent of television in South Africa. These problems could seriously inhibit documentary filmmaking about parts of South African history.

Collecting Material from Existing Archives

My preliminary work included the collection of stock footage, photographs and other relevant visual material. Although photographs can be used to great effect for visualising events, as a filmmaker I prefer to use moving images as actual film or video material blends in better with newly recorded material. Inevitably the filmmaker is constrained by the vagaries of the archive and has to rely on photographs when there is no stock footage available, but these limitations are not necessarily a disadvantage. The inclusion of stills can make an invaluable contribution in creating a visually appealing and informative documentary film, as I have had to do for this project. With advances in video editing technology stills can be manipulated to guide the viewer's attention by panning across the image or by zooming in and out.

I initiated my research in an archive housed in the Film and Television division of the Wits School of Arts, which, after having functioned as a service unit for the university for many years, was transformed into an academic department in 2004. Wits Central Television Services was established in the early 1970s to record activities on the campus, to produce training videos for academic staff and contribute to educational programming in South Africa. The archive is still housed at the university and most of the content has been catalogued. The largest section of the material dates back to the 1970s and 1980s and was recorded on older formats such as one inch, U-matic and VHS tapes. When trying to view the tapes it became apparent that the department no longer had the equipment required to play and digitise the older material. Neither did the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Piers Pigot, then head of the South African History Association, referred me to Freddy Ogterop who was working with a division of the University of Cape Town which, in

conjunction with a commercial production company, was devoted to the mammoth task of locating, collecting and digitising discrete and scattered collections from across southern Africa. I met Ogterop in Cape Town at a conference hosted by the American University in Washington to share ideas on intellectual property, copyright and the principle of 'fair use'.

On my next trip to Cape Town I ferried two large boxes packed with U-matic tapes for cleaning and digitisation. The quality of the material housed at Wits varied greatly, ranging from unusable to fixable to good. Mildew had grown on some tape formats and the tapes therefore had be cleaned with a special and very expensive machine available in South Africa, as far as I could ascertain, only at this special digitising and archiving project at the University of Cape Town.

Prior to the advent of television in South Africa in 1976, news coverage consisted mainly of sound reportage, a monthly news update at cinemas and material recorded by foreign correspondents for overseas broadcasters. Keeping this in mind, the other fairly obvious locations for finding suitable and relevant material were the SABC video archive locally and the ITN (Independent Television News) archive housed here and in London, the BBC archive in London and the South African National Film, Video and Sound Archive in Pretoria.

A chance encounter with colleagues alerted me to the existence of *Wits Protest*, a film made by two Wits students, Alan Mabin and Keyan Tomaselli, which covered political activities from1970 to 1974 (Tomaselli, 2012). This material has proven invaluable as the period that it covers falls into a void between an earlier volume of material collected by foreign correspondents and the advent of television in South Africa in 1976. I have not been able to find many other clips relating to the protest action at Wits during that time.

Mabin, co-producer and voice artist of the film, remembers the making of the film on protest action as "almost accidental". He continues: "He [Keyan] brought the camera to the

university and lo and behold, he looked into his viewfinder and what did he see? He saw students and police running riot in various directions and in the course of discussion, the idea emerged of really documenting in a very low-key, simple way, events in student life" (Addendum A).

Tomaselli (Addendum A) remembers the initial recordings slightly differently:

> Then the last legal protest march some time in 1970 was occurring and Alan said we must make a movie of this and I thought I couldn't be bothered and so he went to my house, picked up the camera, he went to a photographic shop and bought a whole lot of a cassettes and put them in my hand and said "make a movie" and so we did. He kind of fed me the, you know, unexposed cassettes and took the ones that had been exposed and kind of shepherded me along and that's really how it started.

At the SABC, specialist archivist and longtime industry colleague Sias Scott's assistance proved invaluable in locating and copying material that could be relevant for the project. I photocopied all the index cards and archive sheets relevant to the selected material and constructed a log sheet for the post-production phase. During 2009 I spent most of my Saturdays at the SABC and found a large volume of material. Unfortunately not all the material was in a usable condition, and some had to be excluded from consideration for the final project.

Devon Valley at the ITN archive agreed to make material from that archive available for research purposes and, as with the SABC agreement, stipulated that should clips be used for commercial exploitation the usual stock footage rates would apply.

At this point, it seems appropriate to mention the financial difficulties I experienced in researching, producing, directing and editing this project. The lack of funding made it

necessary to negotiate access to the material for research purposes, which was not always possible.

A second batch of archive material from the Independent Television News (ITN) archive in London depleted my research account when I had to pay nearly R 10 000 for access to the material. In this case the clips were provided without burnt-in time code running on the images, a practice which prevents filmmakers from using material without proper clearance, licensing and payment.

The BBC does not make material available for research purposes and even accessing a twenty-second-long clip from 1957, labelled as "Intellectual Property held by the University of the Witwatersrand", required a payment of £150.

Although Heather Regenass, then head of the Wits Development and Fundraising Office, and her team assisted with proposal writing and leads to potential funders for the project, the exercise became very time-consuming and did not in the end yield any results. Support did come from Professor Rob Moore, Wits Deputy Vice-Chancellor for Development and Fundraising, Peter Maher from the Wits Alumni Office and Ferna Clarkson, director of Wits Marketing. I also received a grant of R25 000 from the Faculty of Humanities Research Committee and R36 000 from the Mellon Academic Mentorship Project under the auspices of Susan van Zyl.

The archive material covering events at Wits and other relevant institutions came from many different sources and in many different formats ranging from super 8mm film, one-inch videotapes, U-matic tapes, VHS videotapes, Betacam SP tapes, DV Cam tapes, mini DVD tapes to digital material on DVD disks. The formats relate to the era during which the material was recorded or to how archives are preserving their collections. The process required to digitise the material to a suitable format for the post-production process proved to

be costly and time consuming and the large volume of material collected for this project made the design, construction and completion of the documentary film a mammoth task.

Most of the interviews were recorded using a high definition camera on tape using the same HD format. Earlier interviews with Helen Suzman, George Bizos, Phillip Tobias, Krishna Somers, Tony Leon and Essop Pahad, recorded for earlier documentary films on Wits and on the Cradle of Humankind, were taped in the older standard definition mode.

An index of the archive material and the recorded interviews is added as an addendum to the thesis.

The Interviews

With reference to the film *Forest Gump* Vivian Sobchack argues that massive historical events hinge on the "nodal coalescence" brought about by the "complexity of diverse individual trajectories". For her the underlying philosophy of the film supports the notion that "History" is a construction of a series of events and the concretisation not of "rationality or system" but of "incoherent motives and chance convergences" (Sobchack, 1996, p.2). The process of collecting available archival materials accords with Shobchack's observation that a historical event is a meeting point of different trajectories whose arcs and points of intersection are to a large degree determined by random occurrences and coincidence. The process of tracking down known names and contact details of possible participants, setting up and recording interviews confirms her views on the contribution of chance to events that may, in retrospect, appear predetermined.

As pointed out before, it would be erroneous to assume homogeneity in attitude regarding protest action in the Wits polity. On several occasions, such as the protest action in 1957, the response to F.W. de Klerk's proposed Quota Bill in 1987 and after the assassination of Dr David Webster in 1989, the university community acted in what seemed like unison. This

was not always the case, however. Often members of the student community, with its numerous internal political divisions, acted on their own. Within the teaching staff, too, many divisions existed and not all academics supported the students in their political endeavours. However, many academics did support the students, not only by joining protest actions, but also by introducing course content relevant to the realities of the continent, and material that would introduce the students to ideological approaches which were very different from the accepted norms of the time (and not banned by the apartheid government). Hogan remembers academics such as Eddie Webster, Michael Nupen, Philip Bonner and David Webster who were "really extremely good lecturers, and who were also political activists". She characterises this period as one where the students "weren't just being primitive Marxists, we were really dealing with real issues of political science and how it affected South Africa, and economics, the political economy of South Africa. And, you know, it was like a rush of the blood to the head and the brain. We were really engaged" (Addendum A). And so over the years many members of staff did participate in student politics on campus, and many contributed in different ways to resisting the regime.

It was from these and other groups that I drew the list of potential interviewees and initiated the tracking process. Although I cast a fairly wide net, it would have been impossible to interview all or even a significant number of the acknowledged role players from the communities described above. Factors such as population size, accessibility, time and financial constraints also had an impact on the selection of participants. Shear's book and discussions with colleagues at the university assisted in the construction of an initial list of respondents, which grew as a snowball effect brought more potential participants to the fore. With the assistance of an intern, Janet King, the production manager Ian Walters at Film and Television and the Wits Alumni staff and their databank the team found contact details for a large number of individuals on the list. Google searches on the Internet also assisted in

tracking down potential participants. Not surprisingly, it turned out that some alumni had passed away or left the country.

Various factors that have had an influence on the availability or accessibility of participants therefore determined the research archive I have been able to compile. The potential universe for selection is vast and could never be complete or even remotely as representative as the researcher would prefer.

An immediate problem was that potential interviewees are scattered globally for reasons such as the political situation in South Africa then and now and the internationally accredited qualifications offered at Wits, which have enabled many staff and alumni to find employment overseas. In addition many potential interviewees now live across South Africa in places where they work or have retired to. Financial restrictions had a strong impact on the potential population of contributors and the geographical reach of the sample. There are a few exceptions such as John Dugard who visited South Africa during 2009, Krishna Somers who attended the Medical School Reunion in 2005 and an interview with Paul van Zyl recorded on my behalf in New York in 2012 by a cinematographer who couriered the external hard drive to Johannesburg. According to Van Zyl the reason why he knew how to lead his staff to safety after the 9/11 attacks on the Twin Towers in New York was a direct result of his experiences as a student activist at Wits University. His instructions included the command to tear off both shirtsleeves, wet them with water and use them as bandanas as they held hands to leave the building, which was situated very close to the collapsing buildings. This was a strategy which often assisted Wits students in evading the teargas used by the police to scatter protesters in Johannesburg. Although Van Zyl comes across as a highly eloquent, passionate and pithy speaker, the interview conducted unfortunately did not conform to the style and ethos that characterised the locally recorded interviews. (Addendum A)

In addition to the financial and geographical barriers, the availability of potential participants determined successful inclusion. Although most of the potential interviewees who were traced lived within reach of locations where interviews could be conducted, some important figures declined to participate or were difficult to negotiate with. These include Charles van Onselen, Russell Crystal, Steven Friedman, Raymond Suttner and the late Frederick van Zyl Slabbert. Other potential interviewees such as Firoz Cachalia and James Maseko never responded to requests to participate. Subsequent to the recording period Cachalia joined Wits as an academic and has shown interest in the project, and it was only at the first screening of the film in June 2012 that Chris Ncgobo agreed to be interviewed at a station I set up for attendees who still wanted to add their voices to the archive.

Finding members of the police force from that time who were willing to be interviewed on camera proved to be extremely difficult. It was only much later when Professor Shear put me in touch with Dave Bruce, a retired policeman who now lives in Fish Hoek, that I managed to crack the protective shell that seems to envelop retired police officers. Director Happy Schutte, who still works as a member of the police service, agreed to an informal interview where he spoke with great openness, but ignored all subsequent attempts to set up and record an in-depth interview.

Documentary filmmaker Trinh T. Minh-ha said that when silences are left in the archive, the spaces will be taken and filled by the testimony of others: “You who understand the dehumanization of forced-removal-relocation-reeducation-redefinition, the humiliation of having to falsify your own reality, your voice – you know. And often cannot say it. You try and keep on trying to unsay it, for you know if you don’t they will not fail to fill in the blanks on your behalf, and you will be said” (Minh-ha, Trinh T., 1988). Both Sobchack’s and Minh-ha’s research provide important pointers to understanding the “nodal coalescence” or conjoining of what is available and what is not, and how who is available and accessible

often ends up testifying for those who are not and who, as a result "will be said" by others (Sobchack, 1996, p.2; Minh-ha, Trinh T., 1988)

Despite my experience as a professional filmmaker, producing a documentary film as the creative component of my doctoral research presented new and very different challenges. The documentary filmmaking process has been subject to contestation ever since its inception and as such the production process is often fraught with ethical and other issues. One of these is the generically inherent unpredictability that demands on-the-spur-of-the-moment decisions regarding new developments and directions. Although more and more South African documentary filmmakers source independent funding for their work, many still rely on commissions from the free-to-air and pay station broadcasters. The commissioned documentary film's inception is to a large degree engineered by the ethos of the broadcaster and the audience the station serves. As the broadcaster usually funds the entire production, the organisation assumes all intellectual property and copyright regarding all recorded material as well as the final product and the right to final cut. The commissioning editor provides guidelines and has the final say in editorial matters. In this way the process is very prescriptive and driven by a defined and finite agenda. The process still contains many pitfalls, but is ultimately contained by the mission and vision of the executive producer whose position depends on the success, known as the audience rating or AR factor, of the programmes he or she screens for the target audience.

It is important to note that the South African Broadcasting Corporation or the SABC, South Africa's national broadcaster, has always been symbiotically linked to the government in power at the time. As a result of this, the ideologies of the ruling party have had a large impact on the content presented to viewers across the different channels. Lucia Saks (2010, p.55-56) observes that as the state broadcaster the SABC should

> [f]eel able to be more adventurous and less prosaic than the private broadcasters of which there are two: e.tv, a free-to-air broadcaster which anyone can access without paying for a subscription, and M-Net, an encrypted channel for subscribers which has a daily, free "open window", [… but] [w] hen it comes to moving outside of the institutionalised cultural forms, the SABC is as timid and as concerned with the bottom-line as the commercial broadcasters.

Most content is not designed to explore new ways, experiment or change the parameters for visual storytelling techniques by moving towards more daring conceptual content or filmmaking techniques.

The parameters shift with the more experimental and more research-oriented approach that is assumed when producing a documentary film as the creative component of doctoral studies. Firstly, the output has to conform to the ultimate challenge of doctoral studies, which Mouton defines as "not only should it be the end product of independent scholarship of a high quality, but it should also make a significant contribution to the existing body of knowledge in a particular discipline or field" (2008, p.xi). However, the requirements for the completion of a creative PhD include that the creative work supporting the thesis has to be exhibited in the public domain: a factor that does imply the need for some conformity to the expectations of the intended audience. During the production process I therefore always had to consider the dialectical demands of constructing an informative and entertaining film while, at the same time, not betraying the ethos of an academic research project. Running concurrent with this dilemma is the issue of funding for the project. The lack of funding limited the search for archive material, the acquisition of the stock footage and the number and selection of participants who could be interviewed. On the other hand, the nature of the project allowed the kind of freedom that is unlikely to have been available in the case of a commissioned project.

The process of recording interviews also presented interesting and challenging considerations. When interviewing participants for commercially funded projects, it is often deemed more acceptable to preen the testimonies according to the demands of cinematic conventions applying to successful documentary storytelling, a technique that I considered to be totally inappropriate in a research context.

Many of the interviews were of a sensitive nature as the emotional reverberations of reliving their experiences often still had a profound impact on the participants, creating situations which had be handled with the utmost sensitivity and prohibited any interferences which could be read negatively.

Fortunately, more recent ways of looking at the documentary interview process have contributed to a degree of demystification of the intervention. Ellis' proposition for a different epistemological approach to documentary filmmaking impacts on the methodology of both approach and practice when instead of the film being seen as capturing reality, it *constructs* reality through a series of "frames" or devices of selection and processes of interaction (see chapter two).

These approaches alert the practitioner to many hidden agendas and pitfalls inherent to the process, as all human interaction is framed by situational factors. The recording of the interviews can be regarded as one such instance of framing, where a series of "brackets" delimits the events required for setting up the interview, the recording of the interview and the subsequent relational expectations of both the "filmer" and the interviewee (Ellis, 2012, pp.45-63).

Keeping the above in mind I now propose to retrace the interview process which followed, for what I call "voicing the archive", or undoing what Guha (2002, p.22) describes as "the

noise of world history and its statist concerns [which] has made historiography insensitive to the sighs and whispers of everyday life".

Cognisant of the relationships which have an impact on the interviewing process and especially the formal bracketing process that places the director in a powerful position in relation to the interviewees as "a potentially infinite cycle of concealment, discovery, false revelation, and rediscovery" (Goffman, 1959, p.8), the invitation to potential interviewees was drawn up taking care to include as much information as was available at the time. This included details of the research aspect and the possibility that the recorded interviews would be used for a documentary film, the creative component of the study. The researcher also took time to explain the extent and outcomes of the project in great detail at the start of each interview, in accordance with what Felluga extracts from the circumstance that "the distinction between the personal and the political or between private and public is itself a fiction designed to support an oppressive status quo: our most personal acts are, in fact, continually being scripted by hegemonic social conventions and ideologies"(Felluga, 2011).

The purpose of my approach was to produce a film "with" rather than "about" human subjects and in this way conduct a conversation between filmmaker and subject rather than impose an omniscient directorial voice (MacDougall, 1998, p.75). For MacDougall the documentary project should construct a model based on heterogeneity, plurality and polyvocality, constantly moving from one set of evidentiary [or interpretive] groups to other registers and kinds of evidence (MacDougall, 1998, p.141; Zimmermann, 2008, p.295).

For Ellis the conscious elaboration of the frames and brackets inherent in the interview process, as well as the impact of advanced digital technology, which allows for a smaller crew and a less formal set-up for interviews, help ensure that these encounters include a higher form of "collaboration". The process still implies the issues of hospitality such as

putting participants at ease and maintaining a respectful level of engagement as well as accepted rules of conversation but now presents enhanced opportunities for further dimension[s] of "sustained involvement in a collaborative endeavour" (Ellis, 2012, p.63).

In accordance with the standard practice for documentary filmmaking, the participants signed a release form that confirmed their willingness to participate in the interview and to have the material be used for a documentary film. The recordings started after the Wits Humanities Ethics Committee had formally approved the interviews and the interview process.

In addition to aspects of framing and bracketing the interview set-up also presents "a specific interplay of codes" (Nichols, 1981, p.174). Faced by time constraints and also for directorial reasons (the testimonies were to focus on the participants' experiences and not on locating characters in his or her own world as in the case of non-fiction filmmaking), I chose to record the interviews in Studio One at the Film and Television division at the Wits School of Arts where I have worked for many years as a producer and director and where I now lecture as a senior academic. Although most conversational interviews occurred at a location that the interviewees would regard as "home ground", the experience would nevertheless invoke "all the framing of the host/guest relationship" (Ellis, 2012, p.54). I also took the view that inviting participants back to their alma mater to recount their experiences of being at Wits at a specific time might enhance the experience in a different way. In terms of the selected *mise-en-scène* I decided to place all the interviewees against a black backdrop and not to use any fancy camera movements, to support my decision to focus the attention on and enhance the testimony of the participants. The interviews took place over a period of approximately one year. It wasn't always possible to use the same cinematographer, sound recordist and the bigger of the two studios, with the result that the technical quality of the recordings differ somewhat.

As some of the interviews were recorded in Cape Town and some were drawn from older projects, there is a variance in the *mise-en-scène*. Fortuitously most of the interviews recorded outside the studios seemed to fit into the same segments of the film and therefore the discontinuity became less noticeable. The archive footage also assisted in blending the interviews into an apparently seamless cinematic narrative.

Important codes or cinematic conventions guide the preferred eye-line of the interviewee in relation to the placing of camera and how the audience will experience the directed gaze of the participant. Nichols (1981) uses the example of the Walter Cronkite Show to demonstrate the accepted eye-lines used by a television anchor. He mentions the following: Cronkite looking directly into the camera at the audience whose "position" would coincide perfectly with the eye of the camera (0 Degrees) and create the illusion that he is looking at each individual watching the show; Cronkite lowering his eyes slightly to signal the onset of a previously recorded insert; and when the camera is positioned for the last shot of the programme, showing the anchor in a wider shot in profile (90 Degrees). The setup signals the conclusion of the "diegetic reference point" which assured viewers of the veracity of events by addressing them directly. In contrast to these practices, the eye-line convention for a participant in an interview situation prescribes an angle smaller than thirty degrees. The angle should never be zero degrees as in the case of an anchor or programme host (1981, pp.177 - 178).

These conventions most probably arose from the practices embedded in what has become known as Classical Hollywood Cinema, in which cinematic style serves to explain and not obscure the narrative (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson, 1985, p.1). The filmmaking techniques are designed to present the narrative in a seamless manner, which allows for the "suspension of disbelief" and the creation of verisimilitude: the illusion of reality. These techniques enable the viewer to embrace the story world as "real" (Hayward, 2009, p.82). I

would like to suggest that non-fiction filmmaking has embraced and adapted these conventions. When the interviewees look at the camera or address the camera, the illusion of reality as a film-going experience is disrupted and impacts on what the filmmaker presents as social and/ or historical reality (Ellis, 2012).

Considering the conventions as set out above and in accordance with my decision to adapt a conversational interview mode, the choice of eye-line direction in relation to the camera axis for the interviewer / interviewee set-up I chose, fell between the 90 degree and the 0 degree angle. The "$0 < x < 30$" degree angle allowed for a more intimate sharing of memories without implying a direct connection with the audience or a side view, the more neutral line-up which would signal detachment from the audience.

Another important consideration is the vertical height of the camera in relation to the eye level of the interviewee. Low angle shots can make the characters seem larger than life, threatening and in control of the situation choreographed for the shot. High angle shots make the characters look smaller, less powerful and not in control of the situation. Eye-level shots are regarded as more neutral and as having little dramatic connoted value. Giannetti writes that "almost all directors use eye-level shots, especially in routine exposition scenes". He argues that "both formalist and realist filmmakers know that the viewer tends to identify with the camera's lens" and that decisions regarding the position and the height of the camera contribute greatly to the viewing experience (Giannetti, 2005, pp.4-17). As I set out to record the interviews as impartially as possible I chose the most neutral camera set-up for the recordings even if the *mise-en-scène* – the choice of working in a studio with artificial lighting – was in opposition to the 'impartiality' of the camera angle and position.

Basu (2008) makes a distinction between journalistic and conversational interviews. He contends that the journalistic interview has a directed nature, as the underlying requirement

usually is to extract “sound bites” for inclusion in reportages or for more information-driven documentaries to reframe the ethnographical documentary. This is in contrast to the practice of conversational interviews where the participants are able “to tell their stories and voice their hopes, hopes, and fears” as a result of extensive fieldwork (Nash cited in Basu, 2008, p.105). Although it wasn’t possible to do extensive fieldwork in preparation for the interviews we recorded at Wits and in Cape Town, I wanted to create a conversational atmosphere in the studio and therefore structured the questions in an open-ended way to allow exploratory possibilities for both the filmmaker and the interviewee.

Prior research played an integral role in drawing up the questions for each participant, as the circumstances for many interviewees were very different. Participants contributed in different ways. The nature of the questions also had to take into account specific areas of interest for the researcher, as well as the anticipated position of the interview in the expanded archive and the construction of the documentary film. I drafted various sets of questions and left many of them open-ended to allow for un expected and unforeseen responses. I had to listen with extreme care to the interviewees’ responses as they often steered the conversation in a very different or unexpected direction, adding valuable information, experience and insight to the conversation.

The list of questions included a request for identification on camera, a short overview of the interviewee’s lived experiences, how the individual gained his or her political consciousness, the impact of arrival at Wits, political activities and participation in anti-apartheid protests (relevant to the individual’s tenure at the institution) and questions about the impact of the experience on the person’s later life as well as questions directed at specific experiences related to the research topic.

In *Envelopes of Sound, The Art of Oral History* (1991) Grele offers valuable insights on how to structure questions, approach interviewees, and interpret and understand the recorded interviews and transcriptions. He also reflects on how easy it is to misunderstand the

information at hand. Issues such as the possibility that interviewees tell you what they want you to know, the importance of interviewing in the language of the tradition, the profound effect that the interviewer has on the interviewee and the researcher becoming a participant in the unfolding narrative, become important considerations in the construction and interpretation of interviews.

Grele takes the position that the recording of oral histories or accounts has become an important tool in the democratisation of history. The thought that the ideas and relationships that developed during the interviews bear a strong influence on the recordings, and most importantly Terkel, who is interviewing Grele, puts forward the idea that the discussions would most probably draw out more than what the participants were originally prepared to share, alert the researcher to the need for an even more sensitive awareness and responsiveness when conducting an interview in which histories from below are recorded (Terkel in Grele, 1991). The final product of such procedures is described by Nichols as a documentary film "of social representation", a multi-media text that would give "tangible representation to aspects of the world we already inhabit and share" (Nichols, 2002, p.1, p.13).

According to Bhekizizwe Petersen, one of the underlying aims of constructing an archive is "to order the past as inheritance" (Petersen, 2002, p.29). The collected materials, including the voices of the interviewees, would become assimilated into the dominant culture and the participants should see a progressive pattern that leads to something, a future that could be better than the past. In this way, as the participants become involved in structuring this pattern, the accounts shift to accommodate new insights. Vansina confirms this view when he writes that something changes every time that you interview a participant and he encourages the interviewer to reflect on how the process affects meaning in that person's life (Vansina, 1985,).

After conducting the interviews and completing the selections, I found that my experience was similar to that described by Grele in his chapter "Listen to their Voices": "What we see created here is a mythical past out of which historical processes emerge, but a very special kind of myth, which functions in very particular ways to give a dynamic to the tale, and leads inevitably to certain very real conclusions about the nature of the world today..."(1985, 220). Grele describes the process in the foreword as "a method which allows people to formulate their own meanings of their past experiences in a structured manner [...] It is a method of developing historical consciousness" (Grele, 1985, p.xvi)[40].

> The value of recording interviews most definitely lies in the development of an awareness of the past, but such interviews also are a necessary mechanism for collecting memories which will carry the past into the future, as succinctly expressed by Dugard as he concluded his interview: "I think that we are a dying breed of people with memories of this kind" (Addendum A).

I now discuss the actual interview situation from when the participant arrived on location, signed the release form and was invited to take a seat in the appropriate position.

Ellis describes the less formal activities in preparation for the recording as the first bracket: final technical and directorial tweaking for the actual interview. This is when the director of photography adjusts the lights for each individual, the sound recordist places the appropriate microphone in situ and checks the sound, and the director spends time trying to put the interviewee at ease by making small talk and by responding to questions with regards to the actual interview (Ellis, 2012, p.55). The researcher also includes gentle instructions such as "Please do not look at the camera, ignore the

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[40] See Louw, E., 2006. *Voice, Text, Film: Producing Multimedia Texts in South Africa – A Case Study of The Medicine Bag*: MA (Dramatic Art). University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

crew (who never interferes during a recording except in extreme cases when the tapes run out and have to be replaced or when noise hinders the recording of an acceptable sound track), and answer all the questions in full sentences as the questions will not be included in the final project". The interviewees are offered something to drink as well as assurances about the low cost of tape stock and the possibility to stop the recording and start again, should the need arise.

It is crucial for the interviewer to create a relaxed atmosphere especially if the desired outcome is a conversational interview. What I have learnt as an interviewer is to show genuine interest in the testimony of the respondent and not only to steer the interview, but also to validate and appreciate what is on offer. As the interviewer preferably should never interject or offer audible encouragement, he or she uses exaggerated gestures and nodding to maintain the interactive conversation without spoiling the soundtrack. To achieve the above, experienced interviewers and their crews create a "cocoon" in which the interview plays out with a minimum of outside interference. Once the recording devices are switched on the interviewer starts with one or two neutral questions, designed to put the interviewee at ease and for the technical crew to double check recording levels and the framing of the shot.

During my experiences as a filmmaker conducting interviews on camera I have encountered many different and often unexpected responses. Individual behaviour does change under these circumstances. The framing and bracketing of the interview situation can unnerve a really confident person or can, on the other hand, give a more introverted person the confidence to recount his or her experiences in a coherent, succinct and strong voice. The experienced interviewer knows how to reassure and support interviewees and how to allow for silences as participants often offer more intimate testimonies when "nothing happens". The last question is usually open ended and allows the interviewee, who may have remembered an incident or information which wasn't covered in the other questions, an opportunity to share the new information. The interviewer is a powerful presence that guides the discussion through discovery, trust and respect in order to encourage the participants

to tell their stories without fear of exploitation.

For some of the participants in this project the interviews became very emotional and a few interrupted the recordings when they could not fight back the tears, but did not want to cry on camera. This for understandable reasons happened in situations where they were confronted by very personal memories. Orkin met Steve Biko at a Nusas seminar at Mariannhill and his murder had a profound effect on him.

> ORKIN […] But there was another noteworthy thing which in retrospect of course was big in my political development was that among the participants was a very bright-eyed black um…(silence).
>
> LOUW: Do you want to stop Doctor Orkin?
>
> ORKIN: (Nods) (Addendum A)

Darryl Glaser (Addendum A) speaks about how this was the very first opportunity "I've had to relive this in any sort of structured way". He was lecturing in Glasgow at the time of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and although he realised that his experiences were probably not severe enough to apply for a hearing, he did feel a need to speak about his student activism:

> I could have maybe talked about how the security police tried to psychologically traumatise me, but you know it didn't seem that that was a justified use of their time and expense from my distance in Glasgow where I was lecturing. So I haven't had any sort of vaguely structured opportunity to talk about it. So it feels quite poetically right and correct that I should be at a studio at Wits University getting a chance to talk about that. […] They don't ask questions. They don't have time in their day. Some people, I think, are natural listeners, and I didn't encounter too many of those. So it feels quite, I quite enjoy the fact that I'm given the opportunity to talk about it (Addendum A).

Glaser also mentioned that he became nervous at certain points during the interview, which included

thinking "gosh, should I be talking about this to a psychologist, rather than just to a filmmaker I was only introduced to half an hour ago or so" (Addendum A). Although he managed to conceal his discomfort admirably, some of the other participants could not and it became obvious that, at times, the role of the researcher / producer / director / interviewer had to shift to include that of sympathetic listener and "psychologist".

During her interview Nettleton, now a professor at Wits, recounted how she struggles to come to terms with the outcome of TRC hearings which involved ex-Nusas member and police spy Craig Williamson. Williamson sent the parcel bomb to the Schoon family while they were living in exile in Botswana. Jeanette, one of Anitra's best friends, and her daughter Katrien died in the explosion. Nettleton recalled the hearings and voiced her feelings as:

> Williamson admitted to doing this at the TRC and expressed regret. And he used to play tennis with us on Sunday mornings. He always said that it hadn't been intended for her, it had been intended for her husband, but how, phew, how does that excuse murder. Jeanette she was my really good friend and, ja [yes], it's horrible (Addendum A).

For Naik, Wits alumnus and now honorary adjunct professor in the School of Computational and Applied Mathematics, the interview provided an opportunity to talk about his experiences and his participation at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission where he finally managed to clear his name, as security police labelled him as a police spy in his community and many were taken in by these planted accusations:

> A lot of people then knew that it was a lie. They knew who the person was that had given up Timol. But you know, you didn't feel comfortable. So at the TRC I actually told my story. […] But the TRC was the sort of, as I say, the sort of light at the end of the tunnel (Addendum A).

Each of the forty-one interviews lasted for between two and three and a half hours and as each session proved to be intense, draining and exhausting, I only managed two or, at a maximum, three interviews in one day.

The interviews for my research project enabled the participants to share their stories and gave recognition to the role they played in the various capacities in which they functioned during the apartheid years. The collection of testimonies attests to the richness, complexity and variety of lived experiences of the participants, which now have been recorded and archived for use by future researchers. For obvious reasons only a small portion of the collected materials could be included in the creative project which came into being after the collection of the relevant material; an aspect which will be dealt with in detail in chapter seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN - *SHOOTING SARDINES IN A BARREL:* COMPLETING AND FINISHING THE FILM

> *Film or video, analogue or digital, the post-production process is still one of turning events into texts* (John Ellis, 2012, p.44).

> *Any given set of real events can be emplotted in a number of ways, can bear the weight of being told as any number of different kinds of stories. Since no given set or sequence of real events is intrinsically tragic, comic, farcical, and so on, but can be constructed as such only by the imposition of the structure of a given story type on the events, it is the choice of the story type and its imposition upon the events that endow them with meaning* (Hayden White, 1987, p.44).

Shooting Sardines in a Barrel

Before interrogating the post-production procedures that gave shape to the creative component of my research, I wish to comment briefly on the decisions leading to the choice of a title. At first, the film was called *Voicing the Archive: Documentary Filmmaking and the Political Archive in South Africa*, which also is the general title for the PhD research project. Once the post-production process started and I spent time transcribing and analysing the interviews, I came across a quote from the Freedom Charter as adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown on 26 June 1955, which at the time represented the ethos of the anti-apartheid protests. I then chose as a working title an adaptation used by Barbara Hogan – "So this country belongs to all of us, not just one of us" – from the original sentence "that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people" (African National Congress, 1955).

Much later, during the editing process, the final title for my documentary film "jumped out" and presented itself to me. In his interview Orkin described the action that the apartheid state took against the students as:

> … John Vorster's obsession with smashing student protest I said "was a bit like shooting sardines in a barrel" (Addendum A).

I approached Orkin for permission to use his quote. He agreed and the title became *Shooting Sardines in a Barrel.*

Shooting fish in a barrel is a well-known idiomatic expression for a task that is easy and does not present a challenge (MacMillan, 2013, n. p.). I selected the title after completing the interview process and reading all the transcribed testimonies. I was struck by the vulnerability of students whose experiences of protesting against the apartheid government ranged from being under the protection of the university as demonstrated during the 1957 march (Tobias,

Addendum A), to students realising that, as the children of the white ruling class, they were never in real danger, (Bernstein, Addendum A); to elation, at first, at being incarcerated (Orkin, Addendum A); to losing friends killed by SA Defence Force forays into neighbouring countries (Nettleton, Addendum A); to experiences in solitary confinement (Hunter, Addendum A).

Students were also often in physical danger. Nettleton (Addendum A) recalls how she got up from her seat in front of the window where she had been working to get a cup of coffee from the kitchen and "as I walked out of the door, I heard this window pane breaking. And it had been a brick that had been thrown from the road, into the window. Now this was a common occurrence but it was really scary to have been sitting in this place five minutes, well two seconds, literally before this brick came through the window, I mean I would have been in the line of fire".

The Post-Production Process: Organising the Material

In the following sections I offer critical reflections on the post-production process, which includes the editing, sound editing and mastering of the documentary film that was completed during 2012. I also offer a critical self-reflection on the processes of selection and organisation that have guided the making of the documentary film. The chapter includes an account of how members of the audience experienced seeing the film at a screening in the Great Hall at Wits in June 2012.

To avoid potential copyright issues and enable easy access to the large archive assembled for this project, the editing process started with the construction of log books or files in which shots, sequences, photographs and interviews were indexed using systems which are compatible with contemporary digital filmmaking processes.

According to Rosenthal (2002, pp.201-202) it is advisable for the editor and her assistant or assistants to prepare five to six different logs or indexes, the shape of which would depend on the generic nature, the scope and preliminary ideas regarding the structure of the project. Typical logs would include the recording script (in the case of a film which can be planned structurally before the recording happens), an editing script (if there are major changes during the shooting process), a log of the rushes (the interviews for *Shooting Sardines in a Barrel*), various logs to index the archive material as illustrated in the table on the following page) and any other information which may be relevant to the film and the editing process.

Although this work is time consuming, the systematic ordering of material becomes the foundation for the editing process. As I had to work on my own for most of the time, these tasks fell to me. However, as the director this enabled me to thoroughly familiarise myself with the material. The section of a log included below refers to a news reportage prepared by Peter Sharp for ITN in June 198; a presentation which included scenes of police brutality aimed at protesting students that I referred to in chapter five, material that Shear obtained from the producer and screened at the Executive Committee of the Council where Michael O'Dowd retorted "it served them right" (Shear 1996, p.127; Addendum A).

The first column of the table contains information about the source (ITN News), the producer (Peter Sharp), date of production (June 1986) or transmission and the nature of the material (VHS cassette, colour recordings with an accompanying soundtrack). The second column gives a brief description of the images used by the producer and the third a transcription of the various sound elements used for the soundtrack. The last column gives corresponding time codes for easy tracking.

Source	Images	*Sound track*	Time Codes
June 1986 ITN News Peter Sharp VHS Colour, Sound	Campus visuals	*Up sound* *This is South Africa …* *Narration or voice-over*[41] *Over the last week the university campus has become a centre of protest as the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising draws near.*	02:28:22:24 02.28.35.11
1986 ITN News Peter Sharp Colour, Sound	Students with banner on the street We demand our right to protest peacefully Students and police	*And it was the arrest of a student leader yesterday that prompted this morning's march on the local police station.* *"Vat daai kameraman ok".* *All in all there were more than thirty arrests before the demonstration ended with a sit down protest against the presence of police on the campus.*	*02.28.41.19*
1986 ITN News Peter Sharp Colour, Sound	Police charge and savage beating of students by police Girl with blood and police Large crowd of students streaming down under Oppenheimer Life Sciences Police with batons and dogs Police with dog and whip	*And the police were unhesitating in their response with little regard for who was watching.* *This display of crowd control by the police provoked an immediate response* *More than a thousand students were on the march determined now to confront the police* *Battle lines, all too familiar in the black townships now drawn up inside the university campus.*	02:29:04.00 02.29.07.10 02.29.14.14 02.29.21.24

[41]Rosenthal (2002, p.39) mentions the three main ways in which voices are used in documentary films as formal narration (commentary written and recorded to accompany images), direct dialogue (on camera interviews) and voice-over (using dialogue over other images). I add *up sound* which is the term used when sound from a recorded clip (not an interview) is included, not as ambience but as a segment of the voices track as indicated in the above table in the comment of the protesting student who screams "This is South Africa! as well as the policeman's instruction to "Vat daai kameraman ook" [Take the camera man too)].

Another essential step in the process of ordering the material involved the transcription of all the recorded interviews. Transcribing the material is a particularly slow and cumbersome process, which requires sustained focus and some knowledge of the historical period, the relevant individuals and events. I employed alumni from the Division of Film and Television, which proved successful in instances and frustrating in others.

Some of the transcribers went to great lengths to work accurately, to research unknown phrases and difficult names and to highlight really untraceable ones and indicate important emotional moments. Others did not, as illustrated in the section below; Tobias (Addendum A) was very moved as he recalled the 1957 march and took time to re-compose himself, which is not indicated in the transcription:

> TOBIAS
>
> There assembled on the steps of the city hall, we were addressed by the senior representative of the senate, who was Prof. I.D. McCrone, afterwards, ah the vice-chancellor and ah he gave a wonderful address urging us to fight against the sacrifice of our academic freedom to make a Roman holiday for the Apostles of Apartheid, or words to that effect.
>
> 10:38:12:14
>
> And then we marched back and broke up quietly.

The insertion of the time code does indicate the passage of time, which point to a technical impediment, a tape change or quiet moment in which the interviewee takes time to recompose him or her self. For different reasons, all these aspects are important.

Some of the others worked far more automatically, without even running spell checks after completing a transcription. As a result I often had to return to the recordings and my research to clarify sentences and situations like the one below.

> TOBIAS 10:25:37:11
>
> That performance of King Kong which was heard (? Dayboo?) , brought in money. It's proceeds were dedicated to the African medical scholarships and many other functions.[42]

On the recording Tobias does use the word debut as an indication that the opera premiered at Wits in the Great Hall on 2 February 1959[43].

Below is another example of careless work.

> TSELANE 05:00:36:05
>
> We're dealing with Marx and what Marx stands for, you know the ideology of Marxist because by that time, majority of us we were Marxist Leanerists[Leninist]. So we would divide ourselves into cells, the cells and prisons we had renamed them according to the countries that supported the liberation movement, so I was staying in a cell called Nikarakwa [Nicaragua]. (Addendum A)

To comply with digital logging requirements, the transcribers had to include time code references, which are initially generated on the recording tapes as a time reference to indicate the exact position of frame, image and sound in the recording continuum on source tapes.

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[42] The transcription has not been edited and was left as presented.

[43] It was possible to decode the Tobias testimony using the website blog at: http://soulsafari.wordpress.com/2009/08/10/king-kong- the-first-all-african-jazz-opera-1959 [Accessed 16 September 2012]

This is not visible on the images, but can be burnt onto the images of DVD copies for reference purposes. Below is an example of a transcription with time code references:

> LIEZA: 07:06:00:13
>
> Now if I read accounts of what happened on the 16th of June, the news came from the townships and the students started marching. Were you a part of that?
>
> HOFMEYR: 07:06:14:14
>
> Yes, I came, I can remember there were meetings in The Great Hall and then there would be, there were various marches, I can't quite remember the one from the other, but there were certainly marches into Braamfontein.

Without a transcription of each testimony, locating the relevant and poignant segments would be time consuming. The ability to read, label, and highlight sections from the printed copies allows the editor to select the relevant digitised sections and order them according to the timelines described below. Typing in the time codes allows the editor to locate a specific section of an interview almost instantaneously. Digital technology also enables a computer search, which immediately locates and lists all interviews according to a key word or words, such as Phillip Tobias, Sharpeville, Soweto, Great Hall, etc. The search function also underscores the need for fastidious transcriptions as misspelt words or names won't show up when you use the search index. This is a particularly useful tool for when the filmmaker trawls through the testimonies to ascertain that all the relevant material related to a particular topic has been considered for inclusion.

Editing implies moving beyond the supposed "objectivity" of visual images. This shift in the production process requires a theoretical exploration that accords with the researcher's own methodological approach.

Ellis (2012, p.69) sees the process of editing as "one of attributing meaning to events in hindsight: this is the art of storytelling from the real". Storytelling is at the core of our cultural consciousness and the documentary form "has absorbed this as much as any other cultural form". For Rosenthal (2002, p.203), in the construction of a documentary film, one of the essential building blocks would be a clear vision of the "story, the characters, their goals and their conflicts", a possible structure that would provide a road map for the final stages of the journey. The road map he refers to differs from a road map for a fiction script or blueprint where the intended actions and dialogue are embedded in the script; it is more of a mind map that draws from all aspects of prior research in preparation for the production phase. The road map for a documentary film inevitably changes between the research, planning and recording stages as this genre of filmmaking should never be prescriptive, but the final product should include all the necessary points of view to present a person or an issue not as propaganda, but as part of a discourse which provides enough information for the audience to engage with meaningfully.

Harper and Rayner also compare the filmmaker to an individual mapmaker with the [social] actors and the production team being a mountaineering team or ship's crew. The expedition can be likened to a shared pilgrimage in which the individual, or the group, or a culture, moves through a familiar or newly discovered landscape as both maps and films assume and position audiences ideologically as well as geographically in "an attempt to further human understanding" (2010, pp.15-16).

Mapping the content for a film implies the selection of the most suitable visual and aural material, a process that starts to blur the boundaries between the objective and subjective. Hamilton (2010, p.76-85), writing about photography as a dominant representational paradigm of illustrative reportage, distinguishes between documentary as objective representation or as subjective representation. He delineates documentary as "relating to

documents of some sort" and argues that in this context the image is usually referred to as "a sort of impersonal legal proof", an objective record, which he compares to an official form, a will or a letter which has "purely informational value" (2010, p.81). He adds that we are concerned with the idea that photography is generally viewed as an "objective representation of something factual" (p.81). He posits that photography gradually developed from focusing on representations of people and landscape, supplanting its earlier iconographical system, which was founded on the art of drawing, to new systems with different applications. These developments included an artistic or aesthetic approach, which focused on the expressive power of the photograph and the reflective representational approach, which "asserted that the photograph offered a "true image' of the world" (p.83). For Tagg (1988, pp.5-8) the dominance of the camera eye paradigm leads to photography becoming an integral part of the processes of industrialisation, of scientific development and of social control / surveillance. Hamilton contends that within this new paradigm, the photographic image acquires a "truth-value", is seen as inherently objective, producing visual facts or documents and investing the image with documentary objectivity.

Hamilton offers a second, and what he calls a richer and less clear-cut but more human definition of the documentary image. He lists examples such as a picture story in a magazine and a documentary film about a person's life and suggests that in these and other instances the "document's informational value is mediated through the perspective of the person making it, and it is presented as a mixture of emotion and information" (2010, p.83). This form of documentary works through the creation of images that have "the power to move the viewer" and "retain their attention through the presentation of a telling image" (2010, p.83). According to Hamilton this second definition points to a subjective interpretation, a mode which he situates between reflective and intentional representation (2010, p.83-84).

Ruby (2000, pp.139-140) writes that photographers taking ethnographically voyeuristic images for *National Geographic* now have to obtain permission from tribal lawyers and that this "signal[s] the demise of a naïve trust that, since the camera never lies, an image maker must therefore be telling the truth". More people recognise technologically produced images as constructions, as the "interpretative act of someone who has a culture, an ideology, who comes from a particular social-economical class, is identified with a gender, and often has a conscious point of view, all of which causes the image to convey a certain kind of knowledge in a particular way". Whether an image-maker means it or not, the images display her view of the world. Even if there is a human need for "an objective witness of reality, image-producing technologies will not provide it" (p.140).

The production and editing process of *Shooting Sardines in a Barrel* draws from both Ruby's argument and the two definitions of documentary filmmaking to construct a documentary narrative which adheres, firstly, to the significance of the objective qualities of the camera eye, and secondly and importantly, to the more subjective and interpretative approach. In reality, the filmmaker participates in all sub-genres or modes of documentary filmmaking as both definitions apply to creating and / or obtaining images and placing and structuring the material in a format by which the audience will retain their interest as they are emotionally moved by the experience of watching. What is important is to take cognisance of the specific modality of the documentary construction and the impact the mode has on the degree to which either or both of the Hamilton definitions are foregrounded. For *Shooting Sardines in a Barrel* the objectivity and veracity of information are of primary importance, as is the experience of the participants and the emotional impact on the audience desired by the director.

The above approaches also question the traditional divide between fiction and non-fiction in cinematic storytelling as discussed in chapter two where I referenced Nichols' notion of the

"blurring of boundaries". In terms of this fairly radical approach all films are documentaries and all films provide evidence of the cultures that produced them and reproduce the likeness of the people who perform in them. Nichols does acknowledge that the two genres tell stories in different ways and labels fiction films as "documentaries of wish-fulfilment" while characterising non-fiction films as "documentaries of social representation". He sees these distinctions not as "simply logical confusions, but the arena within which major political, or ideological contestation occurs" (2001, p.1-2).

Although it seems as if Nichols ignores the fundamental differences in the ontological claims made by fiction and non-fiction respectively, his approach does allow for documentary filmmaking to have a more translucent and honest operational methodology without abandoning the inherent moral and ethical expectations associated with non-fiction filmmaking. Being confronted by a large archive and working with various themes made it difficult if not impossible to predict and plan an accurate and focused narrative or road map for the film before the start of the editing process. In this case the editing script became a part of the editing process.

According to Ellis, once the director proceeds from the filming to the editing role a distinct shift in his or her focus takes place: from that of observer (watching the evidence unfold and being recorded) to that of witness (viewing the material) and to expanding or contracting the recorded events. Her point of view changes from observation to that of witnessing, just as that of the eventual viewer will do. The director now views the material "to hear, see and feel what lies in the footage and so to forget (or to put aside) what happened during the shoot" and focuses on, or imagines how, the eventual audience might experience the watching of the film when presented in the selected, generically-specific narrative structure (2012, p.78).

The size of the archive that I collected for the project and the fact that the research was done on a part-time basis played a decisive role in the post-production process. I could not employ a full-time editor, as I could not work full-time on the project. Except when circumstances prevent the director from continued involvement, or in cases where the director prefers to surrender the editorial decision-making to an editor, the editing process requires the director to inform the editor on a shot by shot basis how to construct the film. By implication the director therefore has to work through all the material before the process can begin. For this process of engaging with the material, various theorists have proposed different framing models.

Roulston (2012, pp.149-171) presents various qualitative approaches to the analysis and representation of interview data, including thematic analysis, grounded theory, narrative analysis, ethno-methodological analysis, conversation analysis, and phenomenological and ethnographic analysis. The thematic and ethnographical approaches are most applicable to my methodology for making meaning of the recorded interviews, produced by a mostly transient yet continuous "imagined community" of students and staff members at Wits. I have found aspects of these strategies informative and useful as guidelines for the methodological framework within which I proceeded with a qualitative interrogation of the amassed interviews, and, to a much smaller degree, elements from the stock footage collection.

Roulston (2012, p.154) writes that a thematic analysis is probably most often used for interview breakdowns and interpretation. The outcomes range from "description to various levels of theory generation" for the emergent topics. Wolcott (1994, p.12) lists these levels, present to various degrees, as that of description, analysis and interpretation. He frames the investigation by posing the question "What is going on here"? This is reminiscent of both Grimshaw's (2001, p.120) and Ellis's (Ellis, 2012, p.45) work as discussed in chapter two. Both view the approach to obtaining information and manipulating the material as posing a

similar question, “What is it that’s going on here?” rather than being challenged by notions of veracity, of “showing the “facts” in an “accurate” manner” (Ellis, 2012, p.45). For Wolcott (1994, p.12) analysis focuses on identifying the “essential features and the systematic description of interrelationships” and the interpretation involves aspects of meanings and contexts. Thematic analysis proved invaluable to me as an initial demarcation and labelling of similarities and differences, relevant and peripheral content, and enabled the indexing and cross-referencing of the more than forty interviews and the archive material.

Ethnographic analysis, the second approach from the Roulston index that I found useful, aims to “make sense of particular cultures, including the language or “folk terms” that members of the culture routinely use, and to generate findings that will provide descriptions, analyses, and interpretations of how members experience and understand their world” (Roulston, 2012, p.158). For Spradley (1979, 1980) an adequate ethnography “attends to the details of a particular culture and provides an overview of the whole by locating cultural themes”, which he defines as “any cognitive principle, tacit or explicit, recurrent in a number of domains and serving as a relationship among subsystems of cultural meaning” (1979, p.186). Ethnographic analysis involves “a search for the parts of a culture, the relationships among the parts, and their relationship to the whole” (1979, p.142). According to Spradley, using this approach also implies an analysis within the data-collecting process rather than steps taken after the data has been generated and collected. He advises the ethnographer to start by locating the *domain* [my italics] in a particular culture, which could be “any symbolic category in a culture which includes other categories in order to unpack the cultural meanings of a particular group or society” (Spradley, 1979, p.99). Roulston (2012, p.158) describes Spradley’s approach as highly structured and refers to other ethnographers who also advise researchers to not stick “too closely to particular forms of theoretical development” but to also “play with the data” (Lofland, Snow, Anderson and Lofland, 2006, p.218).

For Devereaux (1995, p.329) the permeability of disciplinary borders opens opportunities for new questions and new research strategies, opportunities to look again. Nichols (1998, p.12) argues that documentary filmmakers often follow in the tradition of "explorers, missionaries, colonialists, tourists, travellers and ethnographers who choose to live and work among others". He maintains that if ethnography is "a discipline of words" as defined by Margaret Mead, "documentary is most fundamentally a discipline of visual representation" (1998, p.13). The question then revolves around what the filmmaker includes in the visual images and how she makes meaning for herself and for the audience. The "so-called American direct cinema" (Ruby, 2005, p.12) of the Maisels brothers, Robert Drew, Richard Leacock and others proposes that filmmaking is a discipline which focuses on one or more important aspects of society and by observing society, establish how things really work rather than accepting the social idea of how things are supposed to happen.

Hymes (cited by Ruby, J., 2005, p.211) argues that the discipline of anthropology deals in the knowledge of others. Added to the ethical and political responsibilities which are embedded in the field, other considerations also arise: the consequences for those among whom one works by simply being there, of learning about them, and what becomes of what is learned.

Although there are, or used to be, marked differences between an ethnographic case study and a documentary film there are also many similarities. Ethnographical tools can be appropriated and applied very effectively for analysing aspects of interview recordings that are relevant to my research. The "case study" for *Shooting Sardines in a Barrel* focused on some of the cultural patterns that developed within the university, the "imagined" community (Anderson, 1991) and fits into a broad definition of an ethnographic interrogation.

I would like to suggest that as an insider (having experience of protest action as a student at the University of Cape Town during the early "

1970s) and as an outsider (the researcher) I found myself in an interesting position working on this project. This did, however, enable me to work within the sensitivities of the research parameters as outlined in this section by taking an insider / outsider approach. I could imagine and experience the testimonies as lived experiences with some degree of ethnographic sensitivity, but without being too close (not having been a Wits student and not having lived in Johannesburg at the time), so as to not subjectify my observations and analysis to the detriment of my research.

Crucially the interpretation of the research data is presented not as a written report (the thesis considers the process of producing the creative component rather than presenting qualitative research findings), but as a documentary film. One could propose that all the research for documentary films is a qualitative methodological endeavour even though these productions are usually not located within in a rigorous academic study field.

Documentary Ethics

Documentary filmmakers are often if not always faced with ethical considerations when making representations of others, their culture or even contentious issues such as religion or sexual orientation. Nichols (2001, p.5) suggests that the question "Why are Ethical Questions Central to Documentary Filmmaking?" could be rephrased to "What Do We Do with People When We Make a Documentary?" He writes that the relationship between the filmmaker and his subjects does not reside in a contractual agreement, but rather in what the lives of these cultural players embody. Nichols (2001, p.6) rephrases the question again to ask, "What responsibility do filmmakers have for the effects on the lives of those filmed?" Vaughn (1999, pp.71-72) identifies a number of ethical questions which arise in the edit room during the postproduction phase, such as "Does it [the editing decision] respect the integrity of each participant, in the sense of not allowing a change of emotional state to appear unmotivated

(so that anger, for example, may come across as mere petulance), or of presenting someone's line of argument in a form less rational – or even more rational – than that which it took in the actual debate [interview]". In a similar view Ellis (2012, p.75) sees the genre of documentary filmmaking as fraught with "difficult moral decisions" and "difficult judgments" regarding the issues pertaining to "personal interactions around documentary filmmaking". Nichols (2001, p. 9) proposes that ethics exist "to govern the conduct of groups regarding matters for which hard and fast rules, or laws will not suffice" and (2001, p.10) invokes the approach taken for anthropological and medical research as a litmus test for documentary filmmakers: that of *informed consent.* The development of "a sense of ethical regard" should be an integral component of a documentary filmmaker's professionalism" (2001, p.13).

In Barnouw's view (1993, p.287), the documentary filmmaker makes "endless choices. He selects topics, people, vistas, angles, lens, juxtapositions, sounds words". Each of these choices is an expression of his point of view, "whether he is aware of it or not, whether he acknowledges it or not". Bruzzi (2005, p.4) writes that Barnouw's position implies the impossibility of decontaminating documentary from its representational qualities, as being stuck between the image as reality (Bazin) and reality as an image (Baudrillard). For Bruzzi documentary filmmaking is founded upon "a dialectical relationship between aspiration and potential". She argues that the documentary text reveals the dichotomy between a "pursuit of the most authentic mode of factual representation and the impossibility of this aim"(2005, p.4).

Bruzzi's position foregrounds an appropriate approach for the ethical filmmaker. By accepting the dialectical nature of the genre in which the selection, combination and organisation of the material are inevitably bound by the filmmaker's point of view, an ethical

approach would include a truthful intent, nuanced with respectful treatment of a particular set of human experiences.

Finding Editors and Constructing the Documentary Film

Organising and editing a film includes the selection and digitisation of material as well as the construction of the narrative by assembling sounds and images into a text so that "particular lines of meaning can be followed". What Ellis describes as "those unique moments of unrepeatable reality" are "cut about, thrown away, altered, remixed, combined with other material, written over and colour graded". The material is used in "making larger meanings, a process of joining one moment to another, of juxtaposing one voice against another to create a larger view of some kind". Recordings are used to show and explain, but "showing and explaining are combined with a further action, that of drawing out potential meaning". Ellis defines the editing process as one of interpreting the footage shot at events as potential material for a structured film. This process is "governed by considerations of accuracy and truthfulness" and as the editor is a crucial role player, he or she becomes the mediator between the director who recorded the material and the potential viewer of the completed film (Ellis 2012, p.72).

Broadly guided by the thematic and ethnographic approaches, I initiated the qualitative analysis of the footage. I read through each interview transcription three or four times and marked the periods of engagement of participants at Wits, locating themes and trends within the testimonies, which I labelled and highlighted accordingly. An acquaintance, an industry film producer and editor, offered to assist with editing the film. She started to digitise the interviews and the archive material and organised the material in appropriately labelled digital bins for easy access. She proceeded to extract the selected sections from the recorded interviews and constructed what we called "timelines" according to themes, trends and events

which emerged during the qualitative analysis. This became an important step in the construction process for a number of reasons. Firstly, the material could be reduced to workable segments, which addressed the themes evident at the time. Secondly, it became apparent that there was a big difference between reading the transcriptions and viewing the actual recorded testimonies. What reads as a strong statement on paper often does not come across with the same vigour on camera, or vice versa. The ability to present experiences in a lucid and engaging manner is of importance when constructing a documentary film as opposed to doing a qualitative textual analysis. Participants could not always deliver their insights in a way that made them valuable and suitable for inclusion. Dayan (cited by Ellis, 2012, p.72), for example, emphasises that "to show something is not just to point it out. It is to demonstrate compassion, to express joy and to deliver a denunciation" and reinforces the fact that the way in which interviewees deliver their testimony has an impact on whether the material is suitable for selection and inclusion. According to Ellis (2012, p. 78) there will also always be an awareness of how the eventual audience will view the final product.

The constructed timelines included themes such as *The 1940s:The Early Years,* with reference to topics such as the impact of the Second World War veterans at Wits and the National Party victory of 1948; *The 1950s,* which covers topics such as proposed legislation to curtail academic freedom and protests against social segregation on campus; *The 1957 March*; *The Separate Universities Act of 1959*, and the impact of major political events such as the *The Sharpeville Shootings* and *The Treason Trial*. *Being at Wits during the 1960s* and *The Impact of International Student Politics and Protests during the 1960s* cover the impact of students coming to Wits and influences (both at home and at Wits) which led to participation in protests. A number of timelines such as *The Role of the SRC*, *Nusas, The Black Students Society*, and *The Student Moderate Alliance* consider student organisations, their role and impact. *The Black Consciousness Movement* and *The BCM's Impact on White*

Liberal Student Politics deal with a pronounced shift in the positioning of many of the student organisations and arising ideological dilemmas. *The 1969 Commemoration of the Separate Universities Act* includes testimonies of the restrictions and increasingly severe response to protests and demonstrations by the state. *Changing Demographics at Wits* and *The 1987 Quota Bill* reflect on the university's decision to allow all South Africans to study at Wits, the impact of these changes and the state's response. The many other timelines include *The Role of the Camera* and *Being a Student Leader*.

I viewed all the assembled timelines and located each interview clip from the transcripts within them. I reprinted these selections, which I then cut and pasted onto A1 sheets of paper that were labelled according to the timeline headings and used for viewing and working on each specific section. I also used highlighters and Koki pens to colour-code the four main eras, the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, and sound clips with the most obviously related thematic content. The timeline collages became paper-edit lists, informed by the thematic selections from the transcriptions, and also by the quality and suitability of the footage.

Nichols (2001, pp.5-6), in comparing professional and social actors, points out that filmmakers often "favour those individuals whose unschooled behaviour before a camera allows them to convey a sense of complexity and depth similar to what we value in a trained actor's performance". On the other hand, interviewees may have personal eccentricities or recurring mannerisms which impact negatively on the delivery of their testimonies. Nichols (2001, p.6) proposes that "self-consciousness and modifications in behaviour" can lead to a "form of misrepresentation or distortion", but these alterations can also bear evidence of the impact of filming or recording on the act of representation. The selection of testimonies inevitably also carries the stamp of the director's own point of view and the subjectivities she brings to the process. So in spite of the very noble intentions to create a space for individuals to comment on their own experiences, the created space is ultimately still manipulated and to

a large degree subjective and, I would argue, embedded in the essence and the contextual nature of this art form. The representations in a documentary film are always influenced by these limitations and manipulations despite the conscious efforts to present the material in as "uncontaminated" a way as possible while still contextualising the historical events to enable "meaning making" without any "meaning imposition".

At this stage the first editor was completely overwhelmed by the amount of work required for the successful completion of the project and took flight. I had to find a new team, again made up of individuals who could work for a number of days per week and were prepared to accept a reduced fee due to the limited resources available while at the same time earning enough money on other projects to make a living. Despite many attempts to procure sponsorships, I did not manage to raise enough funding to complete the project with adequate resources. However, a commercial commission dictated by pre-defined target audiences would have compromised the editorial content and structure of the film.

Three weeks after the rather acrimonious parting, which had also depleted a large portion of the post-production budget without having achieved significant progress, I started again with a new team of editors who would complete the project and, with the assistance of a sound editor and final mixer, was responsible for the final delivery of a master DVD. By now I had re-edited all the timelines and logged most of the archive material, again according to the existing timelines, so we could start with the real cutting or editing routine. The editor re-cut the sequences according to the second set of paper edits and assembled them in chronological order with the exception of the more generic topics such as the role of the camera during those years, the position of the university and the role of the Black Sash. The sequences were placed mostly according to the age of the participants and the years during which they were attached to Wits, but account was also taken of events that could act as catalysts to connect different timelines and catapult the narrative towards a next event or era. We were

overwhelmed by the result as even after the initial fairly thorough selection process, the first assembly ran for just over five-and-a-half hours. Depending on budgetary restrictions and the chosen mode of documentary filmmaking, directors often work at a ratio of twenty minutes of recorded material for every one minute of screen time. As a result, the first cut often runs for much longer than the target duration. In my case, with an amassed archive whose content covers nearly forty years, it was to be expected that the first assembly would be long. Ideally and for a non-academic project, the material would be developed into a series of films and not just a single long-format documentary film, a possibility I will consider after the completion of this project.

With such an overly extended and daunting assembly, it was back to the drawing board. The attempt at constructing a documentary film of reasonable duration without sacrificing historical coherence or losing sight of some of the relevant events, themes and testimonies, proved to be a challenging and thought-provoking endeavour. I had to consider a variety of options such as making two one-hour episodes or a programme focused on one selected time period. Each choice presented its own questions, ranging from whether there would be enough archive material to enliven the interviews to whether contemporary viewers enjoyed watching such long films, especially ones relying strongly on "talking heads". I consulted with many role players who were cognisant of the history and the research process before I decided to opt for a longer documentary format for my academic project, which could later be extended and re-edited into several shorter episodes, especially should the option of marketing the film commercially ever arise. We repeated the process of elimination a number of times before we settled on a longer format of seventy-one minutes of content, which we polished as the then final film.

Except for "made for television programmes" dictated by pragmatic considerations, the issue of the "perfect" length for a cinematic narrative is not straightforward or set in stone. *Andrei*

Rublev (1971) runs for 205 minutes, *Margaret* (2011) for 150 minutes, whereas the epic series *Heimat* (1984-2013) amount to 3 205 minutes of screen time. Programmes produced for broadcasters usually have to fit into a schedule, which is divided into weeks and days with hours, half-hours and fifteen-minute slots. For an hour-long slot the programme length is usually determined as between 48 and 52 minutes, with a degree of latitude depending on the broadcaster. The remaining minutes are used for advertising and broadcaster / channel advertisements.

Another consideration, probably the most decisive factor at this stage, was the expectation that in return for the funding from the university and especially from the Alumni Office the film would be screened as a part of Wits's ninetieth anniversary in 2012. I did not consider this an unfair request. The screening had to fit into a day programme and as such the duration of the film had to adhere to the scope of the events.

The editing process is one of careful study, reduction, seeking out "telling" clips until finally intuition takes over, a process that is not possible to rationally describe blow by blow.

Creative Decisions to Shape the Film

My decision not to use commentary or voice-over, but to rely on the testimonies of the participants and up sound from the archival material, had a dramatic impact on the selection of material and the shape of the final film. The cinematic device of using voice-over – a summary of events to create a bridge between content sequences, read by an "omnipotent" and preferably strong male voice – has become outdated and unfashionable as a tool for non-fiction storytelling. The documentary would rely on testimony and archive only. I chose, therefore, not to condense testimonies in my own words, but rather to search for links in the archive material that would connect the timelines and contextualise the experiences of the participants for the audience. This has been my preferred mode of documentary filmmaking

for many years now, but I have never been able to experiment as radically as this, as I have mostly worked for commissioning editors from broadcasters. The imposition of an authoritarian voice would have been fundamentally at odds with the purpose and ethos of my project. Even relieved of the need to consider an externally defined target audience, the expectations of the interviewees as audience, could not but have a decided influence on the construction process. This meant, however, that the construction process required far more time and much more reflection. It would potentially be of great interest to do an analysis of how the selected mode impacted on the viewing experience of the audience(s) in far more depth than is possible within the scope of this project. The expository mode of documentary filmmaking provides a more accessible audience experience, but does so at the expense of the lived experiences and the voices of the participants.

Whereas the director has been instrumental in creating the material for the film, the editor assumes the responsibility for moulding the material into a film under the guidance of the director. Lopez (2010, p.1) proposes that "the true alchemy of film, the dream-like nature that helps us sit still for 100 minutes or more, seems to flow like magic from the space between a cut". He writes that although the editors work in a darkroom, far removed from the hustle and bustle of the movie set, they are "the true maestros/workhorses leading audiences through at just the right pace, finding small emotions on actors' faces, and building dramatic meaning where there was none before". In my own experience, the editor leads in a phase when the director has become rather vulnerable as the material has been filmed or recorded and is "in the can", and when the creation of the final film depends very heavily on the input of the editors. Lopez (2010) quotes Quentin Tarantino, who worked almost exclusively with editor Sally Menke until her death in 2010, as invoking *Ezekiel* 25:17 to honour her: "she was the good shepherd leading us through the valley of film. In her white-gloved hands, we moviegoers feared no evil".

Thus, one of the essential elements in the process of filmmaking depends on this often-argumentative relationship between the director and her editor, an aspect that I sorely missed during the post-production process of *Shooting Sardines in a Barrel.* Although the second set of editors were professional and delightful to work with, their limited involvement denied us the opportunity to work as closely together as is the norm. Except for technical matters, the onus shifted almost completely to me. I made all the decisions regarding the choice of material and the chronology of the unfolding narrative despite the much-appreciated opinions and advice offered at times. However, this process did empower me greatly and will most definitely impact on how I approach the postproduction process of future projects.

Contextualising the Archive in the Editing Process

Finding its way into the lyrics of a popular song (Williams, 1971), the old adage that "a picture is worth a thousand words" proposes the polemical notion that images (sic) speak louder than words. Kosiński (1995, p.14) challenges this viewpoint by stating that in order to be moved by an image – even as "pure and commanding" as the arabesque in Islam – "you need to treat it with words" and that you "move an image by giving it first a motive and then making it emotive, then by setting this motive in motion, (a motion called emotion)". Film theorists acknowledge the problems associated with assuming that the image by itself conveys meaning. Ellis (2012, p.71) contends that "photographs and recordings that are left to themselves, have uncertain meanings", not because the material does not carry meaning, but because it lacks "a frame of reference". Thus photographs and recordings without a context "suffer from an excess of potential meaning" and a "lack of direction for attention of the viewer". The viewer needs an orientation within all the possible meanings and once set on a specific trail is able to make sense of the "complex assemblage of sounds, words, pictures and movements". Ellis summarises his argument by suggesting that "the physical frame needs an intellectual frame" (2012, p.71). Bruzzi (2005, pp.13-19) uses "the most notorious

piece of accidental footage: Abraham Zapruder's 22 seconds of 8mm film showing the assassination of President Kennedy, 22 November 1963, in Dallas, Texas", to test the assumptions of film as record and its transmutation into the archive (2005, p.13). According to her, the discrepancy between the raw quality of Zapruder's film and the magnitude of the event makes it "particularly compelling" (2005, p.13). Of interest in the context of my research is her idea that despite the fact that the film clip is "devoid of narrative, authorial intervention, editing and discernable bias", the material is of "momentous significance", yet has "very little value as a piece of historical evidence". Old material cannot reveal anything other than the "verisimilitude of the image to subject", which Bruzzi describes as the fact that "the non-fictional image's mimetic power" cannot stretch to offering a context or an explanation" of the events on the screen. The material offers two levels of truth: that of the factual images on view and the truth, which can possibly be extrapolated from them. Bruzzi calls this "footage's burden of proof": on the one hand it is an authentic record, on the other it cannot reveal who the assassin was (2005, p.16). The ways in which the Zapruder material has been used as evidence in documentary films and fictionalised interpretations of the assassination prompt her to theorise that film exhibits "an irresistible desire for manipulation, narrativisation, or conscious intervention, despite the avowed detestations of such intrusions upon the factual image" (2005, p.16). Although Zapruder's film is "an archetypal example of accidental, reactive and objective film", it has seldom been allowed "to exist as such because as Bill Nichols comments, "to represent the event is clearly not to explain it" (Bruzzi, 2005, p.16). Referring to the Rodney King footage[44] in a chapter aptly titled "I'll see it when I believe it", Tomasulo (1996, p.82) emphasises the important difference between meaning derived from history and meaning attributed to history "to justify one's own antecedent

[44] An accidental camcorder recording by amateur videographer George Holliday revealed how twenty-seven American policemen apprehended and assaulted the African American motorist Rodney King. The footage was screened on television and used extensively by both the defence for King and the state as evidence in two controversial trials (Tomasulo in Sobchach, 1996, p.74).

beliefs" formed by "pre-textual identities". He draws on White (Sobchack, 1996, p. 21) to explain that "even if the historical "facts" represented on the videotape are conceded, the meanings ascribed to them are contestable", because "the facts are a function of the meaning assigned to events, not some primitive data that can determine what meanings an event can have".

Another consideration that influenced the editing process is Sturken's proposition (1997, p.25) that although a photographic or a moving image may fix an event temporarily, "the meaning of that image is constantly subject to contextual shifts".

Working with archive material spanning nearly forty years presented the editorial team with a variety of stylistically different material in terms of quality, colour and recording and filming styles, reflecting the technical and directorial possibilities available at the time. The directorial choice was to retain the integrity or the rawness of the stock footage by not using digital enhancing techniques, not changing the colour of the material or removing all the leaders, programme logos and countdown clocks, and not creating artificial sound tracks for clips without accompanying sound or music. With the development in digital technology and the high visual quality of high definition (HD) broadcasting and viewing, broadcasters and filmmakers often treat archive material to enhance broadcast and viewing quality and to decrease the difference between old footage and newly recorded HD material.

I also insisted on using stock footage in its chronological and geographical context and never to illustrate situations with clips that did not clearly pertain to them. According to Ellis (2012, p.72) the issue of context becomes especially crucial where archive material is used, as there often is no or very little contextual information on such material. He argues that the careful researcher should try to deduce the status of the material from what is evident within the footage itself. If not, or when there is not enough evidence to contextualise, the material may

regress into generality and lose all specificity. For the researcher these activities involve informed guessing in trying to construct context (but not to impose meaning) on the basis of sometimes very meagre information.

The editor and I decided to include the original soundtrack when appropriate for the position of a clip in a sequence of shots that focuses on a particular train of thought. The interviews, as discussed in chapter five, were either shot against a black background or in offices. These decisions were partly made to honour the stylistic approach of not using voice-of-god commentary to join the various timelines, or to provide visual and auditory bridges between different concepts or eras, and also to preserve the integrity of the material even if positioned adjacent to technologically superior recordings.

To conclude this section one can revisit the propositions put forward by Ellis (2012, p.71) at the beginning of this discussion: should archive material such as photographs and recordings not be contextualised they have uncertain meanings. This is not because the material does not have meaning but because of the absence of a frame of reference. Also relevant then is his view that the lack of context does not provide a road map for the viewer. As such the material can be imbued by what Tomasulo framed as pre-textual identities, which serve not the context, but the justification of preconceived ideas. By supplying the physical frame with an intellectual frame the archive material is positioned within a selected context, but not necessarily manipulated for spurious outcomes.

Assembling a First Draft: The Rough Cut

In addition to the technological and stylistic differences within the archive material, juxtaposing the clips and the testimonies gave rise to somewhat different visual viewing experiences – a factor that I never anticipated when collecting the different elements and deciding on the aesthetic approach for the interviews. All the archive clips dating back to

before 1970 were filmed in black and white, the material relating to the early 1970s has the washed-out quality of old super 8mm film, while the segments from the late 1970s and the 1980s were filmed in colour. The older material from the last period had suffered loss of colour quality, as happens with material recorded on the different videotape formats which were used at the time. This may also be the result of losing quality over time, or what is known as generational loss, which occurs when material is transferred from one format to another. The still images I retrieved from the Wits Archive and Wits Historical Papers are mostly black and white photographs.

Juxtaposing the interviews and stock footage resulted in very different visual experiences, and in important ways these combinations delimited the main strands in the narrative. Stylistically the material separated itself into clear threads: in the 1950s and 1960s there were black and white material only, and interviews recorded in offices; the early seventies were characterised by super 8mm stock footage and the late 1970s to 1987 by video archive recorded in colour, although the photographs pertaining to this period were still mostly in black and white.

According to Bordwell (1985, p.214), at different times in the history of film, colour or black and white films have been used for different purposes and acquired different connotations. In 1930s and 1940s American cinema, colour tended to be reserved for fantasies such as *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), as well as historical films or films set in exotic locales, or very lavish musicals such as *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944). At the time black and white films were considered more realistic. Now that most films are in colour, filmmakers use black and white to signify a historical period, as illustrated by Tim Burton's *Ed Wood (1994*). Bordwell states that “such rules of thumb” as “color for realism” have no universal validity and depend on the context and the function of colour or black and white tonalities within a specific film. Although the choice of film stock or the developing process often depends on aesthetic

considerations, black and white or sepia-tinted scenes are read as representing the past, especially when used in conjunction with colour film to differentiate between the past and the present. It is not difficult to imagine how this came about as colour was used in film (through hand-painting or hand-tinting) even before colour film stock became available. Although colour occurs in films such as Victor Fleming's *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) and *Gone with the Wind* (1939), the use of colour film only really became accepted practice during the late 1940s and early 1950s, and then in an attempt to counter the impact of the introduction of television which broadcast in black and white at the time (Pramaggiore and Wallis, 2008: 169). Even during the 1950s the convention was that colour should be used to underscore mood and emotion (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson, 1985, p.346). Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson (1985, p.33) posits that human vision is very sensitive to pictorial qualities such as shape, texture and colour and that the filmmaker can guide the viewers' eyes using the principle of contrast as human eyes are "biased toward registering differences and changes".

Pramaggiore and Wallis (2008, p.169) reinforce arguments that colour or lack thereof plays a significant role in the viewing experience. They stress that it is also essential to consider the significance of the cultural context of the viewing experience, an aspect which I have addressed earlier in discussing the impact of the potential (imagined) viewers on the construction of the film.

Taking into account the historical connotations and the emotional impact of black and white or colour, the juxtaposing of similarly styled interview recordings and stylistically different stock footage had a big effect on how the viewer was likely to experience the new combinations. Colour combined with different colour tones, and colour combined with black and white, seem to generate different emotional connotations and as a result different viewing or scopophilic experiences. Contrasting colour and black and white clearly evoked the historical context which the accompanying testimonials referred to, whereas the colour on

colour invoked more recent eras. The mise-en-scène reflected in the different clips also connoted very different stylistic elements such as the cars, the uniforms of policemen and student dress codes. The recording styles and the nature of the protest action – degree of movement or lack thereof within the frames – and the way in which the interviewees recalled their experiences also had an impact on how the juxtapositions combined to provide different viewing experiences.

Remembering and the Visual Manifestation of Archive and Testimony

As discussed in chapter one, a collection of interviews relating to a past event invokes questions about memory and remembering, both on the individual and on a social or cultural level. Sturken (1997, p.1) defines memory as forming "the fabric of human life" and supporting living in the present by establishing "life's continuity"; "it gives meaning to the present as each moment is constituted by the past". For her memory is the very essence of identity as it enables both the individual and his or her cultural group to know who they are. Collective remembering "provides cultural identity and gives a sense of the importance of the past". This, however, is also "bound up in complex political stakes and meanings" as "conflicting agendas are revealed". Sturken therefore sees cultural memory as "a field of negotiation through which different stories vie for a place in history" (1997, p.1). She also approaches memory as a "narrative" and not a "replica of an experience that can be retrieved and relived". As such it is "a form of interpretation" and possesses a degree of veracity which we can never really determine. The selectivity of the retrieval process "says as much about desire and denial as it does about remembering" (1997, p.7).

Memory is both unpredictable and selective and cultural memory relies on the memory of the collective connected to the specific culture. This practice is innately connected to a context of contestation as participants often hold different views that vie for dominance. Collective

memory is formed by narrative construction which, in its turn, connects cultural memory to selectivity, interpretation, desire, denial etc. – in other words, to various and often very different interests related to "pre-textual identity" (Tomasulo 1996, p.82). For this reason the analogy between personal and collective / cultural memory is somewhat dubious. Cultural memory can only exist through some kind of agreement.

Andreas Huyssen argues that, "[t]he past is not simply there in memory, but it must be articulated to become memory. The fissure that opens up between experiencing an event and remembering it in representation is unavoidable. Rather than lamenting or ignoring it, this split should be understood as a powerful stimulant for cultural and artistic creativity" (1995, p.2-3). He proposes that memory only becomes memory when it is remembered and represented as such. All these issues are pertinent to an essential research question for documentary filmmakers engaging with the presentation of memory and the location of these memories. The documentary filmmaker, by involving memory in the construction of her film, is also turning private memories into public memories.

Music Selection

Corner (2005, p.242) lists the possible functions of music as "signaling programme identity through signature title music" for regular television programmes as well as the "generation of *thematic* support for what is on the screen", which would include indications of the historical period, locating the narrative geographically and an enhancement of the appropriate mood. The other important function would be the use of music to provide "formal support for programme organisation, pacing and the shifting intensities of portrayal". He emphasises the importance of taking into consideration how the music is applied. The way in which rhythm, tempo, harmony, melody etc. feed into "contextual associative patterns of cultural meaning will be a matter for careful production however intuitively exercised". Musical relations in

documentary and other forms of filmmaking become “more self-conscious and less intimate” while not lessening the “specific collisional dynamics” of all these “diverse formal and contextual factors” (2005, p.242).

For Rabiger (1998, p.310) the use of music in documentary films should never “inject” false emotion, and the music should give access to the inner life of the character or the subject. He argues that the music can signify the emotional level at which the audience should experience what is being shown. Corner (2005, p.244) describes this use of music as “emotional signaling of appropriate levels of emotion, or more indirectly providing support for an interiority which cannot itself be visualised or perhaps even spoken”. He summarises the use of music in documentary film as a “supplementary, affective stimulant” which should be used “with a degree of restraint” (2005, p.250).

My decision to preserve the integrity of the selected archive clips as much as possible implied that I would retain the original sound track if available and not re-create ambient tracks for clips where no sound was recorded or where the sound track did not survive the storage process. I also chose not to enhance the photographs by creating or adding ambient sounds. I did however select a number of music tracks for reasons that correspond to some of the factors mentioned by Corner. These included thematic, historical and emotional considerations: to portray the student world in terms of musical favourites, the historical context of the different eras and the emotional impact of many of the songs. An example from *Shooting Sardines in a Barrel* is the inclusion of “Roll Over Beethoven”, a song by the Beatles that serves as an introduction to the section on the 1960s that includes testimonials on the impact of the counterculture movement on the attitudes and behaviour of South African students. Orkin (Addendum A) mentions the impact of Carnaby Street, the Beatles, the advent of the pill, and mini-miniskirts.

I have never come across a documentary film where no music has been added to the soundtrack, so it may be that the theoretical discussion refers to an ideal academic situation and not the actual practice of filmmaking.

Completing the Editing Process

After completing the assembly cut and the rough cut the real work began (Rosenthal, 2002, p.209) as the structure, climaxes, pace and rhythm started to take shape. This process resembles the arrangement of individual pieces of fabric to form a quilt or the lapidary cutting of a gemstone into the desired shape as the cut was worked and reworked. Once all the processes had been completed, I invited my supervisor and mentor, Gerrit Olivier and a small group of colleagues to view the film at a test screening for input and to identify possible ideological or other glaring mistakes or omissions before completing the final cut, colour-grading the film, adding titles and credits and finalising the soundtrack. I also viewed the film with my academic development mentor, Susan van Zyl, whose comments assisted greatly in terms of the theoretical-methodological analysis of the film. It was time to prepare the film for the public screening.

Once the image selection for a film, both fiction and non-fiction, has been finalised, the sound track deserves special attention. Bordwell and Thompson (2006, p.270) defines the final sound mix as selecting, reworking and mixing and thus creating a continuous stream from discrete units by overlapping dialogue, adding sound effects, music, etc. In this way the combination of images and sounds directs the viewer's attention to elements within the frame, creates anticipation and tension, establishes a contrast between sound and no sound, and sets up the value and impact of silence.

Although filmmakers often tend to put less emphasis on the sound track, a smooth, well populated and well mixed sound track enhances any film greatly and involves, as Soviet

filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein said, “a synchronisation of the senses” by creating a single rhythm or expressive quality unifying image and sound (Quoted in Bordwell, 2006, p.265).

As my budget was severely depleted by now, the editor invoked a favour from a sound mixer who agreed to complete the mix at a very reduced rate. The final mix proved to be a great challenge as different sound recordists recorded the interviews at different times, with different equipment and on different formats. As the sound quality of some of the archive material was often very bad, this was the moment when technical discrepancies began to emerge. Even after the first public screening, the editor spent many hours adjusting the sound to image synchronisation.

The Public Screening

One of the demands put forward for institutional part-funding of the documentary film was that a screening should be held for staff, students and in particular for the alumni group as part of the Wits 90 Celebrations in 2012. The requirements for the successful completion of my chosen doctoral research include exposure of the creative work in the public domain.

The Alumni Office organised a stylish event on June 10, which included a discussion of *Wits at 90: the past, present and the future* followed by an unveiling of a plaque in commemoration of anti-apartheid resistance at the institution and the screening of *Shooting Sardines in a Barrel* in the Great Hall.

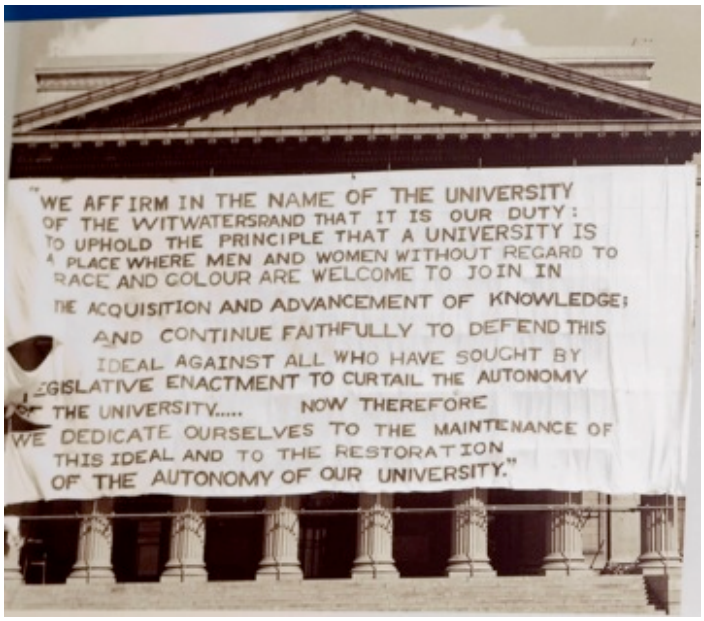


Figure VIII[45]


Figure IX[46]

Although the screening seemingly went without a hitch, back in the control room the editors struggled to synchronise the sound track and the visuals for the second part of the film. This resulted from the rather complicated settings available for digital editing software systems and working with different editors on the project.

[45] Wits Central Records, April 1959
[46] Wits Alumni Office 2012

The actual first screening of any film always provokes anxiety as the variables for projecting systems can be set in many different ways and settings often shift at crucial times. Working with scarce resources on semi-professional systems and often relying on favours from other industry professionals present a technological mine field, especially with a project of this magnitude.

Despite two test screenings in the Great Hall, where we paid very careful attention to sound and picture quality, we had never watched the film in its entirety[47] before the completion of the final sound track mix. On the night the editors managed to align the second section of the film only minutes before it was due to play - something the audience was thankfully unaware of.

Nichols (2008: 29) writes that, "[a]ll discourse, including documentary film seeks to externalize evidence – to place it referentially outside the domain of the discourse itself which then gestures to its location there, beyond and before interpretation". This has to be the aim of every documentary filmmaker.

Audience Reactions

Nichols argues that for each documentary film there are at least three intertwined stories: "the filmmaker's, the film's and the audience's" (2001, p.61). Ellis elaborates on the viewers' experiences (2012, p.122) by saying that "the act of watching is complex when the material concerned, both visual and audio, reproduces other times and places as though they were in some way present" and argues that modern media places the viewer in the position of a witness, instead of a voyeur. Dayan cited by Ellis (2012, p.124), argues that when viewers watch a documentary film, they witness an account drawn from multiple sources, which has been organised as a complex composition constructed by groups of people (in this case all

[47] We worked on two separate sections that were joined for the final version.

who took part in the making of the film) with discursive rules and relationships that are influenced by different interests and positions of power. She therefore calls the product an "enounced account" or a "monstrance" in which a "particular organised deployment of sounds and images" forms an "account that is the product and the responsibility of the maker" (2012, p.124). Media accounts are always already processed as an arrangement of multiple or different points of view and engagements with the events, a "form of multiple seeing" (Ellis, 2012, pp.125-126). Viewing a documentary text is therefore accompanied by a "dense set of promises and expectations", a series of contextual expectations arising from forms of seeing which Ellis describes as "a complex to-and-fro between seeing, believing and feeling among viewers".

The filmmaker strives to catch the attention, the interest and the empathy of the audience as she presents her filmic narrative. Roulston (2012, pp.130-131) defines empathy as "an affective response more appropriate to another's situation than one's own". She contends that although media witnessing does not require action, it asks for "empathy and analysis. Ellis (2012, p.133) maintains that "differences often resolve themselves into difference of reading". He (2012, p.156) argues that any attempt at communication is "a risky adventure without guarantees". For Ellis meaning can never be complete; the content is "always open-ended and subject to radical revision by later events". He confirms that the instability of meaning is especially true of mediated media such as the documentary film, which then can be adequate but never perfect and that the completed project never lives up to the expectations of the filmmakers or the participants and that a screening always arouses argument and debate as well as "provoke[s] strong emphatic emotions". Despite these inherent complexities and the many possible personal readings of a film, *Shooting Sardines in a Barrel* represents shared experiences voiced by role players, bounded by an assumed common ground, to evoke and capture collective memories of the targeted community.

On 10 June 2012 we screened the film after a series of short speeches. It was a rather sad event for me as Tobias, who had undertaken to introduce the film after having made an important contribution to its production, died three days earlier and was laid to rest that morning.

The audience received the film enthusiastically and after the screening was generally appreciative in their comments. Orkin, in conjunction with a small group of other SRC presidents from the time period covered by the film, did make a number of suggestions via an email that I received a few days later. These were easy to implement in conjunction with a personal decision to reduce the length of the film by about ten minutes.

CHAPTER EIGHT - CONCLUSION

I think cinema, movies, and magic have always been closely associated. The very earliest people who made film were magicians. (Francis Ford Coppola)

Conclusion

Even from the small selection of data included in the brief discussion in chapter seven, many trends and outcomes of protest action emerge. A broader narrative analysis could be employed for a further discussion of some of the themes which became visible after the initial labelling and selection processes were concluded. Riessman (2008, pp.5-6) defines narrative as a story with plot, which is topically centered and temporally organised. That, however, is a fairly limited definition. She suggests, however, that the definition does allow for the application of various models of analysis, and proposes that a broader, more inclusive approach may be of value too. In this respect, she advocates the incorporation of life stories involving documents, interviews and observations, or sequences of interviews and conversations. She argues that there is no single meaning for what a narrative may encompass, as there are many different layers in what comes to constitute narrative enquiry in the human sciences (Riessman, 2008, p.6).

Given these possibilities, the inevitable conclusion must be that a narrative such as the one offered in my documentary film is but one way in which the archival material can be organised and represented. These limitations are all the more evident given the fact that each piece of testimony included in the film forms part of an individualised narrative by which the interviewee makes sense of his or her experience. Labov and Waletsky, quoted in Roulston, write that the narrator [interviewee] who recounts a personal experience "frames the experience described, the meanings they make of the event, as well as how they want to convey the events to particular audiences" (Roulston, 2012, pp.163-164). This is followed by a different kind of organisation and construction of meaning, when the writer or filmmaker starts labelling and tabulating the segments of the narrative within the framework of an abstract or summary of a larger, more collective story, by producing a storyline for the readers and compiling and evaluating a series of events which propel the narrative towards

some kind of resolution. The resolution or outcome is usually followed by the coda, which concludes the story and indicates a return to the present (Roulston, 2012, p.163).

The narrative presented in my film was constructed using multiple voices from different eras in accordance with the methodology used for the documentary film. As I have argued before, this approach is deemed particularly valuable and also necessary. Fragments included in the final product reveal different layers of involvement and enable analysis and interpretation over a period of nearly 40 years and the experiences of different generations. By constantly trying to remain sensitive to a "dialogic" and "performative" approach to the events, their effect on participants, the psychology of remembering and reflection and the variances across time, I have tried to reveal the impact of the fast-evolving dialectic tension between the protesting campus body, government forces and the university itself. One clear conclusion emerged from this: what started as controlled and unopposed protest action against the loss of academic freedom during the 1950s led over time to the creation of a radical playground where the odds became life threatening towards the 1980s. This means that the trajectory of political protest at Wits may be analysed as one manifestation of the political history of this country – but that would be work for a future political scientist.

The material collected for the archive shows a diversity of political motivation, different levels of involvement and diverging individual responses. For example, whereas some interviewees recalled the marches as disciplined events, others enjoyed the more belligerent aspects of protest and even the experience of being incarcerated, perhaps in the knowledge that their stay in a cell at the police station would be temporary. This would accord with more cynical reflections on how the students, the majority of whom were white, possibly realised that as members of the ruling class in Johannesburg no real harm would come to them. For some, reflecting in hindsight on these matters, the protection provided by skin colour and class also pointed to the futility of their actions, especially when compared to developments

in later years. For others, taking on these risks became a genuinely liberating experience. Black interviewees comment on the very different social, economic and political realities they faced as students at Wits. It becomes clear that as the legalisation of apartheid intensified and took shape as reigning ideology the intensity of protest action and police reaction increased steadily and at times exponentially and by the 1980s the countermeasures had become drastic.

Given this complexity and the size of the archive any researcher or filmmaker must remain aware of the potential danger that her narrative might simplify history, or appropriate individual narratives. Throughout this project I was guided by a strong commitment to include voice clips of sections of the participants and to include all strands of testimony broached during the interviews. This came at a cost. As the working hypothesis of the film focused on protests and protest action there has not been room for any in-depth filmic explorations of a large number of related themes: the specificities of student politics and political organisations, for example, or the role of police spies or the price paid by students during their time at Wits or in later years. I had to abandon my sense of loyalty to the testimonies I had collected and my commitment to historical completeness early on during the editing process. This meant that many potential stories have had to be abandoned as beyond the scope of my project. I can do no more than refer to narratives such as the assassination of Jeanette (Curtis) Schoon and her daughter at the hand of Craig Williamson, long time Wits student and police agent, and the killing of Wits academic David Webster as potential themes for post-doctoral work.

Given these uncomfortable facts, it might be argued that the filmmaker ultimately overruled the archivist of the early stages of the research project; and that many stories that presented themselves for telling during the process of collecting materials have had to be abandoned, or even betrayed. In response I wish to offer, in conclusion, three observations. Firstly, it would

seem that in the process of making, without fail, there is an abiding gap between ideal and execution, between the fullness of historical evidence and the apparent meagreness of the narrative that is ultimately extracted or constructed from it. Secondly, it would also seem that there comes a moment during the construction process when the artistic integrity of the work starts to override many of the ideas and decisions of the planning phase. Thirdly, even considering the limitations of access to participants and the availability of archive material, the authorial voice, with all its potential for imposition and appropriation, could, in the best of cases, become a respectful collusion of voices, that of the director and of the people who attest to the experience. That would indeed be a desirable outcome, but never an outcome that could be confidently claimed as an achievement. As Hamilton (211, p.144) writes:

> Traces of the past are treasures, and fragments of past lives, even suspect lives are rare materials. Appreciation of them requires a passionate commitment that is mindful of their powers. Even as we recognise and value these traces, the worthy ancestor must remain vigilant in the protection of the freedom to transcend the past, and endlessly engage the archive.

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ADDENDUM A

Interviews:

1. Alan Mabin, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg 14 September 2009.
2. Alan Rosenstein, 2010. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Hotel Porta Firra, Barcelona, 4 November 2010.
3. Anitra Nettleton, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio One, Wits, Johannesburg, 26 June 2009,
4. Barbara Hogan, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Pretoria, 9 October 2009.
5. Belinda Bozzoli, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 16 September 2009.
6. Brian Civin, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio One, Wits, Johannesburg, 26 June 2009.
7. Carina le Grange, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Pinelands, Cape Town, 18 August 2009.
8. Chris Ncgobo, 2012. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Simon Brand and Luke Worster. Central Block, Wits, 10 June, 2012.
9. Clive Glaser, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 15 September 2009.
10. Cynthia Kross, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 15 September 2009.
11. Darryl Glaser 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 11 September 2009.

12. Dave Bruce, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Fish Hoek, Cape Town, 17 and 18 August 2009.
13. David Freer, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Fish Hoek, Cape Town, 18 August 2009.
14. David King, 2011. [video recording] Sandton, Johannesburg, May 2010.
15. Derek Swemmer, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio One, Wits, Johannesburg, 26 June 2009.
16. Eddie Webster, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 10 September 2009.
17. George Bizos, 2005. [video recording] *Student Life at Wits.* Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. CBD, Johannesburg. September 2005.
18. Gina Bonmariage, 2010. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 14 April 2010.
19. Gerrit Olivier, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 14 September 2009.
20. Gillian Godsell, 2010. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 15 April 2010.
21. Harold Annegarn, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 16 September 2009.
22. Harald Parkendorf, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 7 May 2010.
23. Helen Suzman, 2005. [video recording] *Student Life at Wits.* Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Houghton, Johannesburg. September 2005.
24. Isabel Hofmeyr, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio One, Wits, Johannesburg, 26 June 2009.

25. Ivan May, 2010. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 14 May 2010.
26. Jeremy Clark, 2009. [video recording] Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 15 September 2009.
27. John Dugard, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Morningside, Johannesburg, 28 September 2009.
28. Kantilal Naik, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 16 September 2009.
29. Ken Standenmacher, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio One, Wits, Johannesburg, 26 June 2009.
30. Keyan Tomaselli, 2010. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 5 October 2010.
31. Krishna Somers, [video recording] Health Sciences Alumni Reunion. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Adler Museum, Wits Medical School, September 2005.
32. Mark Orkin, 2010. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 7 May 2010.
33. Mervyn Shear, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Simon's Town, Cape Town, 17 August 2009.
34. Michelle Tabor, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Janet King. Parkview, Johannesburg, 18 August 2009.
35. Nepo Kekana, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 28 September 2009.
36. Patrick Fitzgerald, 2010. [video recording] Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 7 May 2010.
37. Pauline Cuzen, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 11 September 2009.

38. Phil Bonnner, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 10 September 2009.
39. Phillip Tobias, 2009. [video recordings] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Wits Medical School and Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 13 July and 17 September 2009.
40. Rob Joseph, 2008. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Wits Theatre Workshop, Johannesburg, 24 November 2008.
41. Rosemary Hunter, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 16 September 2009.
42. Terry Tselane, 2010. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 15 April 2010.
43. Tony Leon, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. CBD, Cape Town, 28 August 2009.
44. Yunus Ballim, 2009. [video recording] *Anti-Apartheid Student Protests at Wits*. Interviewed by Elizabeth Louw. Studio Two, Wits, Johannesburg, 16 September 2009.

ADDENDUM B:

UCT SRC: Response to police brutality against students, 1972.

WHAT HAPPENED YESTERDAY

Yesterday afternoon, students from the University of Cape Town gathered on the steps of St George's cathedral to continue their protest for a free education. Early in the afternoon, they were warned by Col. T. Crouse, accompanied by about 15 policemen, that whilst he "would not interfere with their show on the steps, they were not to obstruct thoroughfare on the pavements".

The protest continued peacefully and some students distributed pamphlets in Adderley and Wale Streets explaining the reasons for their concern with a Free Education and Free Expression. At about 4.00 p.m. a student is alleged to have attempted to address the students on the steps and the crowd across the street. Col. Crouse asked him to desist from speaking through the megaphone and attempted to remove the speaker from the student's hands as he tried to explain to his fellow students why he was no longer permitted to address them.

At this point the student was pulled down from the step where he was standing and the police without warning and despite the fact that the students were still sitting on the steps, moved in on a baton charge. Panic ensued as students scattered into the Cathedral and around the steps. In several cases, individual students were systematically beaten by three or four policemen despite the fact that all the students were unarmed and defenceless. Many students fled into the sanctuary of the Cathedral for protection. However, even within the Cathedral students were systematically pursued and beaten. The police formed a ring around the Cathedral allowing no-one access to the Cathedral and mauling students who did emerge from the Cathedral. In no instance did the police attempt to prevent civilians from further beating up and flaying students.

Five students have been charged with "obstructing the police in the pursuance of their duties". Between 10-15 students have been treated for injuries, although most students received minor injuries.

Bystanders noted the following incident: A student standing on the corner of Queen Victoria and Wale Streets watching the activities of the police outside the Cathedral was accosted by a police constable who proceeded to bludgeon him even after he had retreated. It was only when Japie Basson, MP, had prevented the constable from continuing to beat the student up that he stopped.

A student said: "I saw a student who was clinging onto a pew being systematically beaten without mercy on the hands by two or three policemen who continued until ordered to desist by a sergeant."

WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS TO ASK THE POLICE

* WHY was the order given for a baton charge when, with one possible technical exception, students could in no way be said to be breaking the law ?
* WHY was no warning given to students to disperse ?
* WHY was it necessary for the police to intrude upon private property ?
* WHY was it necessary to beat up students who attempted to leave the Cathedral ?
* WHAT was the reason for the total brutality of the onslaught against defenceless students ?

WE BELIEVE that events yesterday afternoon suggest that the police behaved without control, behaved ruthlessly and mercilessly. We do not believe that students are violent criminals.

We wish further to affirm our right to protest legally and peacefully. We believe that our free education campaign is a valuable and constructive one and we intend pursuing it.

WE CALL FOR YOUR SUPPORT of the right to hold peaceful, legal protest. Please support a gathering of concerned Christians on Sunday afternoon at St George's Cathedral. Please express your support for the right to protest -
ON MONDAY ON THE CATHEDRAL STEPS.

Issued by the SRC, UCT

ADDENDUM C:

Example of Video Logging

1. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE 01.33.44.05

Mass meeting at Wits Library Lawns

21/8/84	799	UDF Demonstrations against Tricamerial Elections

WS Students with Great Hall - Posters ‘ Rajbansi sells meat – not us - Don’t Vote

Botha’s Constipation – Don’t pass your shit to us, different shots of students, pan to man in wheelchair who asks the students to sing

“Just like a tree standing next to water”… Girl leads the singing , Amandla’s

2. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE +- 01.35.00.05

Mass meeting at Wits Library Lawns

21/8/84	799	UDF Demonstrations against Tricamerial Elections

Black Student leader with big glasses takes the mike and informs students about table with release Mandela T-Shirts. Informs about AZAZO student from Mopani Technicon who was shot dead by police, stand side by side, buses People are tired now so sing one song and the national anthem and disperse. Freedom Charter T-shirts

Big banner – “don’t vote for apartheid” in background as students sing.

“No to a racist republic”, cut away hands, “Release Mandela” T-shirts, chanting Oliver Tambo … Great Hall in background, Mandela song, Firoz Cachalia. More chanting and toy-toying with leader and megaphone and with Great Hall

And more “Angola?” Freedom Charter and Release Mandela t-shirts

2.a SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE +- 01.35.00.05

Mass meeting at Wits Library Lawns

21/8/84	799	UDF Demonstrations against Tricamerial Elections

Different leader speaking announcing released comrade Kenneth Ndlovu few months ago working with UDF was picked up, MJ Naidoo, Billy Nair, two people from the Natal Indian Congress … three activists from Nelspruit, UCT Cassim Christians, PE Terror Legotla, … UDM, Release Mandela committee members …

“will continue for the rest of the Anti-election period, the state is deperate and I think we must gear ourselves … the cause still stands … let’s hope you do not get picked up tonight”, shot of man in wheelchair again, singing the National Anthem, clenched fists and Great Hall in the background . Cut away fist. More chanting.

2.b SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE +- 01.35.00.05

Mass meeting at Wits Library Lawns

21/8/84	799	UDF Demonstrations against Tricamerial Elections

Interview with man in wheelchair

Mapetse / Mapitse?

3. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE +- 01.55.00.05

Alan Hendriks arrive to vote

A second polling station in Durban Vote Kippen – very desolate Vote PCP

Newlands east

Bishop Lavis – Peter Marais …

Wellington

More polling stations

4. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE +- 02.02.00.05

Minister meeting with Advisory Board of Universities and Technicons

26/3/84	670	Meeting of Universities and Technicon Advisory Board

No sound

5. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE +- 02.04.00.05

Wits Great Hall

29/2/84	650	Wits: Karl Tober installed as VC and Principal

Orchestra playing, academic procession, robing

Speech –

6. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE

Showgrounds with horse carts and guards, Paul Kruger, old nurse and field hospital, Soldiers marching, ox wagon, old fire engine, new fire engine

7. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE

Rock Concert and hand over of Rand Show Grounds to Wits

23/4/84	697	Wits: Acquisition of Milner Show Grounds

Professor Tober receives scroll

6/9/82	275	Wits: Diamond Jubilee / Fireworks

Fire works

8. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE

Launch of the NFS

24/4/84	697	NSF Launch Johannesburg

9. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE –

11/5/84	709	Wits: Small manufacturing unit

10. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE

Fire at SRC offices

14/5/84	714	Wits: Fire at SRC building

11. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE

Graduation at Wits

18/5/84	721	Wits: Main Graduation

Academic procession

12. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE

UNISA graduation

13. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE

NFS Demonstration Pretoria

19/5/84	721	NSF Student demonstration; 1st Anniversary of the PTA bomb

20. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE

Choppers and police, FW de Klerk and Magnus Malan, Gerrit Viljoen, of Louis le Grange (?)

Sharpeville Everton and Boipatong

Bsighede beskadig weens verhoging van huishuur, aerial shots, townships, police presence

21. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE – Army in the townships

Unrest, filming from the back of a police van through mesh

22. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE –

Wits – electronic lab

23. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE –

Township unrest – kids running, school with broken windows

24. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE – no sound

Meeting of old men may be rectors of black universities

19/9/84	828	Meeting of Black Universities' rectors

25. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE

13/11/84	893	Wits: Unique trailer developed

26. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE

Wits Johannesburg Mayor at Grad Ceremony

13/12/84	921	Wits: Graduation: Eddy Magid / Professor DJ du Plessis

27. SABC STOCK FOOTAGE TAPE 50

TIME ON TAPE – NOT TIME CODE

Wits Tober opens Barlow Rand Commerce and Education Library

27/11/86	1813	Wits: New Barlow Rand Library