A GROUND OF STRUGGLE:
Four Decades of Archival Activism in South Africa

A GROUND OF STRUGGLE:

FOUR DECADES OF ARCHIVAL ACTIVISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

PREPARED BY THE ARCHIVAL PLATFORM

DEDICATION

This Report is dedicated to Gerald Kraak (1956-2014) with deep respect for a lifetime's work as an archival activist and in acknowledgement of his indefatigable support for the difficult work of archives in the case of building a just and equitable society.

CONTENTS

ACRONYMS

AABN Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland
ACTAG Arts and Culture Task Group
ANC African National Congress
APC Archive and Public Culture Research Initiative
CALS Centre for Applied Legal Studies
CCE Community Capacity Enhancement
CCR Centre for Conflict Resolution
CISA Christian Institute of South Africa
CMMH Commission on Museums, Monuments and Heraldry
CODESA Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COSATU Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSVR Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DAC Department of Arts and Culture
DACST Department of Arts and Culture
DISA Digital Innovation South Africa
DPSC Detainees Parents Support Committee
ECC End Conscription Campaign
EELC Equal Education Law Centre
FHYA Five Hundred Year Archive
FOIP Freedom of Information Programme
FOSATU Federation of South African Trade Unions
GALA Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action, formerly the Gay and Lesbian Archive
GIZ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GLOW Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand
HRDP Human Rights Documentation Project
HRMC Human Rights Media Centre
HRW Human Rights Watch
HW History Workshop
IDAF International Defence and Aid Fund
IDASA Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IHR Institute for Historical Research
IRR Institute of Race Relations
JODAC Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee
KSG Khulumani Support Group
LA Livity Africa
LAWs Legacies of Apartheid Wars
LGBTI Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex
LGBTIQ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex and Queer
MSC Marikana Support Committee
NCGLE National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality
NECSA Nuclear Energy Corporation of South Africa
NGO Non-governmental organisation
NIC Natal Indian Congress
NMF Nelson Mandela Foundation
NOHP National Oral History Project
NSA National Security Archive

NUMSA Union of Mineworkers
OASSSA Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa
ODAC Open Democracy Advice Centre
OHASA Oral History Association of South Africa
PAC Pan African Congress
PACSA Pietermaritzburg Agency for Community Social Action
PAIA Promotion of Access to Information Act No 2 of 2000
PHT Popular History Trust
PMG Parliamentary Monitoring Group
PMO Parliamentary Monitoring Organisations
POPI Protection of Personal Information (POPI) Act No 4 of 2013
PPLAAF Platform for the Protection of Whistleblowers in Africa
PSAM Public Service Accountability Monitor
QPC The Quaker Peace Centre
R2K Right to Know Campaign
RIM Robben Island Museum
RIP Research Information and Publicity
RMF Rhodes Must Fall
SABC South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACC South African Council of Churches
SADET South African Democracy Education Trust
SADF South African Defence Force
SAHA South African History Archive
SAHO South Africa History Online
SAHRC South African Human Rights Commission
SAISM Southern Africa Information Service Manual
SAITS South African Institute for Traumatic Stress
SANDF South African National Defence Force
SAYC South African Youth Congress
SIDA Swedish International Development Authority
SJC Social Justice Coalition
SJP Struggles for Justice Programme
SPROCAS Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society
STHP Sunday Times Heritage Project
TAC Treatment Action Campaign
TIC Transvaal Indian Congress
TRC Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa
UCT University of Cape Town
UDF United Democratic Front
UKZN University of KwaZulu-Natal
UFH University of Fort Hare
UFS University of the Free State
UN United Nations
UWC University of the Western Cape
WFP Women on Farms Project
WHEAT Women's Hope Education and Training
UNESCO United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation
Wits University of the Witwatersrand
ZMTE Zulu Mpophomeni Tourism Experience

PREFACE

PREFACE

This Report was commissioned in 2015 by the Atlantic Philanthropies, who, for nearly two decades, funded projects that combined activism and archiving in South Africa. The commission was designed as a contribution to assessing the scope and impact of activist archiving in post-1994 South Africa and to illuminating the contexts within which Atlantic Philanthropies' support took place. In the course of the research for the commission a new wave of archival activism gathered force in South Africa that shifted its purpose beyond Atlantic's original brief. The commission was given to the Archival Platform, an organisation funded from its inception in 2009 until 2016 by Atlantic Philanthropies.

The Archival Platform

The Archival Platform was established jointly by the Archive and Public Culture Research Initiative (APC), University of Cape Town, (see www.apc.uct.ac.za) and the Nelson Mandela Foundation (NMF), (see www.nelsonmandela.org) in 2009. This was a time when activism in South Africa, and activism concerning archival issues in particular, was, with a few notable exceptions, at a low ebb. The Platform was envisaged as a vehicle for nurturing and promoting archival activism. It has done this through information-sharing, dialogue and advocacy for social justice across South Africa's archival and broader memory sectors. At the heart of the Archival Platform's mission has been a commitment to playing a catalytic role in enabling practitioners, theorists and the general public to reimagine the concept of 'archive' and to re-think the ways in which archiving is practiced in a changing world. It has supported and facilitated debate and discussion about the nature of archival activity. The Platform has attempted to infuse new theoretical thinking about archives into archival practice and activism, and practitioner and activist concerns into theoretical and conceptual work. (See the Archival Platform website http://www.apc.uct.ac.za/apc/connections/archival-platform).

Rationale for this Report

The Archival Platform's Report, *State of the Archives: an analysis of South Africa's national archival system*, also funded by Atlantic Philanthropies, was published in March 2015. The analysis concluded that, while there are pockets of

excellence, the national archival system is in trouble: there is no overarching policy framework, chronic underfunding prevails and a lack of resources is ubiquitous. In addition to this, the political will required to change things is largely absent. Simply put, the system is not able to deliver on its mandate and requires a fundamental review and rethink.

While it could be argued that social justice impulses informed much of the state's archive-related work in the 1990s, the bold vision of that period has evaporated. Political shifts in the post-Mandela era have stifled developments in public archives services and are a fundamental cause of the crisis in public archives detailed in the 2015 Report. In the face of these problems, the archive work done by activists in civil society is especially critical.

The *Archival Activism* Report shifts focus, looking at democratic and social justice efforts concerning archives that lie *outside* the national archival system, making it a vital complement to the 2015 *State of the Archives* Report.

This Report is intended, firstly, to provide an overarching assessment of the scope, state and effects of archival activism and the ways archival activism has shaped public debate and had an impact on perceptions of nationhood and citizenship over the last two decades. Secondly, the new Report highlights the important work done by a small cluster of archival activists in relation to the challenges of reconciliation, social cohesion, social justice and memory building, and the development of political accountability, pointing both to where their reach is constrained, and to the significant impact of the release of strategic records into the public domain. Finally, the Report reflects on what political developments in the three years immediately prior to the Report mean for archival activity, assesses the capacity available to address this, and considers where additional support or initiatives are required.

The Archival Platform views the assessment as a timely exercise in the kind of evaluation needed to respond to increasingly forceful challenges to established archives and archival practices, the problems of unaddressed legacies of political damage, and demands on records to ensure democratic accountability. These are challenges and demands that are especially sharply etched in South Africa, but discernible in many settings across the globe. The Report thus has a relevance beyond South Africa. It is Atlantic Philanthropies' wish that the Report be used to promote public discourse about the important work of archives in relation to issues like social justice and political accountability and to act as a source of information for archivists, educational institutions, the media and the general public. The Report further presents an opportunity for stock-taking by the various activist entitles discussed. The Platform itself has used the Report as an opportunity to reassess its own activism.

Supporting Activism: The Role of the Atlantic Philanthropies

In 2012 Atlantic Philanthropies commissioned independent heritage

consultant, Lauren Segal, to assess the impact of Atlantic's investment in it's Archival Cluster"[1] recipients and in heritage and museum projects,[2] with a view to determining how best Atlantic should allocate its remaining funds in a final endowment spend-down phase. This document includes a useful analysis of Atlantic's investment in heritage and archival projects and the way in which this shifted over decades in response to changes in South Africa's social, political, cultural and economic landscape. The analysis is summarised in the extracts quoted below.

> "The 1994 Mandela era of leadership was underscored by the President's openness and candour, by the consultative and democratic nature of political interactions and, above all, by Mandela's attempt to reach out across the political divides both symbolically as well as in the cut and thrust of political interaction. Immediately after the first democratic elections, the prevailing political culture was one of critique and counter-critique. The discourse of the rainbow nation allowed vigorous debates about public life to flourish. Memory work at this time with inspired by the explosive energy of the positive transformations taking place in every corner of South African society."[3]

> "Atlantic's investments in heritage and archival work contributed to the energetic reshaping of the landscape. The generous grants that were made to institutions such as Constitution Hill, Robben Island and District Six reflected the bountiful spirit of the times. They allowed these new heritage sites to be established. Atlantic's investment also allowed for nascent civil society archives to explore different pathways and deepen their roots as well as for important public programmes to take place at institutions across the country where people vigorously thrashed out the new challenges that were being confronted in building a democracy from scratch. Without proper evaluations, it would be fair to say that Atlantic's investments augmented the then embryonic state initiatives being launched by the 1994 government and were part and parcel of the heady optimism of these times."[4]

> "Mbeki's ascent to the throne brought a sharp change in almost every aspect of political life. Mostly notably, his style of leadership stood in direct contrast to the vibrant political discourse of Mandela's years in office. Political dialogue in the ANC came to be characterised by the dictates of a central executive authority that actively sought to silence critics and consolidate the hegemony of the ruling party. Mbeki's promotion of a narrow Africanism in the public discourse actively discouraged the representation of inclusive and diverse perspectives of our country's past. A new and increasingly exclusivist discourse of Africanism began to replace that of Mandela's rainbow nation. Mbeki's rule also closed down of the space for public debate and deliberation. Civil society organisations faced severe challenges and many closed their doors in the Mbeki era."[5]

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"Atlantic's investments took on a new complexion in this era. They no longer amplified state initiatives as they had done in the Mandela years but they became critical in ensuring the early flourishes of our nascent democratic practices were kept alive. The investments allowed civil society organisations to keep open the channels for debate and dialogue, to bolster a critical culture that had started to develop and for organisations in the Archival Cluster to prize open those areas that were being labelled as "politically out of bounds" by Mbeki's ruling party. It was in this era, for example, that the Missing Voices project was launched and Rewind: A Cantata was commissioned. Given Mbeki's antipathy to the whole TRC project and his very deliberate attempts to withhold the TRC Report, the Cantata was a brave and inventive way to keep the testimonies in the spotlight. Philip Miller believes that it was precisely the right time to undertake the project: "The TRC was still on people's minds but had also been pushed to one side. We forced open the door and allowed the testimonies to be in the spotlight once again."[6]

"SAHA [South African History Archive] and GALA's [Gay and Lesbian Archives in Action] activist role in the archival sector also gained momentum under Mbeki as these organisations felt that it was increasingly important for them to become vocal in critical areas of society. SAHA began to collect resources related to the controversial Constitutional Court cases that saw Mbeki being challenged by the very institution he helped to give birth to. Together with HP [Historical Papers Research Archive at the University of the Witwatersrand], they extended the work of the TRC and defended the rights of citizens to access these collections. SAHA sped up its evolution from a custodial institution into a fully activist archive."[7]

"The Zuma years have seen yet other interesting shifts in political discourse and Atlantic's role in society has again adapted to the new political and social context it finds itself working in.[8] These very public fractures in the ruling party that are coming to the fore are undoubtedly a reason for the explosive public, political and academic debates in the media on the failings of our democracy and on the flagrant corruption that is bedevilling South African society. This has in turn led to a much welcome return to the complexity, diversity and contested nature of identity that marked the expressions of our society of the early years of the democracy as observed above." [9]

"Atlantic's most recent interventions should be viewed within this bubbling political cauldron and are important in two obvious ways. The first is that Atlantic-funded organisations have generated important research and archival materials that feed into the debates. From the perspective of Historical Papers, for example, the materials collected and made accessible by the archive have allowed people to write histories, to make documentaries, to augment museum collections, that get important

materials into the public realm. *"It would not be exaggerating to say that we have made a huge impact on the public discourse,"* comments Michelle Pickover. The same can be said of the SAHA collection and the products that they have generated. They allow for alternative versions of history to be considered. SAHA's activist work, particularly around PAIA is a direct challenge to government in the arena of the right to information."[10]

"Secondly, Atlantic's myriad of different interventions, have all have contributed to the sowing of critical thought. For Carolyn Hamilton, the importance of this contribution to South African society at present cannot be underestimated: *"If we haven't seeded the beds for the generation of people who have to think, we are in trouble. You might not be able to turn anything around at this moment, but without sowing the seeds of critical thought, it will become impossible to do so in the future."* There is a current danger that the ruling party uses debate and dialogue for narrow and selfish leadership outcomes. Grantees' activities ensure that the debates are used for much needed strategy and transformation discussions that focus instead on human rights agendas."[11]

"Atlantic's investments going forward can be viewed as keeping the flames of critical discourse alive and ensuring that alternative voices of every persuasion are heard in the public realm. The projects can and should directly oppose the ANC's tendency to shut down spaces for engagement as well as the ruling party's resort to shrill condemnation and attack against those who adopt an alternative stance to the President and the ANC. The work done by the grantees should encourage South Africans both black and white to be neither an eternal apologists nor silent observers in a country which is becoming increasingly polarized into camps for and against President Zuma and his particular style of popular leadership. A new president may bring a different management style but the battle line will undoubtedly continue to be drawn between the government and civil society. Civil society needs to remain strong and robust to engage in the struggle for human rights."[12]

The Archival Platform's analysis of archival activism in South Africa updates and traces the effect of the kinds of shifts outlined by Segal, considers the impacts and the issues driving activism and the ways in which particular institutions have responded to changes in the external environment.

Segal's Report came out in 2012. The battle lines between government and civil society hardened in dramatic ways under the Zuma presidency (2009–2018). A marked feature of current widespread protests, whether in the universities about curriculum and colonial attitudes, or in burning barricade service delivery protests, are issues of contested legacies, both intellectual and material. A new generation of young activists, outraged by the state of the country and indeed the world, have little knowledge of the history of activism that precedes them in South Africa, and readily see claims to past activism

as part of the worn-thin rhetoric of the freedom struggle. They recognise the power of the established archive, and the need to challenge it in myriad ways. This Report highlights and discusses forms of activism around archives that have attempted, against the odds, to attend to the ongoing colonial and apartheid legacies, to defend public access to records, and challenge the limits of the established archive. It focuses primarily on the efforts of the past two decades when such concerns have been progressively pushed aside by an increasingly self-aggrandizing political leadership. While it pays primary attention to established projects of the kind funded by Atlantic Philanthropies, it also considers the impact of less formal instances of archival interventions such as the release of incriminating documents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The decades immediately following the collapse of the Berlin Wall in Europe and the end of apartheid rule in South Africa were marked across much of the world by a slump in the active participation of citizens in political life. In South Africa, the liberation movement, in the form of the elected ANC government, was widely trusted to bring about major transformations in the living conditions and situations, and in the consciousness, of South Africans. Where late apartheid was marked by activism ("the struggle") in almost every area of life – education, health, culture, the workplace – the subsequent era saw the new electorates, almost without exception, leaving government, now staffed by many former anti-apartheid activists, to make policy in the corridors of power and to enact the enabling legislation. The period was further marked internationally and in South Africa by a neo-liberal approach of letting the market solve things

By 2018, the time of the publication of this Report, that trust has been shattered. Everywhere massive economic and political discontent translates into forms of direct action – street protests and burning barricades – as well as embryonic forms of activism, seen most prominently in access to land movements, the contemporary student movements, increasingly vocal feminism and particularly black feminism, inter-sectional praxis as well as vibrant kinds of investigative journalism, whistle-blowing and the leaking of information and documents.

In South Africa, two points concerning archives have emerged in relation to these developments: the first is the relative lack of, or knowledge of, any archive(s) of past activism, and its limits, that are able to serve as resources for these newly emergent forms of activism. The second is clear signs of the new activism's determination to control its own archive of action. We see this in the way in which those affected by the Marikana Massacre and those involved in #rhodesmustfall and #feesmustfall have deliberately set out to generate records of their experiences and actions and to control the way in which these are put to use. We see something similar in the plethora of initiatives – foundations, commissioned biographies and auto-biographies – aimed at consolidating the legacies of older activists. The South African developments are mirrored elsewhere in the world: the activism of the so-called Arab spring, the various Occupy movements, and multiple environmental campaigns. Whistle-blowers, information activists and algorithm experts grapple with the implications of the generation and control of

big-data, in multiple forms. All of this comes at a time when ideas of neutral archival records are no longer tenable. Control of records – of the most recent and the most distant past – emerges clearly as key in contemporary political and economic domination and oppression, and to challenges to it.

The publication of this Report is thus timely. In the first instance, as a commission from Atlantic Philanthropies concerned to contextualise the decades of its support for archival activism in South Africa, it necessarily looks primarily at the recent past, notably the period of general activist quietism – "the era [that] saw the new electorates, almost without exception, leaving government to make policy in the corridors of power … and letting the market solve things." "[A]lmost without exception" it acknowledged that there were exceptions, albeit not many. The most prominent of these activist exceptions in South Africa was the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) which successfully challenged Mbeki-era AIDS denialism and nurtured a small cadre of young activists, numbers of whom play roles of the current upsurge of activism. But activism continued in other spaces, a number of which were concerned with matters of archive, historical record, and damaging legacies. In this Report, we look at a selection of these initiatives and attempt to understand what their ongoing work, and its limitations, means for the present. The commission for Atlantic focussed attention on key Atlantic-funded projects, such as SAHA and GALA. We have chosen not to confine ourselves to these case-studies but to consider other examples that demonstrate other forms of archival activism. For this reason we acknowledge that the Report is not in any sense a comprehensive representation of the field. It is our hope that it stimulates a deeper and braver conversation about archival activism.

The Report was finalised in the same week that saw the forced resignation of Jacob Zuma as president of South Africa. One of the key factors that contributed to the change was the extent of the records released into the public domain in 2017 which attested to the extent and nature of state capture. When the record of government fails to ensure public accountability, activists have to intervene. In a functioning constitutional democracy access to records is critical to such interventions. The same week saw the premiere of the black-centred Marvel Studios production, *Black Panther,* with the first screenings rapidly breaking box-office records and the fictional setting of Wakanda being described as envisioning the Africa of black dreams. In the face of its acclaim, the problems of an archive seemingly unable to support productions with direct historical reference – African equivalents of the much-acclaimed Vikings series, for example – is thrown into sharp relief. This Report speaks to all these issues.

Archival activism

In this Report, we consider endeavours which consciously and organisationally position themselves as activist, and a variety of more informal kinds of activities that take up the challenges of archives.

The terms 'archival activism' and 'activist archives' have gained traction in recent years in both public discourse and in archival practitioner discourse[13] but the precise nature of the relationship between archives and activism remains implicit and unstated, as does the multifaceted relationship between archives and social justice. In this Report, we use the terms: archive, archival action and social justice as defined below.

By '**archive**' we mean a phenomenon – embracing both noun and verb, both artefact and action – with two defining attributes. The first is that there is the recording of a trace on an exterior surface – in other words, it is external to the psychic apparatus of an individual. In this understanding, traces located only within the psychic apparatus of an individual are the traces of memory rather than of archive. Traces of memory shared with others in, for instance, forms of collective memory, public discourse or through initiatives which document or record memories, because they have the quality of exteriority, can be called archive. Secondly, there must be an act of deeming such an external trace to be worthy of protection, preservation, classification and alignment with the other interventions called archival.

We recognise, of course, that many things in social life are called, or treated as though they are, archives. These are often political acts that claim for those things the status of archive. If successful, they attract for those things the form of acknowledgement that would earn for them, or at least demand for them, the expensive apparatus of preservation for posterity. Where the acts involved are deliberate and actively political, we regard them as a form of archival activism.

By '**archival activism**' we also mean the mobilisation of archive to build a more just and equitable society. In this Report, our specific interest is in activism in support of struggles for social justice.

Social justice is, for us, informed by the ideal of a society which reaches for a fair and compassionate distribution of wealth, privilege and opportunity, and seeks a fundamental hospitality in relation to those 'othered' by prevailing relations of power. Thus, activism for social justice at once resists injustice in all its manifestations, insists on the implementation of rights, and embraces a justice that, in principle, is always coming in a continuous sense. Its struggle is always already for a society that is more just than it has become.

Archival activism, even thus defined, is a huge conceptual container. It includes creating archives and attempting to gain the status of archive for certain materials, using archival material to achieve redress, campaigning for public access to archives and records, and using records to ensure political accountability. It holds quite comfortably both Wikileaks and the body of struggle songs drawn on by the striking miners at Marikana, both the conventional archives documenting South Africa's liberation struggles and the online resources developed and shared by student activists in the #feesmustfall campaign. Archival activism embraces both the archiving of activism and archive as activism. The former privileges the representation of

action, the latter privileges action.

An exhaustive study of archival activism in all its complex dimensions and expressions is beyond the scope of this Report. However, in giving shape and structure to the Report, we focus on institutions and initiatives falling into a number of distinctively different, but complementary, categories. Those which:

- mobilise the archive for social justice in the public interest;
- mobilise the archive for social justice in support of particular communities;
- mobilise or constitute 'counter archives' bringing into view perspectives that are different from or alternative to dominant narratives;
- steward archival collections, including those of activists;
- address the damage suffered by individuals and collectives by working with memory and, in the process, constitute archives on which others can draw to understand the past in the present.

Of course, these are not discrete categories. Very few of the organisations studied in this Report fall comfortably into one or other of them. Take the South African History Archive (SAHA) for instance (discussed in Chapter One). It is classified most readily as a public interest activist archive, but it also stewards collections, fills gaps in the official record, supports communities and engages with the effects of historical trauma.[14] Similarly, the History Workshop (see Chapter Four), which has played a significant role both in "archiving activism" and in giving voice to those otherwise marginalised in dominant narratives. Similarly, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), comes into view in each of the chapters, although in its archival dimension it is most readily identified by its engagement with the wounds of apartheid. And yet all four of the other categories are discernible in both its mandate and its work.

The Report covers many of the organisations and projects funded by Atlantic and dealt with by Atlantic as its "Archival Cluster".[15] Over time, components of the Cluster variously worked with one other, cognisant of one other, in a complementary way, or were connected as a result of the circulation of personnel, and have benefitted from their inter-connectedness. Atlantic Philanthropies was not the only funder of these projects, and there were numerous initiatives involving forms of archival activism that were not part of the Cluster. We include discussion of a range of these other projects in the Report. The Report is organised round a selection of case studies, some funded by Atlantic and others not. We document how the organisations or projects understand their own activism, contextualise their activities and offer discussion of their significance.

Periodisation

This Report focuses specifically on archival activism in the period 1994-2017, but a number of the projects discussed here were inaugurated, or have roots, in the apartheid era. Our case studies track the ways in which archival

activism has been shaped by or evolved in response to changing contexts and in support of particular struggles for social justice at different points in history.

The apartheid-era saw the emergence of an explicit and reflective use of archival activism. In the post-1976 endgame a tradition and a praxis we name 'memory for justice' became a prominent part of the struggles for liberation, finding expression in struggle performance and other arts, alternative publishing, oral history projects and counter-archiving endeavours. Four key assumptions informed this tradition: the work of archive is justice; impartiality is a chimera; creating space for the voices and the narratives repressed or silenced by apartheid is an ethical imperative; as is countering the dominant metanarratives of the regime and building new ones.

The 1990s saw the apogee of memory for justice, as it moved from being a weapon of struggle to being a primary instrument of power in post-apartheid South Africa. The TRC established in 1996, provided a platform for victims of gross human rights abuse to share their experiences, generating a unique archival record of past injustices. There was a flourishing of new archival institutions and projects, and a surge of interest from academic institutions. Initiatives included, amongst others, key case studies discussed in this Report: SAHA and GALA, the Mayibuye Archives, and the History Workshop. The transformation of the country's memory sectors, particularly institutions of the state, enjoyed political support, popular attention, and considerable engagement by civil society. New museums were established to commemorate the liberation struggle, notably the Robben Island Museum,[16] Freedom Park[17] and the Nelson Mandela Museum[18]. Wound work abounded across sectors as organisations like the National Peace Accord Trust and the Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture sought to build a nonviolent society and respect for human rights. Oral history projects proliferated as organisations worked to record marginalised histories. Oral history was brought directly into the ambit of the national archival system when, in 1999 the then Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) was mandated by Cabinet to conceptualise and spearhead the National Oral History Programme (NOHP) for South Africa. This resulted in the establishment of the Oral History Association of South Africa, under the auspices of the National Archives, in 2003. The archive was sexy, and archival activism grew in fertile soil. And yet the period also saw what we would call a congealing of energy. Too much of the memory work was celebratory, buttressing the new dominant narratives and excluding others. Too much of the political support was about utility rather than principle. Too much of the wound work was superficial or fragmented. And too many of the initiatives were unsustainable.

The post-Mandela era saw many of the 1990s archive projects lose energy, become moribund or disappear altogether. Transformative energies in institutions of the state ran into the sand. Global funding environments became less plentiful. The political will to underpin activist agendas evaporated. Projects like SAHA and the Black Sash were able to reimagine themselves and thrive in changing contexts by attending to new social justice challenges. Projects that

proved unable to engage robustly with change failed. Others like the Centre for Popular Memory at the University of Cape Town and the independent Visual History Archive fell by the wayside because they could not sustain themselves. More lately, archival activists found new sources of energy and new modes of expression. Social media platforms and other digital spaces became fecund spaces for particular forms of archival activism – as is evident in the discussion on #rhodesmustfall and #feesmustfall in Chapter Six.

As this Report is being compiled we appear to be entering a new period of activism. The events of 2015 and 2016 introduced novel forms of engagement in public discourse, provided platforms for fresh voices and narratives, destabilised structures and processes, and invited a re-looking at and a re-specting of archive. Our analysis suggests that if current activist archiving initiatives are to thrive in the period ahead, they need to position themselves strategically in relation to both long historical trajectories and immediate contemporary contingencies.

Understanding impacts

> "Our frameworks recognize that social justice impacts are not binary (absent–present) but complex and multidimensional and change and evolve over time. Moreover, the frameworks recognize that social justice impacts of archives can yield different results for different groups and that these results can be positive or negative, permanent and substantial or partial and reversible. Finally, we acknowledge that social justice exhibits both individual and collective impacts and that it can be studied at many societal levels (macro, meso, and micro)."[19]

In their work on the social justice impact of archives Duff, Flinn, Suurtamm and Wallace explore the complexity and multidimensional nature of the impact of archives and the work of archivists and related practitioners on social justice. The model[20] they have developed to understand the social justice impact of archives identifies three components: recognition of systematic inequalities; employment of intellectual and physical resources (archives) to challenge these inequalities; and impacts (multiple and cumulative over time) on systemic inequalities.

Source: Duff, Wendy M., et. al. "Social justice impact of archives: a preliminary investigation." Archival Science 13.4 (2013): 338

Recognising that one component does not necessarily follow the other in an orderly linear progression, but may affect and influence understandings and actions, Duff *et al* propose a cyclical model. As the authors note, on one hand the cycle may begin with the recognition of systemic inequalities may lead to a particular action or set of actions, such as a campaign, that employ archives or other resources to challenge inequalities. On the other, the cycle may begin with an archival action, such as acquiring records, which may have the impact of bringing systemic inequalities into view, and provoke further action. The authors suggest that such actions may have a range of impacts, both intended and unintended, on different groups and that these impacts may grow or diminish over time or lead to further action. They also acknowledge that the potential impact of archives on social justice may not be realised until they are actively fed into the public domain.[21]

Duff *et al* set out a number of questions which may be used to frame the narratives illustrating archival approaches to social justice:

- Why was the action undertaken? The identification of inequalities and the perception of the potentiality for archives to challenge the inequality;
- Where did the actions take place? What was the physical and social location or context of the social justice activity?
- How did the archival approach to social justice manifest itself (directly or indirectly)?
- By whom was the archival approach to social justice undertaken (professional, non-professional and collaborative)?
- Who experienced the impact of the archival approach (individuals, collective groups, several groups in different ways)?
- What types of impact (tangible or intangible, negative or positive) can be identified?
- When did the action take place and at what point over time did it have an impact?[22]

These are some of the questions addressed in the case studies included in this Report.

Endnotes

1 This term was coined by Atlantic Philanthropies to describe the set of archival projects in which they invested: The South African History Archive (SAHA), The Gay and Lesbian Archive (GALA), Historical Papers (Wits), The Visual History Archive (VHA) and The Archival Platform.

2 The Board of The Atlantic Philanthropies voted in 2001 to begin disbursing all of the institution's remaining assets and go out of business by the end of 2020, when Chuck Feeney, the organisation's founder would be nearing his 90th birthday. Atlantic developed an exit strategy aimed at ensuring that the organisation would leave a lasting legacy in each of the countries in which it had invested. Segal's Report was commissioned to inform that process. See, Tony Proscio, *Winding Down the Atlantic Philanthropies: 2009-2010 Beginning the Endgame*, 2012, accessed September 2017, http://www.atlanticphilanthropies.org/app/uploads/2015/09/ Winding_Down_Atlantic_2009-2010_Begin_the_End.pdf.

3 Lauren Segal, Report on the Funding Strategy for The Atlantic Philanthropies 2012, 53.

4 *Ibid.*

5   *Ibid.*

6   *Ibid.*, 54.

7   *Ibid.*

8   *Ibid.*

9   *Ibid.*, 56.

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*, 57.

13 We note here the sustained contribution of writers including, Terry Cook, Andrew Flinn, Anne Gilliland, Verne Harris, Doreen Lee, Sue McKemmish, Wendy Duff, David Wallace and Karen, Suurtamm to the discourse as well as the *Archival Science* Special Double Issue on Archives and Human Rights (Volume 14, Issue 3-4, October 2014) and the *Archival Science* Special Issue on Archiving Activism and Activist Archiving (Volume 15, Issue 4, December 2015).

14 'Wound work', as defined in Chapter Five of this Report, has to do with efforts made to place on record and respond to the damaging effects of past systemic violence at psychological, social and political levels. These damaging effects comprise both specific and intersecting forms of disruption, injury or fracture to: the structural dimensions of a society; the social relations of and within communities and cultural groups; the relational and physical health and safety of families; and the psychological and social well-being of individuals.

15 The Archival Cluster included: The South African History Archive (SAHA), The Gay and Lesbian Archive (GALA), Historical Papers (Wits), The Visual History Archive (VHA) and The Archival Platform.

16 *Robben Island Museum*, accessed December 2017, http://www.robben-island.org.za/.

17 *Freedom Park*, accessed December 2017, https://www.freedompark.co.za/.

18 *Nelson Mandela Museum*, accessed December 2017, https://www.nelsonmandelamuseum.org.za

19 Wendy M Duff, Andrew Flinn, Karen Emily Suuramm and David A. Wallace, 2013. 'Social justice impact of archives: a preliminary investigation' in Archival Science, Volume 13 (2013), 343-344.

20 *Ibid.*, 338.

21 *Ibid.*, 337-339.

22 *Ibid.*, 340.

23 In the context of this chapter a counter archive is one built through active engagement with its' subjects. It offers a space for the preservation and conservation of memories, narratives and stories as told and remembered by those involved in the event, movement or phenomenon being researched. It allows for the generation of dialogically produced histories. Ideas around counter-archives have most recently been considered by Amad's (2010) work on documentary film [Amad, P., 2010. *Counter-Archive: Film, the Everyday, and Albert Kahn's Archives de la Plante*. Columbia University Press] and Cvetkovich's research on trauma and sexuality (2003) [Cvetkovitch, A., 2003. An archive of feelings: *Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures, Durham – London*] as a way of creating new archives that foster new public and political cultures, including cultures of public memories.' *Counter-Archives: Rethinking Oral History From Below*, Third International Conference of the Greek Oral History Association (GOHA), Call for Papers, June, 2016, accessed June 2017, http://www.mgsa.org/pdfs/cfpSALONICA.pdf.

24 These organisations focused on identifying, documenting and drawing the attention of the public, including the international community to acts of political violence and human rights abuse. While their activities were not primarily based on creating an archive, their records have archival status.

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

Chapter One: considers the South African History Archive (SAHA) as a case study of mobilising archives for social justice in the public interest. Important contributions made by SAHA to the South African archives and heritage sectors during a period of profound transformation are highlighted. It should be stressed at the outset that SAHA has always deliberately resisted being categorised as purely 'archival' in nature. In its early years this resistance had to do with the dangers of identification by the apartheid state; in later years, it was about avoiding conceptual 'boxing' and about ensuring maximum space for societal engagement. Currently SAHA engages in both archival work and archival activism across sectors and through partnerships with communities and structures of civil society, the state and even the private sector. Throughout its history SAHA has played a central role in demonstrating how local communities can be mobilised to claim agency in documenting their own histories, thus influencing the transformation of the archives and heritage sectors. In addition to providing an overview of SAHA's organisational history, this chapter looks at SAHA's Struggles for Justice and Freedom of Information programmes, both of which make explicit the connections between archival activism, social justice and the public interest. The programmes have made a significant contribution in securing the conditions that make it possible for the public to ensure that forms of retrospective justice can be implemented and to demand political accountability.

The chapter pays special attention to the challenges of building transformative archival models in the civil society domain and closes with a reflection on the sustainability of such models. Our analysis foregrounds some of the critical challenges confronting civil society initiatives attempting to build transformative archival models outside of government-managed archival institutions and highlights the strategies implemented by SAHA to address these. We conclude that SAHA's vigilant monitoring of current trends – especially in relation to access to information – and its openness to organisational change has enabled it to sustain its activist role.

Chapter Two: looks at the work of archives and archiving in supporting and mobilising social justice initiatives in relation to community rights. It focuses on the role of institutional dynamics and the work of institutions, in framing and shaping processes of community archives and archiving so that these processes incorporate fundamental social justice agendas. The term community is used in this context to describe a group of people who self-identify as a collective for a range of reasons – a sense of belonging to a geographical place, a sense of concern about issues like justice, health, and land, and a laying of claim to particular marginalised or subaltern identities. The primary archival activism case study in this chapter is the work of the Gay and Lesbian Archive (GALA), now called the Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action Trust (GALA). It outlines GALA's organisational history and programme initiatives, and highlights the organisation's major contributions and impacts since its establishment in 1997.

The analysis suggests firstly, that GALA, like other community archives such as the District Six Museum and the Lwandle Labour Museum, focuses on its ongoing engagement with its community in the present, mobilising the archive to address current challenges rather than simply to inform narratives about the past. Secondly, that while community archives are shaped by their constituencies' response to changing priorities and contexts, the archival holdings – the collections themselves – remain a touchstone of the community's intrinsic worth and a resource for its evolving programmes. We conclude "that the presence of an archive in any one area confirms in public life the status of that area as having a history, and as having a history worth preserving, investigating and reinvestigating, in perpetuity. It is a statement of presence in public life. By being not only active in campaigns, but by holding materials in a space publicly proclaimed as an archive, by seizing the status of archive, and demanding for its materials the elaborate and expensive apparatus of preservation, GALA asserts publicly the worth of LGBTI experience and history."

Chapter Three: Focuses on the work of the Mayibuye Centre for Culture and History in South Africa (the Centre) established in 1991 at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). It traces the trajectory of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF) audio-visual collection as it moved from its place of origin in London into the care of the newly-established Centre, and its subsequent incorporation into an iconic post-apartheid national institution, the Robben Island Museum. This chapter specifically tracks the 'life' of the IDAF collections from their origins in London and in the Centre because, as an archive created by activists, it shaped much of the Centre's early work including its public programmes. The chapter outlines how, over time, and as its status changed, the institution shifted from activism to inertia. The concluding section reflects on the specific contextual and institutional factors that facilitated this particular example of archival activism and those elements of this initiative that stifled archival agency.

The analysis suggests that the move from activism to inertia is not unique to the Centre. It is a challenge shared by other organisations that, because of changing contexts or environments, may experience a shift in direction. Activists driving change run the risk of become passive custodians unless they are able to focus actively on current realities. On reflection: activists drive activism because of, or despite, the circumstances in which they operate.

Chapter Four: This chapter outlines the ways in which the recording of oral histories has been an important dimension of archive activism and supports quests for social justice. We take a look at History Workshop's own sense of an activist mission, notably in producing and popularising alternative histories. Extensive oral history recording underpinned this work. Initially such recordings were preserved on *ad hoc* bases, but in later years the History Workshop has paid attention to the preservation of such materials. Also in later years, the History Workshop has attempted to ensure that such archives

are the result of dialogic processes rooted in community partnerships, in which the interviewees have a clear hand in what is recorded, thereby leading to the production of records that are more self-consciously positioned as counter-archives.[1]

The analysis suggests that the connection between archival activism and social justice can be seen in four processes underpinning the work of the History Workshop: the documentation of organisations and social movements active in challenging the apartheid and contemporary states; the continual collection of life histories to document these struggles and the quotidian, and to facilitate the production of 'histories from below'; the creation of archive; and the promotion of access to new content and collection.

Chapter Five: This chapter focuses on archival activism in relation to what is often referred to as "wound work". The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was a cusp moment in defining, documenting and addressing the damaging (or wounding) effects of apartheid injustice in South Africa. It drew on the legacies of decades of work initiated by organisations which documented and publicised information about acts of political violence, and the abuse of human rights[2] while also setting in motion a new phase of activist approaches to documenting and *archiving* the effects of systemic and political violence in South African society.

This chapter attempts a broad stroke account of wound work before focusing on three brief case studies to provide a sense of the forms of archival activism that have evolved in various parts of the country since 1994: the Nokulunga Gumede Reconciliation Memorial in KwaZulu-Natal; the Human Rights Media Centre (HRMC) in the Western Cape; and the Legacies of Apartheid Wars Project at Rhodes University in the Eastern Cape.

The analysis suggests that those who have done wound work in South Africa have often been pioneers, responding to the largely unseen and qualitative dimensions of the fractures and brokenness of their context. It has been work characterised by a combination of vulnerability and courage – at both personal and organisational levels. A consequence of this is that the sector has seen many organisations start up and then fold, due to the challenges of financial, institutional and human resource-related sustainability. The archive looms large in all three case studies selected for this chapter. They exemplify proactive archiving as a conscious and deliberate act of building a historical record for wound work. For all three, healing is unimaginable without archive. For all three, the work of archive is justice. However, only the HRMC managed to develop a strong commitment to *continuing* struggles for justice. None have generated the levels of community support and stakeholder engagement required to ensure sustainability. And, based on assessment of their on-line presence, none have been able to ensure significant virtual "presence". Arguably sustainability hinges on the presence-relevance nexus.

Chapter Six: This chapter includes four brief case studies of more recent and emerging initiatives. The first is the Nelson Mandela Foundation's Centre of Memory, which mobilises the archive in support of memory work and dialogue programmes that that aim to contribute to the making of a just society by promoting the values, vision and work of its founder, Nelson Mandela. The second is the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG) established in the mid-1990s to provide information about the proceedings of government to social justice organisations so that they are better equipped to lobby government. While the PMG originated as a mechanism for disseminating information to the public, it has, in the absence of an accessible 'official' record, developed into a significant online archival resource that brings together records relating to the workings of government, and the interactions between government and civil society, over the last decade. The third is the documentary film, *Miners Shot Down*, about the Marikana miners shot by the South African Police Service (SAPS) in 2014, which created, drew on, and mobilised archival records and oral history interviews. The film has been used extensively by the Marikana Support Committee in their campaign for justice for the slain mineworkers and their families. The fourth is the Archive and Public Culture Research Initiative's Five Hundred Year Archive Project, which addresses the denial of the status of archive to the various materials that relate to the southern African past before European colonialism. It does this by locating relevant materials locally and across the globe, convening them in an on-line format, conferring on them the status of archive, and making their complex histories of appropriation and framing visible. The chapter closes with an account of some of the interventions aimed at archiving recent developments on university campuses, generally referred to as #rhodesmustfall #feesmustfall, and the challenges arising from this.

The analysis brings into view the entangled relationship between memory, records and archive – and the way in which these categories become porous over time. As the records of today become the archives of tomorrow, some memories become concretised and made available to be mobilised while others dissipate as they remain unspoken or unwritten. These contemporary case studies suggest that new forms of struggles for social justice, new technologies and a rethinking of archival practice presents opportunities and challenges for archival activists on many levels: ethical, political and practical.

Chapter Seven: The concluding chapter reprises the development of archival activism from the mid 1970's to the present. It traces the shifts in activism: the drive to collecting materials and document oppression in the 1970s; the focus on creating records which could be used as a basis for challenging the apartheid narrative in the 1980s; the passionate commitment to supporting the newly democratic state in the 1990s; a phase of quietism; and the engagement with new struggles for social justice in the 21st century.

The chapter draws a number of threads in the case studies together. It notes the challenges faced by activist archives, highlighting the difficulties

of maintaining archival holdings in perpetuity and highlights the role that universities have played in nurturing activist organisations and/or preserving the archives of activists. It draws attention to the unfinished business of addressing the trauma of the apartheid era and of enabling reconciliation and restitution. It points to the role of archival activism in supporting the emergence of narratives that challenge the new master narrative centred on the liberation struggle.

The case studies evidence a deep-seated need to archive, whether this be by communities of one kind or another or student activists and highlight the different uses to which these archives may be put, the different kinds of work they are imagined to do in the present, and how they are mobilised. Noting the emergence of new forms of activism, the Report highlights the general failure of activists to draw on the archive of activism. It locates archival activism within the context of the so-called archival turn, a development that happened across academic and archive practitioner settings, in South Africa and elsewhere, arguing that at the core of that "turn" is the recognition that archives cannot be understood as neutral repositories but as shaped, and reshaped over time, often by political imperatives. As evidenced by our case studies, this is recognised in activist interventions on two fronts. The first is anchored by the notion of 'archives for justice' and the second, by the establishment of a field of investigation into archives, archives as the *subject* of enquiry rather than *sources* for historical research. This chapter also notes the way in which information in 'leaked' records are used – accessed, analysed and made available publicly – by investigative journalists to fuel activism and drive the demand for accountability.

The Report concludes that archives are recognised in public life as a crucial ground of political struggle and a necessary site of political activism in their own right.

CHAPTER ONE

CHAPTER ONE

MOBILISING ARCHIVES IN SUPPORT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

South African History Archive (SAHA)

Lead researcher: Anthea Josias

Chapter Overview

The South African History Archive (SAHA) is presented as a case study of mobilising archives for social justice in the public interest. The chapter highlights critically important contributions made by SAHA to the South African archives and heritage sectors during a period of profound transformation. SAHA deliberately resists categorisation as purely 'archival' in nature. In its early years this resistance had much to do with the dangers of recognition by the apartheid state; in later years, it was about avoiding the risks of conceptual 'boxing' and about ensuring maximum space for societal engagement. Currently SAHA engages in both archival work and archival activism across sectors and through partnerships with communities and structures of civil society, the state and even the private sector. Throughout its history SAHA has played a central role in demonstrating how local communities can be mobilised to claim agency in documenting their own histories, thus influencing the transformation of the archives and heritage sectors. In addition to providing an overview of SAHA's organisational history, this chapter looks at SAHA's Struggles for Justice and Freedom of Information programmes, both of which make explicit the connections between archival activism, social justice and the public interest. It pays special attention to the challenges of building transformative archival models in the civil society domain, and closes with a reflection on the sustainability of such models.

Introduction

SAHA is a Johannesburg-based non-governmental organisation with offices currently at Constitution Hill. As noted on its website, "the South African History Archive (SAHA) is an independent human rights archive dedicated to documenting, supporting and promoting greater awareness of past and contemporary struggles for justice through archival practices and outreach, and the utilisation of access to information laws".[1] It is the only such archive in South Africa, working with a small complement of seven full-time staff members, as well as short-term contract staff and interns.

SAHA is perhaps best known as a leading advocate of access to information in South Africa – on the one hand helping to shape national policies on access to information, and on the other hand testing the implementability of post-1996 information legislation. SAHA's strategy has included challenging laws, including the structures and people that uphold them. The aim has been to ensure that government lives up to the promises of good governance and accountability as set out in the Constitution and as expressed through the statutory requirements of the Promotion of Access to Information Act No 2 of 2000 (PAIA).

The focus of SAHA's *Freedom of Information Programme* has been on public records, both those generated by the state during the apartheid era and records that attest to government actions after the 1994 democratic transition. Here multiple purposes, objectives and ultimately outcomes have been visible: securing the release and availability of previously "classified" records, or records regarded as classified by default because of apartheid legacy practices; assisting individuals, communities and organisations in obtaining access to largely unavailable public information that could improve the quality of their lives and protect their rights; pressurising government bodies to fulfil their legal obligations in terms of access to information legislation; and challenging cultures of government secrecy by *inter alia* increasing public awareness of the right of access to information and exposing cover-ups.

A second and complementary focus of SAHA's work is best described as a counter-archiving. The organisation's *Struggles for Justice Programme* is a vehicle for ongoing engagement with people and communities whose marginalisation by political and economic power structures has resulted in their exclusion from historical records and archival collecting/collections. As noted on the SAHA website, "SAHA's archival holdings contain evidence of living memory that interrogates grand narratives in South Africa and promotes debate. Thus, the function of SAHA's archive moves beyond mere preservation of the past. It takes on a new dimension – one which prompts and documents acts of memory in a novel and transformative way." This sentiment is given effect in SAHA's active work in redressing historical imbalances. The organisation has also aligned its project priorities towards initiatives that seek to ensure that these imbalances are not replicated within the current archival and memory documentation systems.

Early History: The SAHA Collective

SAHA began as a collective in the late 1980s during the last phase of the apartheid era, with the broad aim of setting up a resource centre based on informational documents of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and related structures that would provide access to "lost and neglected histories" and "record history in the making". SAHA's work was, via the UDF Information Office,[2] closely aligned with the Zimbabwe-based Popular History Trust, which held documents in safe-keeping outside South Africa to avoid the repressive censorship laws that were enforced during the 1980s States of Emergency, and also to hide documents that could have been used by the apartheid state as evidence in ongoing political trials at that time.

After the unbanning of political organisations in 1990, SAHA merged with the Popular History Trust (PHT). Large collections of UDF informational and organisational documents, as well as other records previously held for safekeeping or distribution by the Popular History Trust, were moved from Zimbabwe to South Africa. These records included a collection of interviews, transcripts and research files deposited by United States National Public Radio journalist Julie Frederikse, which she had assembled for her books *None But Ourselves: Masses vs Media* (1982), *South Africa: A Different Kind of War* (1986), and *The Unbreakable Thread* (1990). The Julie Frederikse Collection, still available in the SAHA archival collections, contains interviews with many well-known anti-apartheid activists conducted between 1979 and 1990: Neville Alexander, Ray Alexander Simons, Saleem Badat, Molly Blackburn, Cheryl Carolus, Janet Cherry, Frank Chikane, Chris Dlamini, Jesse Duarte, Alec Erwin, Percy Goboza, Pravin Gordhan, Bafana Khumalo, Wolfie Kodesh, Patrick 'Terror' Lekota, Nozizwe Madlala, Trevor Manuel, Stanley Mogoba, Rehana Rossouw, Albie Sachs, David Webster, Jacob Zuma, and many more.[3]

SAHA's collections grew rapidly in the early 1990s, taking in documents from various UDF and Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) affiliates across the country. Many of these documents were legally available for distribution for the first time ever. The thrust of SAHA's work was a library-oriented document dissemination role. Razia Saleh, founding archivist at SAHA, mentions that before settling on the name, the South African History Archive, various iterations of names were considered, including the South African History Library. The term "archive" in the name reflects the intention of the founders to go beyond simply distributing information and to focus on collecting and keeping safe the organisational records and media of the UDF and its affiliates, and COSATU and its affiliates, for future researchers. Dissemination and awareness-raising projects at the time included the publication *History in the Making*,[4] in which full texts of a selection of documents that reflected South Africa's political transformation were published and distributed for informational and educational purposes. Seven issues of *History in the Making* were published and distributed by SAHA during this period.[5]

The Move to Wits (1994)

Initially SAHA worked out of offices in Braamfontein and relied on donor funding and volunteer support. It quickly became apparent that the undertaking was not sustainable as an independent entity and in 1994 SAHA moved to the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) where it was hosted by the Historical Papers Archive of the William Cullen Library and supported by an on-campus network that included the Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences. Archival processing, storage, preservation, research access, and, later, digitisation tasks were effectively integrated into the workflows and processes of the Historical Papers Archive. The University provided free accommodation and support services, including security and IT support. Indirect funding by the University had become a key pillar of SAHA's sustainability strategy. The other pillar was donor funding. As the latter dried up towards the end of the 1990s SAHA increasingly became a special project of Historical Papers. By 2000 the organisation as an independent operation was moribund, although its collections and the services supporting them were sustained by Wits Historical Papers.

The collections were categorised as follows within the Wits Historical Papers Archive:

- The Original SAHA Collection consisting of UDF and Popular History Trust documents covering a wide range of subjects and organisations including a number of anti-apartheid organisations.[6]
- The Poster Collection, consisting of more than 3 000 anti-apartheid struggle posters, which was subsequently used as a source for the book *Images of Defiance.*[7]
- The Ephemera Collection, consisting of anti-apartheid struggle t-shirts, banners, stickers, badges and related records.
- The Photograph & Slide Collection, consisting of more than 1 000 photographs assembled by Julie Frederikse for her publication projects, sourced primarily from Afrapix and the International Defence and Aid Fund.[8]
- The Periodicals Collection, the bulk of which was donated to the Periodicals Section of the William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand.[9]

At the time, there were also university-based organisations in other regions of the country that were being set up with similar objectives of collecting, recording, documenting, resurfacing, and making available hidden and neglected histories. For instance, in the late 1980s, the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa, was established at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) with the direct support of the UWC Vice-Chancellor and other prominent UWC academics (see the discussion in Chapter Three). The University of Fort Hare, in cooperation with the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and other liberation organisations, set up

the National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre to house the archives of the liberation movements. There were significant overlaps in the mandates of these organisations and, not surprisingly, competition became a prominent feature of this dimension of South Africa's archival landscape.[10] Collections were tussled over, and in some instances moved from one to the other organisation.

In the view of SAHA's founding archivist Razia Saleh, SAHA was very much in a "holding phase" during the late 90s while the collections were organised and secured. These activities were not yet focused on broader social justice objectives as would be the case in later periods. Nonetheless, SAHA contributed to many key initiatives in the archival sector, helping for example to set longer-term agendas for the sector, most notably as a founding participant in the early Mellon Foundation-funded Digital Imaging South Africa (DISA) initiative, and also in the series of national workshops on *Refiguring the Archive*, which launched a radical intellectual engagement with the concept of archive itself and with the relation of archives to political power.[11] In 1997 the Gay and Lesbian Archive (covered in Chapter Two of this Report) was formed as an independent project of SAHA, with its own funding sources and oversight structures.

Reimagining SAHA (2000 and Beyond)

In 2000 the Atlantic Philanthropies stepped up as a potential core funder for SAHA. At this point SAHA was effectively an independent project of the Wits Historical Papers Archive, with a single dedicated staff member. In the period since SAHA had moved to Wits, the archival sector and its broader contexts had changed significantly. In particular as a result of:

- The new South African Constitution in 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996), which, via the Bill of Rights, mandated the right of access to "any information held by the state" and "any information that is held by another person and that is required for the exercise or protection of any rights".[12]
- The new National Archives and Records Service of South Africa Act (Act No. 43 of 1996) which *inter alia* defined public and non-public records, and also contributed to setting parameters for access to public records via a 20-year access clause. The clause stipulated that all public records in the custody of the National Archives needed to be made publicly accessible 20 years after their creation. It also set in place a right to request a waiver of this 20-year rule, to be granted at the discretion of the national archivist; and above and beyond this, a clause that made the National Archives Act "subject to any other Act of Parliament which deals with access to public records".[13]
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) process.
- The drafting of an Access to Information Bill, the first draft of which was published in 1995 by the Open Democracy Task Force, and the tabling of this Bill in Parliament in late 1999, followed by a call for civil society submissions on the Bill.[14]

- The signing into law of the Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA)[15] in 2000 by former president Thabo Mbeki, and subsequent amendments to the Act, all of which effectively superseded the limited provisions on access to information in the 1996 Archives Act.

During this same period reports began to emerge about the extent to which the TRC investigatory process had been hampered by the apartheid-government's authorised destruction of apartheid-era government records.[16] Between 1997 and 1998, the TRC conducted a special investigation into records destruction, revealing that this phenomenon was part of a co-ordinated state effort to subvert the provisions of the Archives Act (Act No. 6 of 1962) and erase evidence of state oppression.[17] Moreover, "government documents were [still] being destroyed as late as November 1996, despite government moratoria imposed the previous year to prevent this".[18] However, the investigation identified and secured significant accumulations of security establishment files which had survived these purges.[19]

These developments provided important triggers for SAHA's future direction. With the support of Atlantic Philanthropies, SAHA was reimagined as a freedom of information NGO with strong archival functions and objectives.[20] Verne Harris, previously employed by the National Archives, was recruited as Director, and in repurposing and repositioning the organisation he drew deeply on the successful model implemented by the non-profit National Security Archive (NSA), based at George Washington University in the United States. The NSA had built up a substantial archive of records declassified through US freedom of information legislation.[21] Both Harris and his successor, Sello Hatang, undertook study visits to the NSA, and SAHA's freedom of information databases and record-keeping systems were co-designed with the person who had set up the NSA's systems. SAHA remained at the University of the Witwatersrand and continued to work closely with Historical Papers.

From 2001 SAHA grew quickly. Its 2005 Annual Report was able to note "a substantial infusion of resources" – the budget had grown fivefold, the staff complement had grown from one to eight, volunteers and interns were being engaged, and the organisation's funding base had been broadened.[22] The core work had been structured around two line-function programmes, the Freedom of Information Programme and the Struggles for Justice Programme, although from inception programme interlinkage was encouraged and emphasised.

SAHA's Freedom of Information Programme (FOIP) and the PAIA Civil Society Network

PAIA is aimed at fostering "a culture of transparency and accountability in public and private bodies by giving effect to the right of access to information" for all South Africans.[23] During the 16 years since PAIA was adopted, and 20 years since the inauguration of the first democratic Constitution, it is clear that the notions of transparency, accountability and good governance

that informed the recognition of information access as an essential feature of democracy remain issues of contention that have resulted in drawn-out struggles for access to public (and sometimes private) documentary records. The extent to which PAIA has been made meaningful in the public realm, and indeed instrumental in the operations of democracy, is directly attributable to the sustained action of civil society organisations which have "tested" it. SAHA has loomed large in this history. As Richard Calland writes, "the political will to comply with the legal obligations created by PAIA has only finally emerged as a result of unyielding pressure from civil society organisations such as the South African History Archive".[24]

In addition to SAHA, other non-governmental organisations with an active interest in access to information in the pursuit of social justice are reflected in the membership base of the PAIA Civil Society Network. In 2014 this network consisted of SAHA and six other organisations:

- Centre for Environmental Rights, with a focus on legal support to organisations working in the area of environmental rights.
- Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS), with a focus on using the law to protect the human rights of individuals.
- Corruption Watch, a "watchdog" to ensure that public resources are managed responsibly, and in the public interest.
- Khulumani Support Group, with a focus on PAIA awareness and use in the interests of social justice.
- Open Democracy Advice Centre (ODAC), with a focus on assisting people in the use of PAIA and the Protected Disclosures Act which protects those who disclose otherwise confidential information in the public interest.
- Public Service Accountability Monitor (PSAM), which uses PAIA to fulfil its role in monitoring how public resources are managed.[25]

SAHA was responsible for the establishment of the Network and continues to play a key role in its work. This Report identifies SAHA as the key champion in the struggle for access to information.

Since its establishment in 2002, FOIP has focused on giving meaning to South Africa's access to information law through effective implementation of the Act, both through the courts and outside of it – but, fundamentally, as an archival project for social justice There was a clear objective of using PAIA and related legislation to gain access to public records that would contribute to historical and contemporary justice for individuals, communities and organisations. Four key objectives defined FOIP at the outset:[26]

- To be the flagship endeavour for repositioning SAHA as a human rights archive.
- To test the right of access to information in South Africa.
- To build up an archive of materials released in terms of PAIA.
- To undertake research and analysis around freedom of information.

Pursuing these objectives has resulted in many notable achievements, and a number of significant victories. There have also been defeats and multiple lessons learned. In its first two years, SAHA submitted 120 access to information requests to public bodies under FOIP. The agencies concerned included the Departments of Defence, Justice, Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Agriculture, Foreign Affairs, Health, National Intelligence Agency, National Archives, Health Professions Council of South Africa, South African Police Service, and the Nuclear Energy Corporation of South Africa.[27] These requests were typically informed by one or more of three motivating categories:

- research on the apartheid era.
- human rights initiatives.
- testing untested PAIA provisions.[28]

During this early period apartheid spy allegations against the National Director of Public Prosecutions captured national interest through the publicly televised Hefer Commission of Inquiry[29] and highlighted the role that records could play in shedding light on contested aspects of South Africa's recent past. Equally, they pointed to the dangers of disinformation and the manipulation of records in the interests of political agendas. At the time, SAHA and the Freedom of Expression Institute argued for "relevant documents held by the intelligence services to be made available to the [Hefer] commission," pointing out that it was clearly in the public interest to do so.[30]

Also of profound significance to the early period of FOIP was the wrapping up of the TRC (the amnesty process concluded in 2003). SAHA very deliberately advocated for the securing of the TRC archive, its professional processing and it being made available to the public. "Pushing the limits" of public access was a defining objective. Initial interventions related to archival custody: the physical location of the archive, the generation of records lists, and the management of TRC records to ensure their ongoing integrity as a future public archive. Former SAHA Director Piers Pigou, (who had been a TRC employee), notes that 3 000 cubic metres of TRC records were transferred to the National Archives between 1998 and 2003.[31] Much of SAHA's work depended on insider knowledge of TRC processes, and insider knowledge of records that reflected these processes.[32]

By 2004 SAHA's activism in relation to TRC records had been taken to another level – by this time 38 access to information requests pertaining directly to the TRC records had been submitted.[33] Some access refusals resulted in court actions, and there were out-of-court-settlements with both the Departments of Arts and Culture and the Department of Justice.[34] In terms of these settlements, the Justice Ministry agreed to give SAHA a list of all TRC records transferred to the National Archives, as well as documents detailing the scope of sensitive TRC records removed from the Commission in 1999. In terms of this settlement, all National Archives files documenting the whereabouts of sensitive records were also to be made available to SAHA.[35]

Despite these inroads, by 2006 many questions regarding the TRC records had still not been answered. Particularly, a 2003 request for access to specific in-camera hearings of the TRC was denied by the Department of Justice. A follow-up request was made in 2006 for access to all of the in-camera hearings of the TRC. The 2006 request, and subsequent requests made in 2009 and 2013 resulted in refusals, and finally in 2014, successful court action saw the release of 174 records[36] of TRC in-camera hearings to SAHA, 11 years after the initial requests were made. Former SAHA Director, Catherine Kennedy, referred to the released records as "a treasure trove of critical information that has to be carefully mined for nuggets of critical information".[37] Chairperson of the SAHA Board of Trustees, Advocate Dumisa Ntsebeza, is quoted as saying that "it was of utmost importance for the files to be accessible in the public domain, as these documents raise serious questions for the NPA [National Prosecuting Authority] about cases that were not followed up once the TRC closed its doors".[38]

Many of SAHA's PAIA requests have originated with requests for assistance from individuals, communities and organisations. One of many such FOIP requests was made by SAHA to the South African Police and the Defence Ministry on behalf of the Right2Know Campaign, for the release of the list of National Key Points. When the initial FOIP request was made, SAHA and the Right2Know Campaign had noted that the National Key Points Act No 102 of 1980, which they described as "a relic of the apartheid era", had "promoted arbitrary and undemocratic secrecy", giving the police powers to randomly declare national key points in the interests of national security. According to media reports, an example of misuse was when miners were arrested in protests outside the Rustenburg Magistrate's Court under the false pretext that the Court was a National Key Point.[39] SAHA and the Right2Know Campaign also claimed that the number of national key points had increased from 118 to 197 between 2008 and 2013.[40] It took two years before a court ruling in 2014 determined that the full list be released.[41] According to Kennedy, the initial refusals were "simply the type of knee-jerk refusal that has no place in a democracy, that purports to be built on openness and democracy" and "nowhere in the National Key Points Act itself is it stated that the list of NKPs must not be disclosed".[42]

In 2004 SAHA was approached by the NGO Earthlife Africa and the Atteridgeville community requesting assistance with the "Nuclear Energy Cost the Earth Campaign".[43] This campaign saw more than 200 requests for medical records of former workers at the Pelindaba nuclear facility being submitted to the Nuclear Energy Corporation of South Africa (NECSA). The workers believed that their ongoing health problems were related to exposure to radiation and dangerous chemicals while working at the facility. It was believed that the records would assist in verifying claims for workers' compensation from the state. Over a period of years SAHA assisted in obtaining access to the official medical files[44] – a review of the released files indicated evidence supporting the workers' claims. In addition, poor record-

keeping practices by NECSA were exposed. This led to a public commitment by NECSA to overhaul its records management systems.[45] Activists have continued to speculate as to whether the delays were a result of NECSA "deliberately being intransigent or simply incompetent".[46]

The PAIA Civil Society Shadow Report of 2014 provided comprehensive statistics on PAIA implementation and noted "a worrying shift towards more secretive practices on the part of government".[47] The Report stated that in the period between 1 August 2013 and 31 July 2014, 260 (out of a total of 306 requests made) were submitted to 63 public bodies. Of these more than 30% were refused outright, around 26% of the requests made were considered to be refused because of a lack of communication, around 21% of records were released in full and 13% in part, and about 8% of records were transferred to the requester in full.[48] In terms of the "outright refusals", the Report also makes evident that all PAIA requests submitted to the Department of Justice by members of the PAIA Civil Society network were refused during this period, and all internal appeals were ignored or denied.[49] The Report notes:

• An overwhelming disregard of the statutory response timeframes on the part of public bodies; and,
• Inadequate handling of the way in which reasons for refusal were dealt with and communicated, or not communicated, by public agencies.

SAHA's FOIP maintains detailed records of access to information requests and the responsiveness of requestees, more recently through an easily accessible PAIA Request Tracker which is available online. In addition to the request tracker, it should also be noted that FOIP has been comprehensively documented from its inception. Importantly, this documentation enables comparative analyses of PAIA usage and responses over time. For example, we are able to see that in the first two years of FOIP, it took requestees between 23 days and 8 months to respond to access requests submitted by SAHA, with all except one of them exceeding the statutory turn-around time of 60 days.[50] At that time the National Archives trailed behind others with average response times of eight months. One measure of how attitudes in the National Archives may have changed in regard to PAIA is its recent receipt of a Golden Key Award, as one of the "Most Responsive Public Bodies" to access to information requests.[51]

The FOIP Capacity Building Project provides training, tools and resources with which individuals and organisations are empowered to use PAIA – organisations which have benefitted include the Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre, Khulumani Support Group, Forum for the Empowerment of Women, and Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action.[52]

An important tangible outcome of the complex processes involved in securing the release of documents through PAIA is a FOIP archive that consists of copies of documents released through its work. A unique collection, it includes

"apartheid era security establishment records, documents created by the post-apartheid South African government bodies and agencies, and documents from several private bodies".[53] It also contains documentation of the collection process: the highly contested and complex processes of securing access to these documents and being denied access to others.

Special Projects, undertaken by the South African History Archive (SAHA) to test the parameters of freedom of information in South Africa, include materials relating to the TRC, in particular, sensitive materials; gays in the apartheid military; South African Defence Force (SADF); the apartheid government's nuclear weapon programme; HIV/AIDS policies and implementation thereof by private bodies and parastatals; the health and environmental impacts of the nuclear energy industry; and documents relating to migration to and within RSA.[54] The collection continues to grow as FOIP develops and works with an increasingly diverse range of clients.

SAHA's Struggles for Justice Programme (SFJ)

SAHA's earliest work focused on assembling, organising and disseminating archival collections of activism against apartheid. These early archival collections included that of the United Democratic Front, and affiliates such as the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC), the South African Youth Congress (SAYC), the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), and the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC). Over the years the collection's focus has broadened to documenting continuing struggles for justice in South Africa. A comprehensive guide to the collections is accessible online.[55]

One of the objectives in establishing this extraordinary archive of activism was to address and reduce the representational bias in South Africa's archival, memory and knowledge systems. Three decades later this remains a key feature of SAHA's Struggles for Justice Programme (SFJ). The programme has evolved from SAHA's early collecting priorities and strategies through active engagement with a range of communities, organisations, projects, and initiatives.

SFJ has initiated and participated in archival projects aimed at safeguarding, documenting, and creating awareness of archival collections of public interest that are widely dispersed. Examples of such initiatives include a national audit of Truth and Reconciliation Commission archival resources[56] and the subsequent *Traces of Truth* website project – which makes many of the TRC-related resources available online.[57] A partnership with the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) has facilitated access to the *TRC Special Report* series.[58] Another example is the national audit of audio-visual archival resources on the liberation struggle, undertaken by SAHA in 2009.[59]

SFJ has also undertaken a number of projects in partnership with other

civil society organisations, the private sector, and in the education sector. A recent partnership with the History Workshop on the *Land Act 1913 Legacy Project* combined oral histories and photographic documentation from the communities of Driefontein, Mogopa and Braklaagte. This initiative marked the centenary of the 1913 Land Act by collecting oral histories, photographs, and community records held by members of these communities.[60] In another partnership, between 2007 and 2008, SAHA, with the Khulumani Support Group, facilitated a series of memory workshops in communities on the East Rand and Vaal Triangle, using existing archival materials and art-making to stimulate and record memories of violence and loss under apartheid.[61] While little has been recorded on how this project has impacted on the lives of participants, the workshop resulted in the publication *Katorus Stories* and an exhibition in Thokoza. These projects document people's experiences of violence and trauma relating to repression and violence on the East Rand, particularly in the early 1990s, a time that remains largely undocumented, with limited public acknowledgement. Related SFJ projects have seen the collection of oral histories from: people who continue to be victimised because of xenophobia; members of the Tembisa community with the participation of high school educators and learners; and, researchers in historically underserved communities. SFJ has undertaken numerous projects aimed at identifying, locating, and sometimes facilitating the creation of archival records where accounts of people's experiences were at risk of being lost or erased from the historical record.

SAHA's involvement in the 2006–2008 Sunday Times Heritage Project (STHP) represents one of the organisation's most substantial engagements with the private sector. The STHP was a memorialisation initiative, implemented to coincide with the *Sunday Times* centenary celebrations in 2006, in which more than 40 public art works were installed in different provinces of South Africa. SAHA's contribution to this project, which was independent from the *Sunday Times* initial project conceptualisation, was funded by the Atlantic Philanthropies. The aim was to "deepen the coverage" of the memorials installed as part of this initiative, through an archival component focused on research, capturing stories, facilitating community participation, developing "products" for wide-scale distribution, and running community outreach programmes. Both SAHA and the *Sunday Times* were motivated by a commitment to ensuring wide-scale access to the memorials, either physically or virtually, in order to give the South African public meaningful "talking points" on issues related to human rights and reconciliation. In addition to extending coverage of the memorials, SAHA also sought to support innovative and appropriate use of communication technologies. The project outputs included: a series of short and full-length radio programmes; an interactive CD-ROM on deaths in detention at John Vorster Square; the publication *Great Lives Pivotal Moments* (2008) giving background to the memorials, as well as images, documents and stories sourced from personal and institutional archives; educators' guides to accompany special workshops for educators; a *Sunday Times* newspaper supplement; and resources developed for community

reference groups and local history projects. The STHP generated a content-rich website.[62] All of the project radio programmes were aired on SABC.

As noted in a 2008 STHP project Report, "very exciting material and interviews emerged in the course of producing this series. For example, a three-hour long interview was conducted with Philip Kgosana, the leader of the PAC march in 1960 from Langa to Caledon Square [Police Station] … after this interview, Mr Kgosana handed to us a scrapbook of very valuable photographs and historical documents of the march and in the years thereafter – including pamphlets from the United Front between the PAC and ANC, a little-known organisation that was created in the 1960s whilst leaders of these organisations were in exile".[63] The CD-ROM on John Vorster Square also generated an archive in which ex-prisoners, lawyers, and members of the apartheid security-establishment were interviewed. In the words of former SAHA Director at the time, Piers Pigou, "this product opens the doors to a greater understanding of what thousands of South Africans experienced at the hands of the security police. It is frightening but edifying to bear witness to the pain that detainees suffered and to understand more about the security apparatus of the apartheid government. The CD-ROM commemorates the building but is ultimately a tribute to the endurance and survival of the detainees. The CD-ROM also reminds us of the importance of excavating our hidden histories".[64] The STHP also secured a number of "unique archival finds" – including the material donated by Philip Kgosana mentioned above – and it generated a Schools Oral History Project that saw training in oral history methods being provided to high-school learners and educators, followed by a national oral history competition run by the national Department of Education.

While SAHA has not, to our knowledge, conducted a formal assessment of the impact of its programmes, the depth and range of SAHA's work, as evidenced in reports posted on its website[65] and submitted to Atlantic Philanthropies[66] is extraordinary. It sustains a conventional archive with all the professional functions this requires. It actively collects, documents and narrates. It undertakes advocacy work. It runs freedom of information and public education programmes, supports virtual and material exhibitions, convenes dialogues and runs workshops on reckoning with oppressive pasts.

Moving to Constitution Hill

Not surprisingly, the energy generated by SAHA became, over time, a source of tension between it and the quieter, more conventional and academically-orientated Wits Historical Papers Archive at the William Cullen Library. This tension was the primary factor in motivating a change of physical location for SAHA. In 2012 the organisation moved to Constitution Hill.

Beyond eliminating what had become a destructive rather than a creative tension, the move to the open-access Hill has made SAHA far more physically

accessible to ordinary citizens. The move also brought SAHA into a symbiotic relationship with the Hill's heritage and related programmes,[67] linking it closely to the project of democracy and creating the potential for new outreach platforms. But there have been drawbacks. There were implications for the day-to-day management of the archival collections, which necessitated a re-thinking of the long-term management, storage, preservation of, and access to the collections. After a careful consideration of the cost implications of housing processed collections at Constitution Hill, a decision was made to make use of an off-site document storage facility. SAHA has taken a number of steps to ensure that the collections remain accessible: all SAHA finding aids are available online; materials can be retrieved from storage on demand and there are plans to increase the number of full-text documents online. The cost implications of SAHA's Constitution Hill home and the use of commercial storage for its collections are significant. These are critical in relation to the question of sustainability.

Sustainability

From 2000 to 2014 SAHA received generous core funding from the Atlantic Philanthropies. This enabled the organisation to resuscitate itself and contributed substantially to its viability. A further contribution was provided initially by Wits: the rent-free accommodation and services constituted a substantial indirect funding source, estimated to have covered approximately a third of SAHA's "costs". Wits subsequently cut back on the services provided and instituted charges for others. SAHA's repositioning after 2001 opened up numerous possibilities for access to project and programme funding from foreign donors. Donors have included the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, the Open Society Foundation, the Claude Leon Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Technological Innovation and Cooperation for Foreign Information Access (TICFIA / US Dept. of Education / Michigan State University), Australian Volunteers International, and the SEPHIS South-South Exchange Programme for Research on the History of Development. A more recent trend has seen the investment of project funding from South African sources, including Business and Arts South Africa, the National Arts Council, the City of Ekurhuleni, and the National Lottery Distribution Fund, as well as international funds channelled through South African-based funders such as the Foundation for Human Rights. SAHA has also received *pro bono* legal support for strategic litigation.

In 2012, then, SAHA's sustainability strategy relied on three pillars – core funding from Atlantic Philanthropies, indirect funding from the University of the Witwatersrand, and diverse (and growing) project and programme funding. The ending of Atlantic Philanthropies' work in South Africa has constituted a severe challenge for SAHA (and many other institutions of civil society reliant on its generosity). The final disbursement to SAHA from Atlantic was received in 2014. The ending of SAHA's relationship with Wits

removed the second pillar. While the third pillar has grown in strength in recent years, it is clear that if SAHA is to survive then it must adopt a new sustainability model. In its final Report to Atlantic, SAHA indicated that it was working on such a model – "SAHA has been attempting to … factor staff costs and other overheads into project budgets"[68] and it is "developing a targeted endowment fund-raising scheme … to meet the challenge of ensuring … long-term sustainability".[69] Various income-generation options are also being looked at. But it remains to be seen whether these strategies will be successful for SAHA.

Impact

According to SAHA's project documentation, the organisation's impact on public discourse and professional practice lies in ten key areas:

- providing advice and assistance to a range of government, civil society, and corporate organisations;
- contributing to the education and training of archivists through means such as workshops and customised training in organisations;
- hosting professional gatherings;
- hosting and facilitating dialogues;
- outreach programmes;
- research and analysis on important issues in the public interest such as South Africa's nuclear weapons programme;
- widespread dissemination of papers and publications relating to SAHA's work;
- access to information advocacy;
- access to information litigation;
- information dissemination;
- media coverage.

SAHA's outputs in all ten areas have been impressive by any measure. Its capacity to attract donor and other funding in support of these outputs attests to this.

But outputs do not necessarily translate into impact. And measuring impact in the archive-social justice nexus is notoriously challenging. One factor is the extent to which SAHA's impact can be measured by the institutional partners it has worked with. Arguably one of SAHA's great achievements is its ability to work in cross-sectoral partnerships. A sample listing of partners suggests the range – the AIDS Museum Project, the ANC Archives, Anglo American, the Anti-Privatisation Forum, Constitution Hill, Cosatu, Deloitte and Touche, the Freedom of Expression Institute, Freedom Park, Johannesburg Metro, the Human Rights Commission, Jubilee, Khulumani, the Nelson Mandela Foundation, the provinces of Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and North West, Robben Island Museum, the Swiss National Peace Foundation, the Treatment Action Campaign and the University of Fort Hare.[70]

Sello Hatang, a former SAHA director, argues that the nature of some of SAHA's work makes it difficult to measure impact. While some issues and projects enter the public domain where they contribute to broader debate, others remain out of sight. One such example mentioned by Hatang was the SAHA-GALA Gays in the Apartheid Military project: the majority of people whose personal records were released as a result of SAHA's intervention exercised their right to withhold them from SAHA because of the trauma of their experiences.[71]

Conclusion

SAHA's freedom of information work has been both seminal and wide-ranging. Its archive of materials released through PAIA is unrivalled in South Africa. Together with ODAC and other institutional partners, SAHA has demonstrated the way in which civil society can successfully challenge resilient and systemic barriers to information access in South Africa. This is a public resource of inestimable value.

Like the National Security Archive in the United States, SAHA has demonstrated, through its programmes and activities, a praxis premised on the idea that the work of archive is justice. It is a praxis which has found resonance in other archival-oriented institutional spaces, notably the Nelson Mandela Foundation and the Archival Platform project.

Endnotes

1   *About the South African History Archive*, accessed June 2017, http://www.saha.org.za/about_saha.htm.

2   Razia Saleh describes this relationship in a personal communication with Anthea Josias, 26 July 2017, "In the late 1980s (about 1987) as a result of repression the UDF set up an Information Office whose main task was to disseminate information from the national to regional, local and affiliates and vice-versa. I was one of three people employed. We had 'secret' offices where we had a computer and printer, a photocopier and all UDF publications, organisational records and various progressive publications. But by the end of 1988 this was getting quite difficult. Our last secret office was raided by the security police who destroyed some of the publications and the equipment. However, the we had an inkling that we were being watched so fortunately the night before the raid we cleared the office taking away all the UDF organisational records and UDF publications. We left behind the equipment and the progressive publications which they mutilated. It was after this that the UDF was approached to set up what became SAHA. This was agreed to and it was recommended that one of us gets employed – and I volunteered or was volunteered – can't remember exactly... I was employed in Feb 1989 and about a month later we found office space – all of this during the state of emergency – so we tried to keep the whole operation under "wraps". I had all the UDF material kept safe at a friend's house, which I transferred to the SAHA offices - which became the first SAHA collection. Soon thereafter the second person was employed who also used to be a full-time UDF employee.'

3   For a description of the Julie Frederikse collection, and details of her association with the Popular History Trust see the SAHA finding aid, *AL2460: The Julie Frederikse Collection*, prepared by Razia Saleh with updates by Esmerelda Dirks and Debora Matthews, accessed June 2017, http://www.saha.org.za/collections/julie_frederikse_collection_2.htm.

4   As noted on the SAHA Website "The original SAHA publication, this journal formed part of the organisation's commitment to making history accessible to all. Published in the early nineties, the journal was SAHA's attempt to provide a platform to discuss and assess the changes taking place during negotiations for a democratic South Africa. The aim was to reflect on both the dramatic
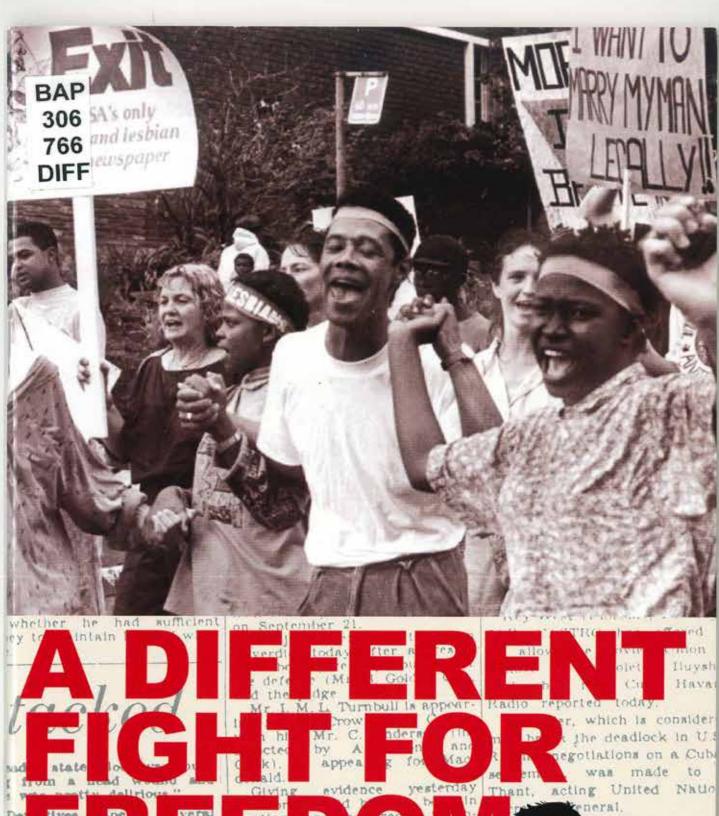
unfolding of contemporary South African history, and the diversity of the struggle for a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

It provided original documents which charted the unfolding of history. Speeches, minutes, discussion documents, interviews, posters, stickers, and banners which reflected all aspects of the changing times, were reproduced in this publication. It allowed people to make a constructive contribution to the process of change in South Africa. By reproducing primary documents in their raw format, the journal provided a lasting resource of archival material. Documents were selected and presented chronologically to reflect the unfolding of critical events." *History in the Making*, accessed July 2017, http://www.saha.org.za/publications/history_in_the_making.htm.

5   Interview with Razia Saleh, conducted by Anthea Josias, October 2015.

6   The original South African History Archive (SAHA) Collection includes papers and publications collected from various anti-apartheid movement organisations between 1980-1992. The major categories in this collection include: government and administrative structures, homelands, rural community organisations and removals, political parties, military, police and state security, legal and judiciary, political organisations, women\'s organisations, youth organisations, right-wing organisations, urban, social, community housing organisations, labour, education, religion and churches, media, sport and culture, economy, health, foreign relations, environment, general service organisations and international relations. *Archival Collections at SAHA*, accessed June 2017, http://www.saha.org.za/collections/south_african_history_archive.htm.

7   South African History Archive Posterbook Collective, *Images of defiance: South African resistance posters of the 1980s*, (South Africa: Ravan Press, 1991).

8   For further information about the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF), see Chapter Three of this Report.

9   *Historical Papers Research Archive*, accessed December 2017, http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/.

10   Bavusile (Brown) Maaba, "The history and politics of liberation archives at Fort Hare" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2013), accessed June 2017, https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/11121.

11   Interview with Razia Saleh conducted by Anthea Josias, October 2015.

12   *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996* (Act 108 of 1996), Chapter 2, Clause 32.

13   *National Archives and Records Service of South Africa Act* (No. 43 of 1996), Section 12(1).

14   Richard Calland, "Illuminating the Politics and the Practice of Access to Information in South Africa", in Kate Allan (ed), *Paper Wars: Access to Information in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009), 1-16.

15   *Promotion of Access to Information Act (No. 2 of 2000).*

16   Concerns were particularly about, but not limited to, the mass destruction of "an estimated 44 000 tons of documents from the national intelligence services alone" and the literal 'overnight disappearance' of military intelligence files such as those of the Department of Covert Collection (DCC) in the early 1990s. Terry Bell, "The Paper Auschwitz" in Terry Bell *Unfinished Business: South Africa Apartheid and Truth*, (South Africa: Redworks, 2001), Chapter 1, pp 9–19.

17   See the TRC Report, Volume 1, Chapter 8.

18   *Government Documents Still Destroyed in November 1996: TRC*, South African Press Association, 1998, accessed June 2017, http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media%5C1998%5C9810/s981029u.htm.

19   *Access to Security Police Files in Question Again,* SAHA News September 2007, accessed June 2017, http://www.saha.org.za/news/2007/September/access_to_security_police_files_in_question_again.htm.

20   Atlantic Philanthropies administrative document, Rationale for SAHA Grant Request No. 08393, unpublished.

21   According to Harris, this idea emerged during informal discussions in 2001 with former National Security Archive records/systems/database manager David A. Wallace. Over the next year, Wallace assisted with the design and implementation of FOIP support systems, and Will Ferragario of the National Security Archive advised on the setting up of the programme.

22   South African History Archive *Annual Report 2005*, accessed December 2017, http://www.saha.org/aboutsaha/pdfs/publications/annualreport06.pdf.

23   Preamble to the *Promotion of Access to Information Act (No 2 of 2000).*

24   Richard, Calland, "Illuminating the Politics and the Practice of Access to Information in South Africa", in K. Allan (ed) *Paper Wars: Access to Information in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009), 5.

25   Catherine Kennedy, *PAIA Civil Society Network Shadow Report*, 2014, accessed June 2017, http://

foip.saha.org.za/uploads/images/PCSN_ShadowRep2014_final_20150202.pdf.

26   South African History Archive, *Annual Report* 2004, 5-6.

27   Verne, Harris, "Using the Promotion of Access to Information Act: The Case of the South African History Archive", in, Claudia Lange and Jackie Wessels (eds) *The Right to Know* (Cape Town, Siber Ink, 2004), 189-191.

28   South African History Archive, *Freedom of Information Programme Progress Report, January to November 2003,* unpublished.

29   *Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of Spying Against the National Director of National Prosecutions Mr BT Ngcuka*, September 2003-January 2004, accessed March 2018, http://www.justice.gov.za/commissions/comm_hefer/2004 01 20_hefer_report.pdf.

30   The Global Network: Defending and Promoting Free Expression, *Concern Over Intelligence Services' Response to Hefer Commission's Request for Documents*, Africa News, October 30 2003, accessed June 2017, https://www.ifex.org/south_africa/2003/10/30/concern_over_intelligence_services/.

31   Piers Pigou, "Accessing the Records of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission", in Kate. Allan (ed) *Paper Wars*, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009, 18.

32   A number of SAHA employees and/or trustees including former directors worked with or for the TRC and were familiar with its operations. Verne Harris, an employee of the National Archives was responsible for liaison between the archives and the TRC between 1995 and 200, between 1996 and 1998 he was released from the National Archives to become an integral part of the team investigating the mass destruction of records by the apartheid government. Between 2001 and 2004 as director of SAHA's Freedom of Information Programme his first project was to target accumulations of apartheid security establishment records identified by the TRC. Piers Pigou, a former SAHA director was also a TRC investigator.

33   Piers Pigou, "Assessing the Records", 17-55.

34   *Ibid.*, 17-55.

35   *SA History Archives Reach Out of Court Settlement with Government*, South African Press Association, May 11 2003, accessed June 2017 http://allafrica.com/stories/200305120764.html.

36   TRC's Secret Hearing Transcripts Handed Over to SAHA, 24 March 2015 accessed June 2017, http://saha.org.za/news/2010/March/trcs_secret_hearing_transcripts_handed_over_to_saha.htm.

37   Zenzile Khoisan, *TRC Files Reveal Damning Truth, Independent Online*, 12 April 2015, accessed June 2017, http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/trc-files-reveal-damning-truth-1843834.

38   Ibid..

39   *South Africa: National Key Point List Goes Public*, Africa News, 11 February 2015, accessed June 2017, https://article.wn.com/view/2015/02/12/National_Key_Point_List_Goes_Public/.

40   *National Key Points Should Be Public: R2K*, South African Press Association, 10 September 2013, accessed June 2017, http://citizen.co.za/news/news-national/41814/national-key-points-should-be-public-r2k/.

41   Ibid.

42   Phillip de Wet and Chantelle Benjamin, National Key Points: The List You Weren't Meant to See, Mail and Guardian Online, accessed 22 January 2015, http://mg.co.za/article/2015-01-22-national-key-points-the-list-you-werent-meant-to-see.

43   Kate Allan, "Burning Bones: The Peril of Poor Record-Keeping Practices in South Africa's Nuclear Industry", Conference Paper for the conference *Updating International Nuclear Law*, hosted by Plage, Salzburg, Austria, 20 – 23 October 2005.

44   David Fig, "In the Dark: Seeking Information about South Africa's Nuclear Energy Programme", in Kate Allan (ed) "Paper Wars, . 56-87.

45   For details of the case see the conference paper by Kate Allan, "Burning Bones: The Peril of Record-Keeping Practices in South Africa's Nuclear Industry".

46   David Fig, "In the Dark", 75

47   Catherine Kennedy, PAIA Civil Society Shadow Report, 2014.

48   Ibid., 5.

49   Phillip De Wet, Transparency Deferred: 14 Years On and Secrecy Still Rules, Mail and Guardian, 3 February 2015, accessed June 2017, https://mg.co.za/article/2015-02-03-transparency-deferred-14-years-on-and-secrecy-still-rules.

50   Verne Harris, "Using the Promotion of Access to Information Act", 89-191

51   *SAHA and the National Archives Win Golden Key Award at National Information Officers Forum*, Archival Platform accessed 2 January 2016, http://www.archivalplatform.org/news/entry/SAHA_and_the/

52   SAHA, *FOIP Capacity Building Project*, accessed June 2017, http://www.saha.org.za/projects/
     freedom_of_information_programme_capacity_building_project.htm.

53   SAHA. AL2878: The Freedom of Information Programme Collection, accessed September 2017,
     http://www.saha.org.za/collections/the_freedom_of_information_project.htm.

54   Freedom of Information, accessed December 2017, http://www.saha.org.za/collections/the_
     freedom_of_information_project.htm.

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56   University of the Witwatersrand Historical Papers research archive and The South African
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A DIFFERENT FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

GALA

CHAPTER TWO

CHAPTER TWO

MOBILISING ARCHIVES IN SUPPORT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR PARTICULAR COMMUNITIES

Gay and Lesbian Archives in Action

Lead researcher: Anthea Josias

Chapter Overview

The chapter looks at the work of archives and archiving in supporting and mobilising social justice initiatives in relation to community rights. It focuses on the institutional dynamics, or the work of institutions, in framing and shaping processes of community archives and archiving so that these processes promote fundamental social justice agendas. The term community is used in this context to describe a group of people who self-identify as a collective for a range of reasons – a sense of belonging to a geographical place, a sense of concern about issues of justice, health, land or other issues, and laying claim to particular marginalised or subaltern identities. The primary archival activism case study in this chapter is the work of the Gay and Lesbian Archive (GALA), now the Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action Trust. The chapter outlines GALA's organisational history and programme initiatives, highlights the organisation's major contributions and considers the impact of these in relation to struggles for social justice.

Introduction

The development of an archive by a self-identified community in order to further the interests of that community is a distinctive form of archival activism. Community archival interventions vary considerably in terms of their origins and aims: how the particular community is involved in these archival activities, what their aims and focus are, what happens to the archives that are generated from processes of community archiving, and the extent to which the archives continue to be made available to the community, and to others, as long-term resources.

During the apartheid and post-apartheid years, community archives and archiving in South Africa have been facilitated by, and in, a diverse range of institutions, projects and informal interventions. They include initiatives that did not begin with an explicit archival focus, such as the Wits History Workshop[1] and the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC).[2] They also encompass projects that were carried out with the explicit aim of creating archival records where no such records existed previously, such as the collection of sound recordings and interviews documenting life in District Six before the community's forced removal in terms of apartheid zoning, undertaken by the District Six Museum,[3] and the case study for this chapter, GALA, the Gay and Lesbian Archives,[4] now renamed Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action. Irrespective of where and how they originate, community archives play a significant role in making it possible to explore hidden histories, in motivating and mobilising community members to value, make and use archives, and in acknowledging and utilising their potential to make meaningful contributions to social justice in the interests of the communities concerned.

Somewhat different dynamics operate in archival projects which take as their primary purpose the establishment of archives *on behalf* of groups identified variously as communities or subaltern constituencies of some kind. Examples of such projects include: the Robben Island Museum Memories Archive project,[5] which consists of oral history interviews and reference groups with former prisoners, their family and friends, and with prison warders; the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET)[6] collection of oral history interviews with activists and veterans of the liberation struggle; the Oral History of Exiles Project[7] interviews conducted in the early 1990s by Wolfie Kodesh and others for the Mayibuye Centre; and the oral history projects at the Wits History Workshop.[8]

Such projects were not established by self-identified communities. However, in the course of their work they leverage or develop community or constituency relationships of various kinds. Often the relationships involve mobilisation in relation to social justice objectives, and archival records are generated from these processes. Many of the points raised in this chapter in relation to GALA, which are directly pertinent to archives established by self-identified communities, are also helpful in grasping the significance and impact of other

kinds of community – or constituency – orientated archives, often located in and driven by institutions.

Organisational history

GALA was established in January 1997 very soon after, and motivated by, the constitutional recognition of the right of individuals to choose and not be discriminated against because of their sexual orientation.[9] This watershed constitutional moment presented an opportunity for activists to address how gays and lesbians, and indeed others encompassed by the latter-day acronym, LGBTI,[10] had historically been represented in South Africa, and the general absence of a noteworthy and representative archival record of LGBTI people's experiences. Two other interrelated factors played an important role, giving urgency to this project: the spread of HIV Aids and the high mortality rates that this caused. As one participant in the GALA Witness Seminar explained, "death stalked so many people[11] – coupled with the growing realisation that archival records were being lost because people had, until then been living 'secret lives'.

While GALA was formally established as an independent SAHA project in 1997, the origins of the idea for this archive began with a few important collections on gay and lesbian[12] activism that SAHA acquired in 1996. Inspired by "the archival moment" of the 1990s in South Africa and the new Constitution's recognition of the rights of gay and lesbian people, these 1996 archival acquisitions were coupled with discussions on the importance of and need for a gay and lesbian archive. These deliberations led to the submission of a funding proposal to the Dutch funding organisation, HIVOS,[13] by GALA's founding director, Graeme Reid. HIVOS supported GALA's formal establishment, and was to be a key source of financial support over the next ten years.

GALA's affiliation with SAHA, which was itself at the time an "independent project" of the Historical Papers research archive in the William Cullen Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, meant that it was able to pursue its archival activist objectives with the advantage of an already existing archival infrastructure. Its location at Wits University reflected the support and affordances of an on-campus network consisting of the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, the SAHA collections and the Historical Papers research archive in the William Cullen Library. There was also a small cohort of individuals at the centre of this configuration, who were ready to take on the task of documenting the history and activism of LGBTI groups in South Africa. They saw the work as an integral part of the larger transformation project of tracing the history of the anti-apartheid movement and strengthening the ability of archives to represent and engage with this history. This was also an opportune time to contribute to a longer intellectual tradition of privileging local histories at Wits, that of building histories and generating knowledge from the ground up.[14]

In the early years, GALA's areas of focus were archival collecting and archival outreach. Early records acquired included those of the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCGLE), which had led the campaign for the inclusion of "sexual orientation" in the equality clause in the Constitution; the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand (GLOW); the Hope and Unity Metropolitan Community Church; and the personal papers of the late Simon Nkoli who was charged with treason alongside 21 other activists in the historic Delmas Treason Trial.[15]

The organisation was inspired by the broader archival discourses of "taking archives to the people" – thus the lines between archival collecting and archival outreach were blurred as outreach work mobilised diverse constituencies to help to create archival collections through the sharing of documents, stories and personal memorabilia. In addition to collecting archival records that were widely dispersed and mostly in the possession of individuals, oral histories were actively collected. The *Journeys of Faith* collection consists of material collected for the exhibition of the same name in 2015, notably a series of oral history interviews conducted with people about faith and sexual orientation. Other collections were acquired after independent researchers had completed particular projects. The *Mark Gevisser* collection, for example, includes Gevisser's research and production material for the 1999 documentary film, *The Man Who Drove with Mandela*, as well as his research as co-editor of the 1994 book, *Defiant Desire: Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa*. Other oral history projects such as the #Feesmustfall Oral History Project[16] were initiated by GALA.

A community archive

GALA is one of the few archival institutions in South Africa that has self-identified as a "community archive" from the outset. Describing GALA as an "independent community archive", former director, Anthony Manion explained that,

> … when we talk of ourselves as being independent and a community archive … what we mean is that … first of all we actually collect records and information about the lives and experiences of LGBTI people in Africa. Secondly, the records that are collected are collected by people who identify as LGBTI, or who identify as allies of LGBTI people. And thirdly, the records are looked after by the LGBTI community and its allies.[17]

GALA has been a key contributor to broader heritage sector conversations on the work and imperatives of community archives and archiving in South Africa. In 1998, the University of the Witwatersrand's Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences hosted a ground-breaking series with seminars, workshops and exhibitions, *Refiguring the Archive,* in collaboration four archival institutions: the National Archives, Wits Historical Papers research archive, SAHA and GALA. One of the workshops addressed the question of

what it means to be a community archive –- what distinguishes community archives from other archives, and what the relationship between community archives and the traditional archival establishment should be? In her summary of the proceedings, Kathy Eales drew attention to the interventionist and active aspect community archiving, noting that "the workshop challenged the notion of archives as inert repositories of public records".[18] This project gave rise to a seminal publication of the same title in 2002.

Reid pointed to two influential approaches to gay and lesbian archives that were highlighted at this workshop, and which informed how GALA positioned its community archiving focus. The first was that of the New York-based Lesbian Herstory Archives,[19] established in 1973, whose work was based on principles of radical archiving – what Reid describes as a "steadfastly community archive" which is entirely community-driven, community-engaged and community-managed. The second influential approach that Reid made reference to was that of the former University of Amsterdam-based Homodok,[20] "founded in 1978 in response to pressure exerted by academics and students at the universities of Amsterdam and Utrecht to include lesbian and gay studies in the curricula."[21] Homodok's work reflected an approach to archiving in which problems of invisibility and "inappropriate referencing" could be addressed by designing and implementing new archival systems.[22] As Reid noted, GALA positioned its community archives work as mid-way between these two archiving streams.[23]

These perspectives draw attention to a subtle tension that has sometimes led to a questioning of GALA's community archive identity, namely, its alignment with and physical location at Wits University. As Reid explained, "… the concept of it was to be a community archive. But [there was] … the tension between that and its placement in an academic institution …"[24] However, as both Reid and Manion noted,[25] there were clear advantages to GALA's association with the University. These advantages were infrastructural – Wits provided a space to work from, overhead costs could be kept to a minimum, and there were the benefits of an existing archival infrastructure that enabled the 'discoverability' and sustainability of archival collections. There were also advantages regarding GALA's core operations and programmes – notably the extent to which this physical placement helped to facilitate academic researchers' use of the archive, thus increasing knowledge production on LGBTI histories and experiences. As Manion explained, "… some people who might not have bothered to visit an LGBTI archive will pop in and use our materials and see the value in the materials".[26] This went a way towards effecting a fundamental shift in the perception of GALA not just as a repository, but as an active participant in the process of knowledge production. A further benefit of GALA's location on the Wits campus has been its engagement with the student LGBTI community, who have found it a useful place to gather relevant information and a safe haven.

In January 2007, GALA re-established itself as the Gay and Lesbian Memory

in Action Trust, thus becoming a formally registered Non-Profit Organisation and relinquishing its independent project status with SAHA after ten years. Despite this change in name and formal status, a reconfigured relationship continued through SAHA's representation on GALA's Board of Trustees, and vice versa. This change also marked a greater separation between GALA and Wits. In 2009 GALA moved from the William Cullen Library and set up its administrative offices and a community library and reading room at University Corner, on the Braamfontein edge of the campus with immediate access to and from the city. This enabled GALA to retain its links to the student and academic communities but, also, to be more easily accessible to the general public. The archival collections were moved to a secure off-site storage facility.[27]

GALA's name change underscores an approach to archives and memory work that shifts away from the preservation of historical records to:

- prioritise contemporary projects, many of which were motivated by the need for social justice interventions in some of the most marginalised constituencies of the LGBTI community;
- contribute to and document the work of an ongoing social movement; and
- place a strong focus on production and dissemination of content in the form of publications and booklets, research reports, books, conference papers, exhibitions and training materials to support LGBTI communities.

In this regard, Manion noted that,

> … some of the funding that we received … was attached to doing outreach work, not simply treating the archive as a repository but making sure that we took information in the archive and we made it accessible to communities that would otherwise not be able to access that information.[28]

Organisational structure and funding

GALA is governed by a Board that decides on all essential matters relating to the administration, finances and strategic direction of the organisation. The current Trustees include LGBTI and archival activists, including the current director of SAHA. Presently the organisation has nine staff members focused on the programme areas of Archives, Research, Culture and Education, and a programme for Deaf LGBTI people.

In its 18-year history, the organisation has received core support from two main sources, HIVOS and the Atlantic Philanthropies.[29] There is also a significant list of funding partners who have supported project-based work to combat homophobia and discrimination at all levels of society. They include:[30]

- Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice

- Ford Foundation
- Foundation for Human Rights
- Conference Workshop Cultural Initiative Fund
- Gender Women and Development Desk (Oral history project work)
- International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission
- Media Development and Diversity Agency
- National Lottery
- SAIH Norwegian Students and Academics International Assistance Fund
- South Africa Aids Foundation
- Standard Bank
- The DiDiRi Collective
- The Embassy of France in South Africa
- The Other Foundation
- United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)
- Women's Hope Education and Training (WHEAT) Trust

Financial sustainability, according to Manion, has always been the organisation's greatest challenge, with a heavy reliance on international donors and limited funding for operational costs.[31]

The archival collections

The most recent guide to the archival collections provides an extensive list of personal papers and organisational records that have been donated, or that were created out of collaborative research, documentation, and production projects between GALA and a wide range of partner organisations and individuals. There is a large paper-based component, but the collections are also interspersed with audio recordings, videos, posters and ephemera that mirror previous, recent, and often ongoing campaigns for LGBTI rights. GALA's collections have not yet been digitised but a guide to the organisation's 200 plus collections is available online.

While there is a predominantly South African focus, collecting priorities have shifted in recent years to accommodate an increasing engagement with LGBTI activism in other countries on the African continent. In this regard, GALA has played a vital role in helping to safeguard archival records from social, political and cultural contexts in which the human rights of LGBTI people have been compromised or violated. According to Manion, "… once it became apparent that there were ways in which we could play a role in helping to archive and produce knowledge … around the continent, we took up those opportunities wherever we could".[32] This is further evident in the high number of other publications, conference proceedings and academic sources to which the GALA has contributed.

Over at least the last decade, there has been a need to think carefully about the methods and extent of archival acquisition at GALA. Space limitations on

the Wits campus led to a moratorium on major archival acquisitions in 2006. This situation has since changed, but it highlights a more serious concern faced by community-based archives: their ability to maintain long-term storage and preservation of archival collections. These concerns were summed up in the following statements by Manion:

> It's quite hard to raise money to … purchase boxes, to get additional support to sort collections, to purchase equipment, to scan photographs, to digitise recordings. The funding that tends to be available is for public activities … the result is that a lot of energy gets pulled out of the archival programme …[33]
>
> "The archive has had to struggle with very limited funding to do processing of collections, to do acquisitions outside of oral history acquisition. So are we lucky that that situation is correcting itself but it means that we have a lot of catching up to do now to get it back to the point where we are meant to be".[34]

The greatest challenge of all is how community archives safeguard their collections in perpetuity.

In terms of archival acquisitions, archivist Linda Chernis noted a slow but steady increase in the new archival collections generated from GALA's own projects and initiatives – "GALA publications, projects and workshop materials are passed on to the archive and form collections themselves".[35] This documentation of GALA-initiated projects adds an institutional archive component to the GALA collections, and the processes and outcomes of these projects are made available to researchers as part of a longer-term archival resource. One of the short-term benefits of moving the archive to an off-site storage facility is that the organisation is now able to consider more substantial additions to the archival collections.

A limitation of the move out of the Wits Historical Papers Research Archive is that it has resulted in a significantly reduced online presence for the archival collections. In the past, the online availability of the archive was integrated into the technology infrastructure of the Historical Papers Research Archive in which archival finding aids could be accessed and searched online, and linked to digitised materials. This is no longer the case. At present, there are signs that the GALA website is being substantially re-worked to include detailed information about the archival collections. Still, developing and maintaining a web-based archival presence will require substantial and consistent investments of resources over time.

GALA has only one full-time archivist who faces substantial challenges in:

- reducing archival sorting and processing backlogs;
- managing and preserving diverse archival media;
- sourcing funding for the archival functions of processing, scanning,

digitisation and preservation;
- making decisions about which collections to prioritise;
- ensuring a consistently well-managed archive so that sensitive content can be protected and managed in accordance with donor agreements and the Protection of Personal Information (POPI) Act;
- facilitating researcher access

Oral history collecting and outreach

GALA's oral history projects are an important intersection point for archival collecting, projects-based research, dissemination and knowledge construction. Oral histories generate archival collections, they form the nucleus of many of GALA's research initiatives, and they provide the content for dissemination activities such as publications and exhibitions. Oral history collecting and collections also reflect an organisational positioning on struggles for historical justice and on more pressing contemporary social and political issues. Often these interests and objectives are inseparable, as can be seen in past and ongoing oral history projects.

A critical area of oral history work in GALA's early years was initiated in response to reports that surfaced in the TRC institutional hearings on the health sector. The TRC Report noted widespread human rights violations against gay conscripts to the apartheid military by health workers.[36] GALA, in cooperation with the Medical Research Council and the Health and Human Rights Project, further interrogated the TRC's findings in a research project that:

- investigated and documented the violations of human rights experienced by gays and lesbians in the military as a result of the actions of health workers;
- examined the institutional context, including explicit and implicit policies, both within the military and because of the attitudes of health professions, which allowed these abuses by health professionals to occur;
- investigated and documented the effects, both in the short and long-term, of these abuses on survivors;
- contributed to reconstructing the experiences of gay conscripts and gay and lesbian Permanent Force members during the apartheid era; and
- raised the awareness of the gay and lesbian community and the broader community, including the health professions, regarding the violations of human rights suffered by gays and lesbians in the military.[37.]

The Aversion Project Report,[38] based on this research, was published in 1999. The interviews, with survivors and their families and friends, which informed this research, have been added to the GALA archival collections, but many of these remain embargoed to protect the confidentiality of participants. In 2001 GALA and SAHA used the PAIA to request the release of classified military and health records that would deepen the knowledge base and possible future impacts of this work. This frequently cited Report, which includes all the

information about the project that GALA has permission to share, continues to attract attention.

In another important oral history initiative in the late 1990s, GALA collaborated with film-makers, Mark Gevisser and Greta Schiller, for the production of a film documentary about Cecil Williams, *The Man Who Drove with Mandela*.[39] The interviews which formed the background research and context for the documentary detail another previously undocumented aspect of South Africa's LGBTI history – the social and political experiences of gay men and lesbians in the 1950s and 1960s in South Africa. These oral histories were added to the archival collection and continue to provide a unique and important resource on a period of LGBTI activism and experiences that were poorly documented prior to this initiative.

Around the same time, GALA participated in the making of the play *After Nines!*, a community theatre production based on life histories, testimonies, anecdotes and folklore about the history of black lesbian and gay communities in South Africa. The play was based on stories collected by the cast as well as records housed in the GALA archives. *After Nines!* toured community venues and township halls in and around Gauteng, appeared at the Gay Games in Amsterdam in 1998 and in Sydney in 2000, and was performed at the Johannesburg Civic Theatre and the South African National Festival of the Arts. It was based on archival and oral material, and produced by Richard Colman through a participatory method of "workshopping" with participants. According to Reid, the play was "about a contemporary people looking for fragments of their history and coming to an understanding of their past through the stories that were kept in the archive".[40] The cast were involved with the research and narrativisation process, conducting around 30 interviews that were subsequently added to the archival collections. *After Nines!* debuted to community audiences at the landmark Harrison Reef Hotel in Hillbrow, in 1998. Later venues included the Yeoville Recreation Centre, the Sibikwa Centre in Benoni, the Vereeniging Civic Theatre, and the Johannesburg Civic Theatre. The making of the play, supported in part by the Civic Theatre Development Programme and the National Arts Council, set a precedent for a longer trajectory of participatory knowledge building, and community, civil society and institutional relationships and partnerships that came to define GALA's work over time. The project was significant for the way in which it accessed and presented work at township and mainstream arts venues and funding.

Between 2003 and 2006, an oral history project looking at the experiences of LGBTI youth led to the publication of *Balancing Act: South African Gay and Lesbian Youth Speak Out* (GALA and New Africa Books, 2005)[41] together with a teacher guide for school use. Again, the move into school education marked a significant movement of LGBTI concerns into a formative mainstream context. The writing programme and other publications have given the scholarly community a new set of texts to work with: *Queer Africa: New and*

Collected Fiction, (Modjaji Books)[42] an anthology of stories that is "representative of the range of human emotions and experiences that abound in the lives of Africans and those of the diaspora, who identify variously along the long and fluid line of the sexuality, gender and sexual orientation spectrum in the African continent"[43] has, for example, has been prescribed in literature courses at least four South African universities.[44]

Participation in the oral history projects was largely contingent upon GALA being able to offer some level of participant confidentiality and to assure participants that any conditions of access to the interviews would be adhered to. Thus, one of GALA's important challenges has been the need to figure out "how archival theory might translate into an appropriate archival practice"[45] within a community archive context. This requires a combination of community and professional archival credibility.

It is important to note that the ways in which oral histories were and continue to be deployed illuminate the workings of an archival methodology in which oral histories are the key instruments in making, acquiring, empowering, enabling, and disseminating material pertinent to LGBTI concerns.

The projects mentioned here have been at the heart of active and participatory programmes of collecting and disseminating, and have been linked to narrative and theatrical performances, publications, conferences, educational programmes and/or exhibitions. Importantly, they have also been based on community and civil society partnerships with organisations such as the Hope and Unity Metropolitan Community Church, the Perinatal HIV Research Unit and HIVSA at Baragwanath Hospital, Soweto HIV Aids Counselling Association, Living Together, Triangle Project, and the Coalition for African Lesbians.[46]

Activism at GALA

GALA exemplifies a form of archival activism driven by the need to redress the exclusion of LGBTI experience from the archive and to challenge historical and memory discourse that excludes and distorts LGBTI experiences in South Africa and in other African countries. This is evident in ongoing additions to the archival collection. It is becoming increasingly common that new collections are acquired when an organisation closes down, or on the death of a potential donor. In 2015 for instance, the archive acquired the collection of the Out in Africa Film Festival which recently closed down after 21 years because of limited funding.[47] Gerald Kraak, award-winning fiction writer, LGBTI and anti-apartheid activist, and latterly central figure in directing international philanthropic attention to both the funding of archival activism and LGBTI activism, bequeathed his personal and research papers to GALA.[48] The fact of GALA's existence stimulates the possibility of such deposits and bequests, while its credibility enables the necessary trust.

Even though the organisation's collecting activities have, over time, become more modest, there is a strategic focus on collecting records that are perceived to be under threat because of hostile social and legislative environments, in this way keeping alive the ideals of a resilient social movement. There have been cases in which collaborative work has underscored the need for archival advocacy, as sometimes organisations do not realise the value of, or express reluctance to archive their records:

> … particularly outside of South Africa, it's more important to play an advocacy role around archiving … educating organisations around the importance of good records management, and the importance of ensuring that the work that they do is archived … quite often there are no archival institutions that are willing to take records related to LGBTI lives and organising … GALA does provide a safe space here in Johannesburg for those collections …[49]

Much of the emphasis in recent years has been on developing a working model designed to create a strong civil society-based presence for LGBTI rights groups, and to increase the impact of activist interventions within homophobic South African and African contexts. GALA's work was therefore seen as integral to a "cluster" of LGBTI rights organisations that received core funding from the Atlantic Philanthropies to advance fundamental human rights and freedoms in LGBTI communities.[50]

Recent research reports covering issues such as gender-based violence against lesbian and bisexual women in South Africa, and projects that support the integration of refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented immigrants into South African society respond to an acute need for social justice interventions that can potentially be integrated with future archival work but which are not themselves primarily archival interventions, or are not conceptualised within archival frameworks to begin with. GALA's programme which focuses on the deaf community also falls outside of an explicitly archival framework, as it is primarily an HIV educational initiative focused on the deaf community.[51] As archivist Chernis noted, "… not all projects will have a strong overlap with the archival programme … [and] … there is ongoing debate as to whether this is an issue or not".[52] Nonetheless, all of the projects are archived by GALA.

Partnerships and alignments have been made with a wide spectrum of human rights organisations, LGBTI rights groups and networks. These include:

• representation on the Hate Crimes Working Group, a cross-sectoral southern African initiative opposed to any forms of hate crimes;[53]
• the National Task Team on Violence Against LGBTI People, established by the Department of Justice in 2011;[54] and
• the Joint Working Group, a national network of organisations focused on LGBTI issues.[55]

Impacts

The impact of GALA's work can best be considered in terms of its project-based work – where, how and with what effect these programme interventions have been implemented. The question of "with what effect" is difficult to answer in a definitive way, particularly in light of ongoing attitudes of homophobia at different levels of society. It is, however, possible to note that significant strides have been made in this regard, particularly in the extent to which LGBTI concerns have reached and become talking points both within and outside of the LGBTI community.

Manion noted that in the case of GALA's education programme, it is possible to evaluate this work based on the extent to which research recommendations have been utilised and implemented by policy makers, and the extent to which policy makers have identified a role for themselves in collaborating with GALA on educational and research materials development.

Measuring the impact of the archival programme is less straightforward because it is usually not possible to differentiate between the influence of archival interventions, and other social, political and cultural influences that individuals or communities may be affected by over time.

> When it comes to the archival programme, it's trickier. It's hard to know whether a change has happened because of the work that the archive has been doing, or whether the change would have happened anyway as a result of the other activities that were going on …[56]

Manion goes further to say that,

> …it's one thing to say that the archive has helped to produce a body of knowledge, but it's more difficult for us to say how that body of knowledge has been taken up further downstream[57]

In addition to specific substantive indications flagged in the above sections, other indications of the impact of GALA's work include the following:

- the existence of an extensive archival resource on LGBTI histories and experiences that takes account of the diversity of interests, experiences and viewpoints within the LGBTI community;
- an increase in the diversity of GALA's user base, and an increase in the number of South Africans using the archival collections on projects relating to sexual orientation and gender identity;
- a large body of academic research to which the archival collections have contributed, as seen in analysing the sources of what has been published on LGBTI issues;
- focused contributions to research, education and training that support, and position GALA's work in relation to an ongoing LGBTI and human rights social movement.

Conclusion

At the "Refiguring the Archive" workshop on community archives, referenced earlier in this chapter, Scobie Lekhutile raised five issues that need consideration with regard to community-based archives and archiving in the context of the Khama III Memorial Museum in Serowe, Botswana:

- The role of community archives, as defined by different community contexts
- The kinds of commitments that are needed to ensure the accessibility of community archives, and their continued accessibility over time
- Strategies for collecting
- The difficulties of setting up and sustaining community archives
- The need for community archives to facilitate inter-generational dialogue[58]

As this case study shows, these are the issues that GALA has grappled with and that warrant ongoing attention. In addition, it is also important to note that community archives are partly framed and shaped by institutional contexts and accountabilities.

Is GALA most effective, and best understood as, a human rights organisation with a significant archival component, or as an archive with a social justice agenda? At different times during the organisation's 18-year history, it has fulfilled both of these roles. In recent years, the archive has played a secondary role. At other times, the archival programmes have effectively pushed forward a social justice agenda, as in the cases of the oral history programmes and in safeguarding archives that are at risk.

The importance of GALA's work as an organisation that represents the interests, experiences and struggles of LGBTI people cannot be overstated in light of the pervasive homophobia that is prevalent in the majority of countries on the African continent, and globally. Even though LGBTI rights are enshrined within the South African Constitution, this is often blatantly undermined by the continued stigmatisation and violence inflicted against and experienced by many LGBTI people in South Africa. A 2011 Human Rights Watch (HRW) Report,[59] based primarily on interviews with 120 people in six provinces of South Africa, revealed alarming rates of homophobic-driven violence in poorer communities of South Africa, leading to an argument that the South African middle and upper classes are able to benefit most meaningfully from the protections afforded by the constitutional provisions on sexual orientation. The HRW Report also made a series of recommendations to government departments at national, regional and local levels in terms of preventing violence against LGBTI people. The need for a campaign is aptly summed up in the 2012 *Equality Report* of the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), which states that "rights do not necessarily result in justice".[60] Alarming reports of gross human rights violations against LGBTI people have been reported by the international NGO, HRW, and

in many instances strongly condemned by the United Nations. In 2014, the SAHRC reported the criminalisation of homosexuality in at least 38 African states. This resulted in a call by the SAHRC to the South African government to fulfil a constitutional obligation to promote the human rights of LGBTI people in its foreign diplomatic engagements, particularly in light of the role South Africa now plays as a member of the United Nations Human Rights Council.[61] The South African government has shown reluctance and exercised caution in this regard.

GALA is part of a network of LGBTI rights organisations in South Africa that are actively challenging overarching narratives of homophobia that dictate that homosexuality is "unAfrican", and working towards a just present and future for LGBTI people. Within this network it plays a distinctive role because of its archival concerns.

In September 2016 GALA initiated a 'Witness Seminar', to contribute to the development of an organisational history of GALA as it prepared to celebrate its 20th anniversary in 2017. This brought current and former Board and staff members together to reflect on the history of the organisation and to consider the way forward. One of the themes that ran through the reflections was that GALA came into being during a critical period in the history of South Africa: a time when activists and activist organisations were inspired and driven to action by the possibility of creating a fundamentally better, more equitable and just society. The particular contribution GALA made, noted in a written submission to the gathering, was to bring the LGBTI archive proudly into public life, arguing that:

> …The presence of an archive is a huge statement in public life. The presence of an archive in any one area confirms in public life the status of that area as having a history, and as having a history worth preserving, investigating and reinvestigating, in perpetuity. It is a statement of presence in public life…. By being not only active in campaigns, but by holding materials in a space publicly proclaimed as an archive, by seizing the status of archive, and demanding for its materials the elaborate and expensive apparatus of preservation, GALA asserts publicly the worth of LGBTI experience and history.[62]

In focussing on making an LGBTI archive, GALA took up the challenge that the Constitution cannot give effect to its own provisions, only action can.

Endnotes

1. *History Workshop*, accessed June 2017 https://www.wits.ac.za/history-workshop/.
2. *Treatment Action Campaign*, accessed June 2017, www.tac.org.za.
3. *District Six Museum*, accessed June 2017, http://www.districtsix.co.za.
4. *Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action*, accessed June 2017, www.gala.co.za.
5. *Robben Island Museum*, accessed June 2017, http://www.robben-island.org.za/.
6. *South African Democratic Education Trust*, accessed June 2017, www.sadet.co.za.
7. *University of the Western Cape Repository,* accessed June 2017, http://repository.uwc.ac.za/

xmlui/handle/10566/2042.

8. *History Workshop*, accessed June 2017, https://www.wits.ac.za/history-workshop/.

9. Clause 9 (3) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa states that, "The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth." Clause 4 accords the same responsibility for upholding this right to civil society, stating that, "No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds in terms of subsection (3). National legislation must be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination.

10. The acronym is generally accepted as standing for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual and Intersex.

11. Unpublished transcript of the GALA Witness Seminar held on 14 September 2016, p.11.

12. The use of the term 'gay and 'lesbian' was prevalent in the 1990. Today the preferred term is LGBTI people (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex).

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14. As reflected in the conceptual underpinnings and methods of the Wits History Workshop, see Chapter Four of this Report.

15. GALA, *Archival Guide*, accessed March 2018, https://gala.co.za/archive/gala-archiving-guide/.

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18. K Eales, Introduction, *SA Archives Journal*, 1998, pp 11–15.

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21. Graeme Reid, 'The History of the Past is the Trust of the Present: Preservation and Excavation in the Gay and Lesbian Archives of South Africa" in Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Michelle Pickover, Graeme Reid, Razia Saleh and Jane Taylor, (eds.), *Refiguring the Archive*, (Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht/Boston/London, 2002).

22. *Ibid.*

23. Interview with Graeme Reid, conducted by Anthea Josias, November 2015.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Interviews with Graeme Reid and Anthony Manion, conducted by Anthea Josias, November 2015.

26. Interview with Anthony Manion, conducted by Anthea Josias, November 2015.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Atlantic Philanthropies*, accessed June 2017, http://www.atlanticphilanthropies.org.

30. GALA, *Donors*, accessed 27 December 2015, http://www.gala.co.za/about_us/donors.htm. Note: this page has been removed.

31. *Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action (GALA)*, Archival Platform, accessed 27 December 2015, http://www.archivalplatform.org/news/entry/gay_and_lesbian/.

32. Interview with Anthony Manion, conducted by Anthea Josias, November 2015.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. Personal correspondence with Linda Chernis, November 2015.

36. The term 'health workers' rather than 'health professionals' is used in the TRC literature and in the accounts given during oral submissions to the Commission.

37. M van Zyl et al., *The Aversion Project: Human Rights Abuses of Gays and Lesbians in the South African Defence Force by health workers during the apartheid era*, p.17, accessed June 2016, http://www.mrc.ac.za/healthsystems/aversion.pdf

38. *The Aversion Project: Human Rights Abuses of Gays and Lesbians in the South African Defence Force by health workers during the apartheid era*, accessed Jun 2016, http://www.mrc.ac.za/healthsystems/aversion.pdf

39. Jezebel Productions, *The Man Who Drove with Mandela,* accessed June 2016 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-7BLISiVA7Q.

40. Interview with Graeme Reid, conducted by Anthea Josias, November 2015.

41. Bloch, J. and Martin, K., 2005. *Balancing act: South African gay and lesbian youth speak out*. New Africa Books.

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CHAPTER THREE

CHAPTER THREE

ARCHIVES OF ACTIVISM THAT SUPPORT ONGOING STRUGGLES FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

Mayibuye Centre for Culture and History in South Africa

Lead researcher: Jo-Anne Duggan

Chapter Overview

This chapter focuses on the work of the Mayibuye Centre for Culture and History in South Africa (the Centre) established in 1991 at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). It traces the trajectory of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF) audio-visual collection as it moved from its place of origin in London into the care of the newly established Centre, and its subsequent incorporation into an iconic post-apartheid national institution, the Robben Island Museum (RIM). This chapter specifically tracks the 'life' of the IDAF collections in London and in the Centre because, as an archive created by activists, it shaped much of the Centre's early work including its public programmes. The chapter outlines how, over time, and as its status changed, the centre shifted from activism to inertia. The concluding section reflects on the specific contextual and institutional factors that facilitated this particular example of archival activism and those that stifled archival agency.

Origins

The inception of the Mayibuye Centre for Culture and History in South Africa (the Centre) can be traced back to 1987 when Professor Jakes Gerwel, Rector and Vice Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape, set up an ad hoc committee to investigate the possibility of establishing a museum and an archive focusing on apartheid and resistance in South Africa.[1]

A memorandum submitted to the committee in November of that year explains something of the thinking behind this decision and the activist agenda that lay behind the committee's intention for the new institution:

> The very concept of the apartheid museum had its origin in the realisation that such an institution, if borne and nurtured within a progressive ethos, and serving as a focal point for a wide range of cultural and socially creative activities, can indeed be a powerful instrument in the struggle for a non-racial and democratic society. For this to be the case, it is imperative that the apartheid museum be formed under the auspices of UWC. The ad hoc committee is of the opinion that UWC needs to respond to the challenge of forging an instrument of struggle for which it is eminently placed. As an institution of higher learning and research, as a community of intellectuals whose best contribution to the creation of a new society must be as such, and as a place where some space has been opened up for transforming cultural and social creativity, UWC has indeed got a responsibility to ensure that the concept of an apartheid museum is developed as an instrument of struggle before it is expropriated and exploited for other purposes.[2]

The timing of this decision is important. It was made in the context of sustained mass resistance, the state's increasingly violent response to this, the declaration of draconian State of Emergency regulations, and censorship and restriction of the media. It was also a period in which the first signs of the crumbling of structural apartheid began to appear, with the repeal of legislation including 'pass laws', the 'mixed marriages act' and the removal of apartheid signs from some amenities. It was, as noted in the First Annual Report, "the right idea at the right time".[3]

According to Andre Odendaal, who joined the UWC History Department as a lecturer in 1985, the decision to establish a "holocaust museum of apartheid was made in the context of UWC's redefinition of itself as closely associated with the democratic movement, a "university in a repressive society struggling for freedom" or a "university of the left".[4] The proposed development was therefore aligned with the broader intellectual project of the university, flowing from initiatives such as the People's History Project and others that were forging new kinds of practice across a number of disciplines.[5]

Odendaal was tasked by the ad hoc Committee with determining the

feasibility of setting up such a museum and with exploring opportunities and possibilities around the collection and preservation of the history of resistance in South Africa.[6] In 1988 he travelled to England where he met with key African National Congress (ANC) figures and representatives of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF). He also travelled to Norway, Sweden, Cuba and the Soviet Union to investigate possible models for dealing with histories of repression and resistance. By the end of 1989 he had secured a commitment from IDAF to deposit about 5,000 photographs and videos at UWC, a substantial archive even though this was just a fraction of IDAF's vast collection.[7]

The IDAF collection is one of many that sit within the Centre's vast archival holdings. There are over 300 collections in total, including official papers from political parties, trade unions, civil society initiatives, anti-apartheid organisations and the personal papers of many individuals as well as photographs, films, videos, oral history interviews, political posters and a visual art collection. It is an archive of activism, constituted by activists who energetically tracked down and sought out material from every possible source and who welcomed contributions from individuals and organisations. Activists of the time recall going to political meetings in the 1990s and being alerted by the staff of the Centre to the importance of their personal archives and the need to conserve these for future generations. Many responded to this call, bringing packets of materials to the Centre for safekeeping.[8] In this sense the act of collecting was in itself an act of archival activism that required creativity, tenacity, political sensitivity and an on-going engagement with many publics, as did the mobilisation of material through exhibitions, publications and public programmes.

The IDAF collection formed the core of the Centre's collections.[9] As such, it provides a unique window into the archival work done by apartheid-era activists, and the sense of ennui that pervaded the work in more recent times.

The International Defence and Aid Fund in London

IDAF, initially known as the Defence and Aid Fund of Christian Action, was founded in the late 1950s by Cannon John Collins of St Paul's Cathedral, London,[10] to pay the legal fees for those charged with political offences by the apartheid government and to provide financial aid to their families. In 1966 IDAF was declared an 'unlawful organisation' and banned from operating in South Africa under the Suppression of Communism Act.[11] This made it a criminal offence for anyone in the country to receive money from the organisation or to act on its behalf. Undeterred, IDAF set up a covert operation, based at its London headquarters, from where it continued its work until 1991 when it disbanded, considering its mission to have been accomplished.[12]

The IDAF 'mission statement',[13] printed as a front-piece to many of its publications, lists the objectives of the fund as:

- To aid, defend and rehabilitate the victims of unjust legislation and oppressive and arbitrary procedures.
- To support their families and dependents.
- To keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake.

Over the thirty-five years of its existence IDAF realised these objectives through three programmes:

- Programme One funded legal defence for thousands of people charged with political offences in South Africa as well as inquests into the deaths of those who died in detention, and other legal matters;
- Programme Two provided on-going support for the families of those who were detained, accused in courts, imprisoned or executed;
- Programme Three was charged with producing objective, factual, information about South Africa.

Programmes One and Two provided invaluable support to many, despite the need to operate under conditions of great secrecy. However, it is the archival ethos of Programme Three – Research, Information and Publicity (RIP) – which is of particular relevance to this Report. It was also the most public aspect of IDAF's work, having been described as the 'one section that was allowed to push its nose above the parapet'.[14]

The RIP Programme began in the early 1960s when Alex Hepple, who had run the Defence and Aid office in Johannesburg, arrived in London and was asked by Collins to produce a digest of South African events. Hepple and his wife, Girlie, initially worked with a team of local volunteers to identify, clip and file reports of torture, sabotage and other issues relating to apartheid from various publications including newspapers and journals.[15] This operation moved onto a more professional footing when IDAF secured funding for this service from the Swedish government, setting in place a modus operandi that continued for the duration of IDAF's existence. The clipped articles were summarised into a brief report, which was collated and published in the *Southern Africa Information Service Manual (SAISM)*. Alan Brookes, Hepple's successor, replaced the loose-leaf format *SAISM* with *Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa*, a tightly edited bi-monthly publication[16] that was more accessible and easier to distribute. In the first issue of *Focus*, dated November 1975, Canon Collins explained that:

> South Africa is currently spending vast amounts of money on propaganda, much of it false to the facts, which would seem to be designed to 'whitewash' the dark and grim realities of Apartheid and to denigrate those opposed to it. Perhaps more than ever before, there is a great need to 'keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake.'[17]

Focus was distributed in conjunction with a series of theme- or topic-based *Fact Papers*.[18] When Tony Trew succeeded Brookes in 1980, these productions were synthesised into an annual *Review of Repression and Resistance in South Africa*. IDAF's materials were widely circulated to UN agencies, embassies, liberation movements, journalists, institutions and organisations internationally. In spite of being banned in South Africa, *Focus* also reached local university campuses[19] and, apparently, some public libraries.[20] These materials constitute a remarkable archive of activism, resistance and repression under apartheid.

IDAF took pride in the distribution of information that had been verified and was factually correct. It focussed on the production and dissemination of information rather than on campaigns. The mobilisation of their material in support of the struggle for liberation was left to organisations like the Anti-Apartheid Movement. But, the very act of collecting and collating information was and is political and the way in which information was juxtaposed, for example, to draw attention to injustices can be elucidating. Al Cook, who worked in the Research and Information department from 1973, explained how, by taking the apartheid government's own information and putting it together in ways that demonstrated the truth, IDAF's information materials were used to counter the disinformation offensive of the government".[21] Cook cites, as an example, a situation where the Bantu Affairs Department might announce a new housing project for 200,000 'Bantu', a Public Works report might announce that 20,000 new dwellings were planned, and the Department of Water affairs that 2,000 taps had been provided for residents. Taken separately, Cook explains, these figures might look impressive; seen together it is evident that each three-bedroom dwelling was intended to house 10 people and each tap to be shared by 1,000 people.[22]

The RIP Programme also facilitated the work of Programmes One and Two by identifying people who were in need of support.[23] Information collected, collated, produced and distributed by IDAF also kept the United Nations (UN) Special Committee against Apartheid and other international agencies informed about current development in South Africa. E.S. Reddy, Director of the UN Centre against Apartheid, asked IDAF to produce a survey of political prisoners and imprisonment to mark 11 October 1978, the day adopted by the UN as the 'United Nations Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners' and the anniversary of the first day of the 1963 Rivonia Trial. This survey was released in 1978 as a book, *Prisoners of Apartheid: a biographical list of political prisoners and banned persons in South Africa*, published by IDAF in cooperation with the United Nations Centre against Apartheid.[24]

Initially, the clippings files rarely included photographs, and the early publications were devoid of images. IDAF's move into collecting photographs came about when Hugh Lewin, an ex-political prisoner and journalist, was appointed Director of Information in 1972. He commissioned John Seymour, a British photographer, to visit South Africa and secretly photograph what he saw in order to animate IDAF's publications. Seymour's photographs, which

were originally used to create a calendar, sold to generate funds, proved so popular that Lewin commissioned a newspaper photographer, Tony McGrath, to create a second portfolio.[25] Barry Feinberg, who succeeded Lewin in 1977, is credited with growing the small photo collection into a fully-fledged audio-visual resource. It became a vital way of illustrating "often more effectively than could words, conditions of life under apartheid".[26] Feinberg argues that the development of the audio-visual resource marked a significant shift in the work of the RIP Programme, attributing this development to the growing tide of opposition to apartheid that followed the 1976 student protests. This event, he says, drew the attention of the world to the situation in South Africa, requiring IDAF to redouble their efforts to raise awareness and "promote the broadest possible sympathetic response" by using "more attractively presented material".[27]

As the demand for photographs and audio-visual material increased, IDAF adopted a number of strategies to grow the photographic and audio-visual collection: searching existing picture libraries for material which they then copied; appealing to the exile community in London to make private photographs or films available to IDAF;[28] and acquiring photographs smuggled from South African sources "which never saw the light of day inside the country".[29]

Gordon Metz, who joined IDAF in about 1986, described how, in the 1980s when onerous restrictions were imposed on the media,[30] he was tasked with forging covert links with organisations within South Africa to facilitate access to photographs documenting both acts of resistance and acts of repression. Paul Weinberg, one of the founding members of Afrapix[31], a collective of documentary photographers, explains how photographs taken by Afrapix photographers were disseminated:

> We made a decision in Afrapix that we would, every month, send a package out around the world. And we did. And so, we built up the memory of what was going on in South Africa through three conduits: a church group in Germany, a church group in England and a church group in Holland, and they spread the material throughout the world. Some of which ended up at IDAF. So, there wasn't a direct connection. That would have landed us up in jail…[32]

Paddy Donnelly, who ran the IDAF photography collection for a time in the 1980s, recalled how packets of Afrapix photographs would arrive at IDAF unannounced. He would copy these and distribute multiple copies to the media, often, for security reasons, without crediting the photographer or the source, but with the IDAF stamp on the back.[33]

Metz, like Weinberg, remembers the 1980s as a period when growing international interest in South Africa resulted in an escalation in the demand for photographs saying, "At one stage we'd be sending out about a thousand

photographs a week".[34] Although IDAF generated funds from the sale of the photographs – and these were applied to supporting its work – Afrapix and its photographers were not paid.[35] According to Metz, Weinberg and Goddard, this practice was regarded as acceptable at the time. In later years, especially after the collection was transferred to the Mayibuye Centre, contested issues of ownership and copyright created tension between the organisation and the photographers, highlighting the complexities of managing an 'inherited' collection.

With such a large photographic collection to work with, Feinberg and his colleagues were soon able to produce their first photographic exhibition, *Southern Africa, the Imprisoned Society* (1976), which depicted the workings of apartheid and its impact on the lives of black people. The exhibition was well received and so many requests were made to take it on loan that IDAF produced replicas in a portable format, with sheets of photographic prints scaled down to fit into a cardboard container that could be easily posted and stored.[36]

In his 2009 memoir, Feinberg described how the South African Embassy in London, concerned about the effect of this exhibition, produced an educational photographic pack of their own which they distributed to London schools. While the narrative was obviously very different from the IDAF exhibition, it looked remarkably similar, right down to the choice of format and typeface. Following the success of that venture, IDAF produced regular exhibitions in a similar format to *Southern Africa, the Imprisoned Society*, often in partnership with other organisations or to mark significant events.

Towards the end of 1979 Feinberg suggested that IDAF produce a film to mark the 25th anniversary of the adoption of The *Freedom Charter*. This marked a new phase in the Programme's work. Explaining how IDAF made the shift from supplying materials to filmmakers to producing its own film Feinberg argued that he and his colleagues were not always happy with the end products and, given the unique resources in the IDAF archive, it made sense for them to grasp the opportunity to "illuminate the policies of the liberation movement".[37]

The film, *Isitwalandwe*, was a great success and affirmed the importance of using visual information to raise awareness. As Feinberg points out, "Nothing captures an audience's attention more effectively than moving pictures … The larger the picture, the more detail is observable, the more hypnotic the medium."[38] In the wake of the success of the film, IDAF agreed to provide funds to support a group of South African filmmakers to start systematically filming resistance to apartheid policies in South Africa. The work of this group, initially named Video News Service (VNS) and later Afravision, and with whom IDAF worked closely, was described by the *New Yorker* in 1991 as a valuable resource which "looked at the liberation struggle in South Africa in a way which British television, for example, has been unable to do".[39]

As the apartheid regime increased pressure on those who resisted it, the demand for IDAF to provide funding to pay lawyers and support dependents grew incrementally and the need to increase levels of donation or sponsorship grew. The RIP Programme responded to this by stepping up its efforts to raise the profile of IDAF and to generate income from the sale of its products. A book and an exhibition produced to honour Mandela's 60th birthday fulfilled both these purposes. The book proved to be a "best seller", helping to "swell the ranks of anti-apartheid supporters."[40]

The mid-1980s marked another shift in the work of the RIP Programme due to the "huge growth of popular opposition to apartheid and the corresponding demand internationally for information about developments in South Africa,"[41] coupled with IDAF's growing realisation that it needed to give the public and the media "deeper and more human insights into apartheid and the escalating struggle to defeat it".[42] Kliptown Books was established in 1987 to publish "fiction, poetry, biography an other writings which help to illuminate the struggle for freedom in South Africa and Namibia from a more literary point of view".[43]

The IDAF Archive and UWC

On 2 February 1990, the President FW de Klerk announced that the ANC and other political organisations would be unbanned and political prisoners released. Deciding that its work was almost done, IDAF took a decision to close its operations in London and to transfer its "legal, welfare, and informational resources and activities" to South Africa.[44]

Feinberg and Metz visited South Africa to consider possible options. Explaining the engagement with UWC, Feinberg says:

> Because UWC had been a focus of anti-apartheid activities, which it wanted to consolidate for the future, it had already put forward a strong proposal through its representative Andre Odendaal, who had recently visited London in order to persuade IDAF and the ANC to transfer all IDAF's informational resources to their campus. Their plan also involved the setting up of a Historical and Cultural Centre which would house all the IDAF collections, including, when they became available, the classified legal and welfare archives.[45]

On their return to London, Feinberg and Metz prepared a Report recommending that the collections be transferred to the Centre because it was "the only institution with the capacity to house and reactivate the IDAF archives". The phrase 'reactivate' is significant in the context of this Report as well as in understanding the nature of IDAF's work and the mandate given to UWC. It sent a clear message that the collections should continue to be mobilised in support of social justice. They were not intended to languish unseen in a repository.

Archival material relating to IDAF's legal and welfare programmes, much of it highly sensitive, was deposited in a secure vault in London until the time was right for it to be transferred to South Africa. It had been agreed that former IDAF staff members Feinberg, Metz and Norman Kaplan would be relocated to Cape Town to assist in the development of the new Centre, at UWC.

Commenting on IDAF's impact Horst Kleinschmidt, who served as Executive Director from 1983 until the organisation closed in 1992, explains that amongst many other achievements, IDAF succeeded in keeping the conscience of the world alive to the horror that was unfolding in South Africa through the dissemination of carefully researched material, as he put it, free from ideology or propaganda.

The Mayibuye Centre for Culture and History in South Africa

The early years 1991 – 1995

By the end of 1991, Odendaal had been seconded from the History Department to establish the Centre and the IDAF informational materials had been packed up and sent to Cape Town.[46] The Centre was formally incorporated into UWC as a part of the Institute for Historical Research (IHR)[47] in 1992.

Odendaal describes his work during the first five years of the Centre as the most productive period of his life:

> From the beginning, it was incredibly productive in terms of trying to publish, trying to do exhibits, collecting materials, having cultural events. Remember it was called the Centre for Culture and History in South Africa. It was a new way of looking at history, like a living archive basically. If I look back now, it was the most progressive thing and it came at a perfect time … as you know, the then South African Museum and other places, when the unbannings happened, the state heritage sector was in a total depressed state … and suddenly everyone wanted to have access to these materials or to change and show the history of everyone.[48]

The Centre's First Annual Report acknowledges the significance of the IDAF archives, stating that that the Centre was "given a major boost when it received a large ready-made multi-media archive"[49] and arguing that this "instantly provided the Centre with major holdings and opportunities to initiate various activities".[50] It also notes that this "core collection" supplemented a large amount of other material solicited by the Centre which included various organisational archives, personal papers, court records, periodicals and press clippings, and photographs.

In its first eighteen months, the Centre moved from "dream to reality", achieving remarkable success:

- It had become fully operational, with six full-time staff members (three of whom had previously been employed in the IDAF office in London), two research fellows, three oral history fieldworkers and nine student assistants who were running six departments and a full programme of activities.
- Over R1 million had been raised to fund its activities, with major funding coming from: the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), which contributed almost a third of the funds; the Norwegian Foreign Ministry; a UWC Council Grant; the Ford Foundation; the Centre for Development Studies; the African National Congress; the Scandinavian Institute for African Studies; Oxfam Belgium and Anti-Apartheidsbeweging Nederland; the Equal Opportunities Foundation; and other funders not named in the Annual Report. The Centre had also generated an amount of R120,00.00, just over 10% of its income for the year through the sale of publications and the rights to reproduce audio-visual material, including photographs.
- The Historical Papers Department had amassed a collection of over 7,000 box files from IDAF and other organisations as well as individual activists. These were divided into two categories: personal papers and archives, and periodicals and press clippings. The task of sorting, cataloguing and shelving these had begun but they had not yet been made available to researchers.
- The Photographic Department had taken transfer of IDAF's entire photographic collection consisting of about 30,000 negatives, 70,000 prints and 4,000 transparencies as well as hundreds of copies of the printed portable exhibitions produced over the years by IDAF. This material had already been accessed and used by broadcast and print media and a wide range of publishers and organisations. The Photographic Department started work on two major exhibitions to be launched in 1993: *Beyond the Handshake: Images of South Africa in Transition* an exhibition by 28 South African photographers, in conjunction with Southlight, the Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland (AABN) and Oxfam, Belgium; and *The Road to Democracy: The ANC 1912-1992,* in conjunction with the ANC.
- The Film and Video Department had taken transfer of IDAF's film and video collections which included over 1,000 documentary productions and several hundred hours of raw audio-visual footage from more than 200 film and video projects. While the IDAF material is acknowledged as forming the core of the Centre's film and video collection, it was supplemented with material from other sources. The Film and Video Department had also produced the Centre's first video, a documentary based on interviews with 6 Western Cape women and started work on a second, a documentary on the life and work of artist George Pemba.
- The Oral History Archive had acquired over a thousand transcripts or recordings from various individuals and organisations and launched an Oral History of Exiles Project in which struggle veteran Wolfie Kodesh,

and others, conducted more than 200 interviews with people who had returned to the country after political organisations were unbanned in 1990.

- The Visual Arts Department had acquired a collection of artworks, murals, and cartoons and over a thousand political posters from various sources and organised three exhibitions.
- The Publishing Department had received 150,000 copies of IDAF publications, many of which had not been openly distributed in South Africa. Two booklets were published in the Mayibuye Library series and 43 titles in the new Mayibuye History and Literature series. Ten of the books were published in association with other publishers and 32 previously banned IDAF books were re-issued. The Publishing Department also helped to organise the Annual Weekly Mail Book Week.

In addition to the work of the departments described above, the Centre initiated a wide range of workshops, conferences and academic programmes aimed at bringing together academic, students, community organisations and individuals in order to stimulate critical debate and produce written materials. In the midst of this full programme staff members also hosted visitors from across the world, participated in various conferences, debates and policy-making initiatives and visited other local and national institutions.

The Centre made an effort to build co-operative partnerships on the campus, with historical, cultural and political institutions and organisations and in the broader community, making it clear that the Centre's 'imagined public' extended far beyond the confines of the university campus.

> The resources in the Mayibuye Centre continue to attract a wide cross-section of people. They are used by the community and political groups, journalists, film-makers, photographers, artists, schools, university students, and academics from South Africa and abroad.[51]

A section of the Annual Report headed 'Community Involvement', summarises staff participation in and engagements with various transformation and policy formulation processes, while one headed 'Campus Co-operation' details the Centre's efforts to 'foster the widest range of co-operation on campus' and to deepen relationships with the IHR and the History Department.[52] These demonstrate the Centre's deep-seated commitment to activism on many levels.

The Report concludes by describing the Centre as a nationally significant project that has "caught the imagination in the historical and cultural fields". It argues that "the approach has been a frenetically proactive one geared towards 'making things happen' and showing what can be done". While making mention of a small team of highly motivated individuals whose "prodigious work rate and output" drove the Centre's productivity, it also sounds a warning that "current staffing infrastructure is wholly inadequate for the current and envisaged operations".[53]

Reflecting on the extraordinary achievements of the Centre in a remarkably short period of time Odendaal explains that:

> … It was like a huge surge of energy and intellectual vitality that was making us work very, very hard. It was like an Arab Spring moment where you were alert in your ethical sense, in your moral sense, in your intellectual sense. It was a wonderful time to be alive and doing things.[54]

The pattern of activity and engagement in broader societal issues established in the first two years continued for the following three years. While a detailed year-by-year analysis of the Centre's activities is beyond the scope of this Report, here are a few highlights that demonstrate the Centre's reach and influence, and the extent to which it drew on and activated its archive.

In 1993, the Centre co-curated *Esiqithini: The Robben Island Exhibition* with the South African Museum, the first collaboration of its kind;[55] in 1994, the Centre's involvement in a number of important exhibitions and initiatives confirmed its growing national and international standing as a cultural institution, as did the on-going involvement of Odendaal and Metz in catalysing change in the museums sector, in national and provincial arts, culture and heritage policy formulation processes and in deliberations around the future of Robben Island.[56] The visually-rich exhibition, *Apartheid and Resistance,* was developed to accompany the international *Anne Frank in the World* travelling exhibition on its tour of eight South African cities and still graces the Centre's corridors. According to Graham Goddard, the photographic archivist, it has played a seminal role in shaping the way in which repression and resistance have been visualised in later years. In 1995 the Centre's participation in a significant number of African events, its involvement in various issues of national interest including preparatory work for the TRC and the debates around the future of Robben Island, affirmed the Centre's deep commitment to activism.

The IDAF Archive and the TRC 1995 – 1996

An initiative that merits further attention in this study because it demonstrates the mobilisation of archives in support for struggles for social justice is the use of IDAF materials in the period leading up to the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and by the TRC itself. In 1995, the records of IDAF's Programmes One (Legal) and Programme Two (Welfare), which had been retained in storage in London, were flown to the William Cullen Library at the University of the Witwatersrand, where they were made available to the Human Rights Documentation Project (HRDP), an initiative established in 1985 when Alex Boraine, then Director of a nongovernmental organisation, Justice in Transition, commissioned a group of NGOs to begin documenting potential cases of human rights abuses for submission to the proposed TRC.[57] The HRDP began its work by combing the records of organisations such as IDAF, the UN's various advice offices, newspaper clippings, etc., for information about human rights abuses

documented during the apartheid years. These were collated on an electronic database. Approximately 4,100 events, the names of 4,800 victims and 1,300 perpetrators were entered into this database. A statement issued by the HRDP when the database was handed over to the TRC in March 1996 explains that:

> … the database can be used as a reference system for the TRC. So, for example, if a victim or perpetrator comes forward her name can be entered. If their information was inputted as part of the 10 200 files entered then the events linked to them and where the information on their case is housed can be instantly accessed. This should speed up the TRC's ability to locate information on individuals and isolate other victims/perpetrators or witnesses involved in a certain event.[58]

The IDAF material, documenting human rights violations over a period of 30 years, proved to be particularly useful in corroborating the thousands of cases of gross abuses of human rights put before the TRC, as evidenced in a question put by TRC investigator Piers Pigou,[59] to a former security force member:

> Now in the light of allegations that have been made to this Commission, to other human rights organisations, Detainee Parents Support Committee, the IDAF records list numerous allegations of assault and torture at the Soweto security branch. Would it be fair to say that the version that you presented that you didn't know about these things is highly improbable?[60]

Figures from various issues of *Focus* are also quoted in the TRC Final Report.[61]

In Transition: 1996 – 2000

In 1996, the year in which the Centre celebrated its fifth anniversary, the Annual Report conveys the first hint of changes to come:

> In a decision which could have far-reaching positive results for both the Centre and UWC the Cabinet recommended on 4 September 1996 that Robben Island should become a World Heritage Site, National Museum and National Monument from 1 January 1997, and also that the Mayibuye Centre should be incorporated into that project.[62]

At first, this decision was welcomed by the many on the staff who hoped that: the incorporation of the Centre into a museum funded through the national Department of Arts and Culture would bring financial security at a time when donor funding was diminishing; it would ensure that the Centre's highly significant archival collections would be well looked after and remain accessible to the general public; and it would provide the new national museum with extensive archival resources on which to draw for its exhibitions and programmes. There were some reservations with certain members of the university community – and even some of the RIM Councillors – suggesting

that the move would strip UWC of a valuable resource.[63] On reflection, many speak regretfully of the incorporation, seeing it as one of the reasons for the Centre's loss of identity, the discontinuation of its public programmes and publications and the subsequent shift from activism to inertia.

Other changes were afoot too. After five years there was a change of leadership and core staff at the Centre. Odendaal was appointed administrator of the Robben Island Museum (RIM), Metz joined the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology and Kaplan left to pursue other interests. Barry Feinberg was appointed as Acting Director and Anthea Joisas as Collections Manager.

Over the next five years there was a marked decrease in the Centre's public activities as the process of preparing for its incorporation into the RIM demanded a more inward-looking focus. From 1997 the Centre's energies were concentrated increasingly on staff training and development and on upgrading the accessibility of its collections and intensifying its conservation programmes. Leonie Twentyman Jones and Joan Fairweather, consultants funded by SIDA, proved of great value in putting the archival collections in order. As Twentyman Jones observed:

> The Mayibuye Centre Archive has attained an enviable profile and reputation, both in this country and overseas. It is acknowledged as the repository of a significant body of archival material, which documents the struggle for a democratic South Africa. It has been able to attract very significant donations and deposits of archival material from individuals and donations. However, the Mayibuye Centre's capacity to make the materials in its collections intellectually and physically available to researchers and to ensure its long-term safekeeping, is somewhat hampered at present.[64]

Josias explains that the transition period, which lasted from 1996 when the announcement of the planned incorporation was made, until 2001 when the Centre was finally incorporated into the RIM, was a time of great uncertainty. As she recalls:

> The main issue was that the future of the Centre, and the future of the archive was in question. It was clear that UWC was not in a position to take on financial responsibility for the Centre and the archive. It was also unclear if the recommendation for the Centre's incorporation into RIM would be accepted and acted upon by the RIM Council.[65]

This 1999 Annual Report, the last published by the Mayibuye Centre before it was incorporated into RIM, notes that:

> This is the final report of the Mayibuye Centre, on the eve of its incorporation into the Robben Island Museum, and brings to a

conclusion more than 8 years of activity as an independently financed institution established at UWC under the IHR constitution. During this period the Centre became widely known, not only as a unique collection base for documentation about the struggle against apartheid, but also as a focussed source of publications, audio-visual productions, exhibitions, conferences and other outreach programmes designed to network knowledge of the period.[66]

The Report highlights the impact of the loss of the SIDA funding that had sustained its operations over a period of eight years[67] but it concludes on a hopeful note:

> While this report represents the final year of the Mayibuye Centre as it was initially conceived in 1992, most of its important work will continue, as envisaged by Government Cabinet, within RIM where it is expected that the Centre's unique collections and dedicated staff will come to more fully realise their potential as a significant national resource while at the same time reinforcing the longstanding co-operation with UWC.[68]

The incorporation of the Centre into the RIM marked the end of an era of activism during which the Centre's work was aimed specifically at recovering and making previously marginalised histories available and accessible in support of the broader national project of redress and transformation. Its publications brought into the public domain a great deal of information that had been hidden from view during the apartheid years and celebrated the lives and contribution of activist individuals and organisations. The impact of the Centre's work is evident not only in its own productions and publications, but also in the extensive and wide-ranging use of its archival materials by diverse organisations, especially in the 1990s.

The University of the Western Cape Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives

The incorporation of the Centre into RIM was a lengthy one, involving extensive consultation between the university and the RIM. *The Memorandum of Agreement between the Robben island Museum and the University of the Western Cape in respect of the UWC Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives*, concluded in 2000,[69] states that "Both institutions concur that the collection is a national treasure which needs to be preserved in perpetuity for the nation". Furthermore, the agreement is predicated on the assumption that both institutions will benefit from the arrangement:

> The archives will enrich RIM's collections and exhibitions and the continued presence on the UWC campus of the New Archive will broaden an ensure access of staff and students, help develop a vibrant close teaching and research co-operation between RIM and the UWC

departments such as the Institute for Historical Research, History and other academic departments as well as wider University communities.[70]

The agreement, which is valid for 99 years, requires UWC to transfer "all right, title and interest, in the Mayibuye Collection and the current assets of the Mayibuye Centre to RIM" and to permanently transfer material "donated by ex-Robben island prisoners". RIM is required to operate, manage and staff the Collection and ensure that they are adequately preserved, conserved and made accessible. The Agreement also makes provision for a joint working committee to oversee the implementation of the agreement, review it every ten years and facilitate joint projects. The agreement came into effect on 1 April 2001 and the renamed University of the Western Cape Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives (the Archives) officially opened its doors on 13 June in a new customised archival facility in the UWC Library.

The incorporation of the Centre into the RIM and its consequent renaming marked a fundamental shift in its status and identity. As Geraldine Frieslaar[71] points out, the Centre was not intended to be "just an archive" but "a memory centre, a theatre, an exhibition space, a very energetic community driven space". By contrast, the Archives, positioned as a support function, rather than a core programme, and situated within the RIM's Heritage Resources and Environmental Management Department, are tasked with managing the RIM's diverse collections including the historical archives, the historical artefact collections and its institutional archives. Functions such as exhibitions, publications, marketing, public, outreach and educational programmes, so fundamental to the identity and activity of the Centre, were shifted into three other RIM departments, namely Education, Tours and Marketing and Communications and the division of work rigidly applied.[72] The curtailment of activity was keenly felt by many staff members. For Odendaal, the cessation of the publication of the *Mayibuye History and Literature Series*[73], the *Mayibuye Library*[74] and the *Mayibuye Centre Occasional Papers*[75] was a "big setback" in the drive to disseminate new materials and narratives. Explaining how he saw "publishing as a key part of the heritage institution" he says that the RIM council "…blocked me. They just said, 'no, you can't do that'".[76] For Mariki Victor, the current manager of the Archive, the loss of opportunities to engage with stakeholder communities and implement public programmes came as a bitter blow.[77]

While acknowledging that the incorporation of the Centre into the RIM ensured its sustainability, Josias argues that this shift came at a high cost: the loss of the Centre's institutional identity and autonomy. Sixteen years after the incorporation of the Centre into the RIM the vision of a dynamic activist intervention has faded. While an organisational history might track every step of this slide from activism to inertia, this chapter does not. Instead it asks, what we can learn about the factors that enable or impede archival activism from this specific case study.

Analysing the Shift from Activism to Inertia

Passion is not a word that is usually associated with archival practice, but it is often applied to activism. It is a word that invokes people rather than processes, an appetite for risk rather than for order and control. It seems that the shift from activism to inertia may be a consequence of the movement of the care of archival collections from the hands of activists into the care of practitioners with different skills and expertise, such as conservation. It would, be unfair to suggest that the culture of activism at the Centre came to an end simply because key individuals left. It did not, it continued, but to a lesser degree, and under more difficult circumstances. Asked to comment on how the resources of the Archives have been mobilised in support of on-going struggles for social justice under the RIM administration, Josias, who has a particular interest in and a deep understanding of this issue, speaks of the commitment to redressing past imbalances, of contributing to the rewriting of histories and of being part of a much larger transformative project.[78] Frieslaar is more specific, citing as an example how Kleinshmidt worked through the archived editions of *Focus* and other publications to compile a list of over 20,000 individuals who had been banned or detained or imprisoned. This listing has enabled the Archives to respond to the requests of those who come to them asking for help in accessing evidence of their involvement in the struggle,[79] often to support their applications for the "special pensions" awarded to those "who had made sacrifices or served in the public interest in the establishment of democratic constitutional order".[80]

While passion may drive activism, in an institutional context, other factors are required to sustain it: a shared vision; organisational agility that makes it possible to respond rapidly and radically to changes in the environment; and sufficient resources to support activist interventions. Until it came under the control of the RIM, the Centre had the autonomy, agility and resources required to achieve its vision. This is not currently the case with the Archives which appear to be only of marginal interest to the RIM and the University[81] and are hidebound by their unwieldy bureaucracies and tight budgets.

As a 'national museum', a National Heritage Site and a World Heritage Site the RIM is subject to extraordinary pressures, demands and expectations. As a national symbol of the 'triumph of the human spirit over adversity' the RIM is politically fraught and burdened with expectations from government and stakeholders. Every action or decision is open to contest and subject to scrutiny by the powerful ex-political prisoners and others who feel that their histories or interests have been marginalised for one reason or another. It is a physically complex site, comprising a number of discrete and geographically separate components. It includes significant built and natural heritage resources as well as artefact and archival collections, each requiring a different regime of care. It faces huge logistical challenges in respect of maintaining the basic infrastructure and systems required to facilitate access. Then too, the RIM has a troubled institutional history with constant changes in leadership,

disciplinary actions and disputes between staff members and stakeholders. Had there been fewer challenges, stronger and more consistent leadership and a carefully considered change management strategy the situation of the Archives may have been very different.

The vast resources of the Archives have been further marginalised by RIM's inward-looking research interpretation strategy which has, to date,[82] focussed quite narrowly on the Island as an apartheid-era prison, and more specifically on the history of the ANC members imprisoned there. It does not embrace the broader struggle against apartheid or the Island's longer history. The impact of this narrow focus was brought sharply into view when the management of the RIM shop refused to offer the Centre's publications for sale on the grounds that they were not directly relevant to the Island. As Victor says, "there was never a sense of 'look we've got this other collection that gives context to the Island'".[83.] In short, there's a strong feeling that RIM undervalues the Archives, choosing to focus its attention, and resources, on other priorities.

As noted earlier, the Archives are a joint responsibility of the RIM and the University. Archives staff members, past and present, are of the opinion that the University, like the RIM, undervalues the Archives and its potential contribution to scholarship. Several of those interviewed for this Report mentioned that University officials regularly brought visiting dignitaries to the Archives, describing it as a "treasure trove." This they said was somewhat ironic, arguing that the key members of the academic community do not seem to share this view, do not profile the Archives as a resource for research and scholarship or promote its use by sending their students there. As Frieslaar says" Our visitors are mostly international researchers whose topic is specifically related to the liberation struggle …or postgraduate students from UCT, Stellenbosch or Gauteng universities". Asked to explain this apparent disinterest, interviewees spoke in veiled terms about academic egos, historic personality clashes and ancient turf wars. Brown Bavusile Maaba, in his PhD thesis[84], which explores the history and politics of the liberation archives at Fort Hare, alludes to this too, explaining that, "Internal competition on the UWC campus threatened the smooth running of the Mayibuye archives … It was clear to all concerned that the Mayibuye Centre had more prestige and presence on campus since it houses struggle documents, and this created resentment and tension between the different centres on campus." [85]

It seems that the Centre's populist agenda did not sit well within the UWC History Department and Institute for Historical Research. Several of those interviewed alluded to the simmering tensions that erupted in the heated debates around the *Future of the Past Conference* organised by the Centre, the IHR and the History Department in 1996, when the Centre's work came under heavy criticism from the academic community.[86] Odendaal counters this critique, arguing that the Centre was an intellectual project linked to the university's broader transformative agenda and that the work it did built on "a new kind of practice and praxis".[87] Whatever the root causes of the

disaffection of the Archives may be, its marginal position within the institution and the consequent low morale of its staff has effectively impeded rather than facilitated activism.

Metz, who describes the Centre as "incredibly activist", holds a different opinion. He attributes the shift from activism to inertia to the fact that the Archives are static, arguing that its collections no longer resonate with current concerns and that little is being done to enrich them:

> The fact of the matter is that an archive that's locked into representing a specific time and a specific moment will inevitable become a curiosity and will eventually die. You know, an archive that's not constantly enriched with material that ties to the here and now will become irrelevant, as I say, a historical curiosity … the whole idea of the exhibitions we did at Mayibuye was to actually enrich the archive.[88]

Metz's comment about archives may apply equally to every archive, but, as this Report suggests, archives may be reinvigorated and mobilised creatively as resources for change in the present. But, whose work is this? In this case, archivists bemoan the fact that their job descriptions do not include research; that the academic community does not understand their role in the production of knowledge; and that the positioning of the Archives within the RIM structure precludes engagement with the broader public, as does its physical location on a university campus far from an urban centre. All of these factors, they argue, have played a role in limiting the visibility of and accessibility to the Archives and stifling agency.

Conclusion

The Centre established an archive and mobilised this in support of struggles for social justice in every aspect of its work in a particular phase. In doing so, it built on the foundations established by IDAF whose archive grew out of its support for the liberation struggle and was, in turn, mobilised to support the struggle over time.[89] The move from activism to inertia that occurred in later years is not unique to the Centre, It is a challenge shared by other organisations that, because of changing contexts or environments, may experience a shift in direction. It is evident that activism flourishes when activists have a very clear cause to champion or to oppose and, that once a particular struggle has been overcome, organisations are in danger of losing energy or focus. Activists driving change shift into becoming passive custodians of legacies unless they are able to focus their activity on new or current realities. See Chapter Six for examples of initiatives such as the Nelson Mandela Foundation that have done this successfully.

On reflection: activists drive agendas because of, or despite, the circumstances in which they operate. There is no guarantee that, given a greater degree of autonomy, more resources, greater respect and a central position in the life of

the RIM and the university and in the broader community that the Archives would pursue an activist agenda. The Archives may become a 'world class' research centre, and it may attract large number of scholars, but will it utilise these advantages to support the struggles for social justice if this is not deeply embedded in and supported by the institutional culture, driven by personal commitment and a clearly defined vision for a more just future?

Endnotes

1. Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa, *First Annual Report,* 1992, unpaginated.
2. *Confidential Memorandum: Apartheid Museum at the University of the Western Cape.* Academic Planning Committee Working Group re Establishment of Historical and Cultural centre including an apartheid museum at UWC. In Background Documents, Volume 1, 1986-1987, Andre Odendaal Papers. Quoted in Frieslaar, (Re)collections, 2015, 186.
3. Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa, *First Annual Report*, 1992, unpaginated.
4. Interview with Andre Odendaal, Cape Town, conducted by Jo-Anne Duggan, 15 December 2015.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Frieslaar, 2015, 176.
7. This commitment was made prior to the events of 1990 at a time when IDAF had not yet considered closing down their London operations.
8. Personal communication, Regina Isaacs and Jo-Anne Duggan, 15 February 2016.
9. The Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa *First Annual Report* notes that "The Centre was given a major boost when it received a large ready-made media archive from the London based International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF) late in 1991 after the closure of that organization. This core collection instantly provided the Centre with major holdings and opportunities to initiate various activities." (unpaginated).
10. Canon Collins founded Christian Action in 1946 to 'make the church more responsive o social issues'. In 1956 Christian Aid contributed significantly to cost of defending the Treason Trialists, channelling funds through the Treason Trial Defence Fund. In 1957 Collins established a separate fund, the British Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, which operated for a while under the ambit of Christian Action, but later became an independent entity with a greater degree of autonomy. In 1960, following the Sharpeville massacre and the declaration of a State of Emergency a group of South Africans – Liberals, Quakers, the Black Sash and some churches – established the State of Emergency Relief Fund (SERF). Once again Collins stepped in to offer funding. At the end of 1960 SERF reconstituted itself as the Defence and Aid Fund, with offices in Cape Town, Durban, East London and Port Elizabeth. In Johannesburg is doubled as the Treason Trial Defence Fund.
11. The Defence and Aid Fund operating in a number of South African cities was organisationally distinct from the Defence and Aid Fund established by Collins, but looked to it for most of their funds. Denis Herbstein, *White Lies, Canon Collins and the secret war against apartheid*, (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2004), 46-47.
12. For a full account see Herbstein, *White Lies*, Chapter 26.
13. See, for example, the front matter in *Apartheid*, The Facts, (London: IDAF, 1991).
14. Herbstein, *White Lies*, 193.
15. Press digest or clipping services were established by South African refugees or ex-patriots and others; amongst these were the service set up for the African Bureau by Colin and Margaret Legum.
16. Focused was published every month until the end of 78 and thereafter every second month
17. International Defence and Aid Fund, *Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa*, No 1, (London, IDAF, November 1975), 2.
18. A list of pamphlets published in the July-December 1984 includes: *The British Embargo on Arms for South Africa*, 1968; *Rhodesia: Why Minority Rule Survives*, 1969; *South Africa: The Violence of Apartheid*, 1971; *South Africa: Workers Under Apartheid*, 1971; *South Africa: "Resettlement" The New Violence to Africans*, 1969; *South Africa: The Boss Law, 1969; South Africa: Racism in Sport*, 1970; *South Africa: Trial by Torture*, 1970; *South Africa: Arms and Apartheid*, 1970; *Rhodesia: The British Dilemma*, 1971; *Portugal's Wars in Africa*, 1971; *Rhodesia: The Ousting of Tangwena; South Africa: The Terrorism of Torture*, 1972; *Rhodesia: The White Judge's Burden*, 1972; *South Africa: Apartheid Quiz*, 1972; and *South Africa: The "Bantu Homelands"*, 1972.

19. Each issue of the bound volumes of Focus consulted in the University Special Collections carried a date stamp indicating that the date on which it was received. The March – April 1986 was received on 29 May 1986. Small, hand-cut slips of inside the bound volume headed 'Banned in South Africa', carry the following text, "This notice reminds readers that the University of Cape Town is opposed to the State's system of censorship, which undermines academic freedom and restricts the potential contribution of this university and others to South African society. The University of Cape Town is required by law to comply with the rules and regulations pertaining to censorship, but does so under protest." Each slip is over-stamped, UNBANNED in blue or green ink.

20. Herbstein, *White Lies*, 194.

21. Herbstein, 194 and Al Cook, The International Defence and Aid Fund for South Africa in South African Democracy Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa: 1970-1980*. Vol. 3. Part 1, (South Africa: Unisa Press, 2008), 226.

22. *Ibid.*, 226.

23. Diana Collins, speaking of the early years of IDAF's operations says, "At first we had some difficulty in finding and locating political trials. Phyllis [Altman] took all the South African newspapers and would spend a whole day going through them", in Diana Collins, *Partners on Protest: Life with Canon Collins*, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1993) 324. Denis Herbstein mentions that, Nancy Dick, an exile who was employed as a researcher, "… scoured half a dozen South African daily newspapers for names in trials, banishments or house arrests", Herbstein, *White Lies*, 170.

24. *Prisoners of apartheid: a biographical list of prisoners and banned persons in South Africa*, prepared by IDAF Research Department]. London: International Defence & Aid Fund, 1978

25. Cook, 227.

26. Barry Feinberg, *Time to Tell: an activist's story*, (Johannesburg: STE Publishers, 2009), 85.

27. *Ibid*.

28. In the process, they found treasures including: rare photographs of Nelson Mandela in North Africa and film footage of the Defiance Campaign recorded by activists.

29. Feinberg, 87.

30. Under the provisions of the Emergency the Commissioner of Police could impose restrictions on media coverage. Under the 1986 State of Emergency news crews with television cameras were banned from filming in areas where there was political unrest.

31. Afrapix, a documentary photographers' collective and photo agency, was established by a small group of black and white photographers and political activists in 1982. It played a seminal role in the development of a socially informed school of documentary photography in apartheid South Africa.

32. Interview with Paul Weinberg, Cape Town, conducted by Jo-Anne Duggan, 9 December 2015.

33. Darren Newbury, *Defiant Images: Photography and Apartheid South Africa*. (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2009), 241.

34. Interview with Gordon Metz, Cape Town, conducted by Jo-Anne Duggan, 20 November 2015.

35. Newbury, 242.

36. Feinberg, 86.

37. *Ibid.*, 97.

38. Feinberg from an article in *Sechaba* November 1983, quoted in Feinberg, p. 100.

39. Quoted in Feinberg, 2009, 124.

40. Feinberg, 86.

41. *Ibid.*, 93.

42. *Ibid.*, 114.

43. *Ibid*.

44. Frontpiece to the *Kliptown Books catalogue*, 1989.

45. At the 1991 conference it was agree that: The work of Programme 1 would be handed over on to the newly formed South African Legal Defence Fund with the conference noting hopefully that the establishment of two other new organisations the Legal Resources Centre and Lawyers for Human Rights would ensure that those in need were offered legal support; The work of Programme 2 would be handed over to the Dependents Conference of the South African Council of Churches and the Association of Ex-Political Prisoners.; The work of Programme 3 would be handed over to The Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa (Mayibuye Centre and the Human Rights Commission, which had developed out of the Detainees Support Committee, to monitor and document the on-going human rights situation in South Africa.
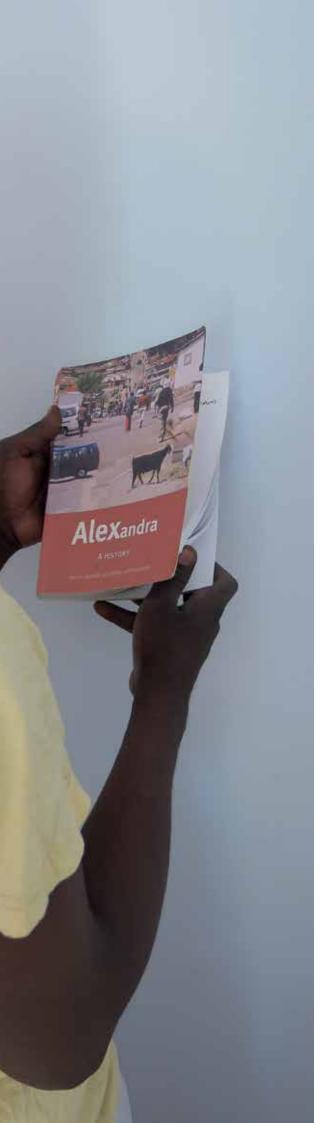
46. Feinberg, 126.

47. The South African and Namibian press cutting archives were copied onto microfiche and deposited at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies Library in London and other repositories before the original files were transferred to the Mayibuye Centre in South Africa.

48. The Institute for Historical Research at the University of the Western Cape promoted research and teaching of Southern African history, particularly the history of the Cape, from pre-colonial times to the present. It closed in 2006.

49. Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture, *First Annual Report*, 1992, unpaginated.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*

53. From 1997, the Centre's reports refer simply to 'Visitors'.

54. Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa *First Annual Report* 1992, unpaginated.

55. Interview with Andre Odendaal, Cape Town, conducted by Jo-Anne Duggan, 1 December 2015.

56. This collaboration was important because it marked, in the heritage landscape, the first formal cooperation between a 'national' museum and an organisation aligned with the liberation movement.

57. The 1993 *Annual Report* details this involvement in a paragraph headed '9.5 Community Involvement' "… the Mayibuye developed a wide network of contacts in the community and in the historical, cultural and political fields. Both on a national and a local level, the Centre and its staff continue to impact directly on various debates and organisations involved in culture and conservation. For example, the Co-ordinator is a member of the District 6 Museum Foundation's Board of Trustees, WC's newly appointed representative on the Boards of the South African Museum and he South African Cultural History Museum and part of the secretariat of the ANC's Museums, Monuments and Heraldry Commission. During the year the Centre completed a Report on the future management and development of Robben island which was commissioned by the latter body. Gordon Metz was a member of the organizing Committee of the international Culture and Development Conference held in Johannesburg in April. Mayibuye staff were active too in various other community film, information and publishing initiatives, reinforcing the Centre's accessibility and community orientation". Mayibuye Centre, Annual Report, 1993, unpaginated.

58. The HRDP was established in 1995 when Alex Boraine, then Director of a nongovernmental organisation Justice in Transition commissioned a group of NGO's to begin documenting potential cases of human rights abuses for use by the proposed TRC. NGO's participating in the HRDP included "Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS); Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), Gauteng Coordinator; Human Rights Committee (HRC); Human Rights Institute of South Africa (HURISA); Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBI); Independent Medical Unit, KwaZulu-Natal Coordinator; Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA); Legal Resources Centre (LRC); Mayibuye Centre, Coordinator, Western Cape; Peace Action; South African History Archives (SAHA); and South African NGO Network (SANGONeT). The computer system EVSYS was modified to document and process pre-existing information of human rights cases, resulting from the collaborating NGO's extensive records, which they had compiled during the Apartheid years. Some 13800 files were collated on this human rights abuse database, which was then presented to the TRC." See, Inventory for AG 3245, accessed February 2016, http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/?inventory/U/collections&c=AG3245/R/8975, accessed February 2016

59. CSVR *Annual Report* 1995, accessed March 2018, http://archive.li/A3rbk.

60. Pigou was appointed as director of SAHA in 2005.

61. Question put by Piers Pigou to Colonel Potgieter, 29 January 1998.

62. TRC, Final Report, Volume 3, 37, 59, and 67.

63. Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa, *Fifth Annual Report,* 1.

64. The MOU entered into between UWC and the RIM makes provision for the collection to be given on loan to the RIM for a period of 99 years. (paragraph 6.1) and argues that "The agreement will benefit both institutions. The archives will enrich RIM's collections and exhibitions and the continued presence on the UWC campus of the New Archives will broaden and ensure access of staff and students, help develop a vibrant close teaching and research co-operation between RIM and UWC departments such as the Institute for Historical Research and other academic departments as well as wider university communities". (paragraph 2.6).

65. Leonie Twentyman-Jones, *Mayibuye Centre Archive: Report and Recommendations*, April 1997 (unpaginated).

66. Anthea Josias, personal communication with Jo-Anne Duggan, 30 March 2016.

67. Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa *8th Annual Report,* 1999, 1.

68. From the mid 1990s SIDA, the Swedish government agency provided funding to support South African organisations, especially those engaged in supporting the transition to democracy. Funding was significantly reduced from 1999, with a view to ending development funding, with the exception of HIV/AIDS work, between 2004 and 2008. See *Managing Exit and Transitions: Lessons from Botswana, Eritrea, India, Malawi and South Africa Synthesis Reports*, accessed September 2017,http://www.sida.se/contentassets/6d9b93b7b2874a94ad7ff8ab9ea3f310/managing-aid-exit-and-transformation-lessons-from-botswana-eritrea-india-malawi-and-south-africa-synthesis-report_2547.pdf.

69. Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa, *8th Annual Report*, 1999, 23

70. *The Memorandum of Agreement between the Robben island Museum and the University of the Western Cape in respect of the UWC Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives*, 2000. UWC Archives, Box 35.

71. *Ibid*.

72. Geraldine Frieslaar was contracted by W Frankel and H Kleinschmidt to do some work and research on the IDAF Archives and was subsequently employed by the Robben Island Museum as an archivist. She completed a PhD thesis, *(Re)Collections in the Archive: Making and Remaking the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) Archival Collection*, at the University of the Western Cape in 2015.

73. As Josias remarked, "There was a very clear directive from the Island in terms of what we could and couldn't do." Interview with Anthea Josias, Cape Town, conducted by Jo-Anne Duggan, 4 December 2015.

74. These full-length books were often produced in collaboration with other progressive publishers.

75. These shorter-length books and booklets were deigned to popularize history and provided at low cost to communities for use in literacy training and general education.

76. These included policy documents, addresses, conference reports, and other relevant articles.

77. Interview with Andre Odendaal, Cape Town, conducted by Jo-Anne Duggan, 14 December 2015

78. Personal comment from Josias" Even though the Centre's public programmes "ended" we still maintained and continued to build strong relationships with our donor communities. Also, there were still daily educational tours and special visits" 30 March 2016.

79. Josias has spoken out about these issues in forums as the Society of American Archivists Global Issues Forum on Archives and Justice (2006 and 2008) and at the NMF Colloquium on Memory for Justice (2005).

80. Not all the records in the archive are open to the public, many, including the letters related to the Welfare Programme which contain sensitive information identifying donors and recipients may only be accessed with permission from these parties.

81. South African Special Pensions is regulated by Special Pensions Act,69 of 1996. This Act was enacted to give effect to Section 189 of the Interim Constitution (Act, 200 of 1993), which stated that provisions shall be made by an Act of Parliament for the payment of special pensions by the national government to persons (or their dependents) who made sacrifices or who have served the public interest in the establishment of a democratic constitutional order, accessed February 2016, http://www.pensionlawyers.co.za/downloads/2012/conference/Lufuno_Nevondwe-Presentation.pdf.

82. One staff member described it, as "an island between THE Island and the university", by Odendaal as being "entombed between the museum and the university", a metaphor which is echoed by Taruvinga with reference to the Archives' isolated situation within the RIM and its marginal status within the university.

83. The RIM has initiated a process to address this.

84. Interview with Mariki Victor, Cape Town, conducted by Jo-Anne Duggan, 7 December 2015.

85. While UWC had negotiated for the IDAF archive to be lodged in the Centre, the question of the location of the ANC's organisational archives had not been finalised. In his PhD thesis tracing the evolution of the Liberation Archives at Fort Hare Brown Maaba deals at some length with the tensions around this issue, explaining that the UWC had relieved Odendaal of his duties in the History Department to allow him to focus on establishing a centre that would host the ANC material in a liberated South Africa and to "cement relations with the ANC in exile" in the hope that the organisation would deposit its archival material at UWC. UWC's expectations were not realised. In October 1991, on the occasion of Oliver Tambo's installation Chancellor the University of Fort Hare, Mandela announced that the ANC archives would be deposited at that institution. In 1992, it was agreed that "Fort Hare would be the main archival centre and that there would also be archives at the Mayibuye Centre that would be continuously enriched by the ANC and,

that the two initiatives must be seen as twin projects with equal status. The specialise focus of the respective projects plus the material already at UWC would determine what material went where" (Maaba 2013 p.83). In essence, as Frieslaar explains, it was agreed that UF would hold the ANC's organisational archive while the Centre would focus on the archives of the broader anti-apartheid movements. Maaba explains further that, before the ANC had finalised its plans to house its archive at UF, the Centre had secured some documents from Lusaka and the London Mission. Once arrangements with the UF had been formalised the ANC asked that the documents housed at the Centre be delivered to Luthuli House, where they could be screened before they were transferred to Fort Hare. After some procrastination, the Centre complied with this request. While the ANC's organisational archives are housed at UF, the personal papers of many ANC activists and the organisational archives of a host of allied organisations were lodged with the Centre constituting a rich and diverse archive of activism.

86. Bavusile Brown Maaba, *The history and politics of liberation archives at Fort Hare* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2013), accessed June 2017, https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/11121.

87. Rassool, a lecturer in the History Department at the time acknowledges that the Centre was "a key and influential agency of historical production in South Africa" and, "a theatre of memory, with its own patterns of construction and forgetting through which history was revised and revisioned" but he argues that, "Despite being based at a university, very little of the Mayibuye Centre's work was academic in nature. Its focus instead was on the dissemination of public pasts." Ciraj Rassool, *"The individual, auto/biography and history in South Africa."* (PhD Disseration, University of the Western Cape, 2004), 201.

88. Interview with Andre Odendaal, Cape Town, conducted by Jo-Anne Duggan, 14 December 2015.

89. Interview with Gordon Metz, Cape Town, conducted by Jo-Anne Duggan, 20 November 2015.

90. The concept of the circularity of the archive is extended in the conclusion to this Report.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHAPTER FOUR

BUILDING COUNTER ARCHIVES: BRINGING MARGINALISED PERSPECTIVES INTO VIEW

The History Workshop

Lead researcher: Katie Mooney

Chapter Overview

This chapter outlines the role that the History Workshop, at the University of the Witwatersrand, has played in building counter archives using oral history as a methodology. In outlining the history, achievements and challenges of the History Workshop's work in pursuance of its goal for a more just process in the writing of history, important threads emerge that may assist us to understand the entanglement of archival activism and what may be termed history activism.

The first two chapters of this Report deal with organisations, SAHA and GALA, which focus on collecting and preserving records, constituting archives and making these accessible. This chapter looks at the History Workshop (HW) at the University of the Witwatersrand whose work focussed from the start on the production of histories that utilised 'voices from below'.

The History Workshop (HW) has, over four decades, committed itself to the writing and promotion of history "from below". This self-consciously activist agenda is manifest in various forms of publication, popularising history initiatives, teaching and curriculum activities, and, in the latter years, collaborative research projects. In so doing, the HW has made extensive use of oral history interviews to record the voices of those previously excluded from the record. This has generated a rich archive, one initially not much thought about but today actively managed and attended to. The chapter that follows summarises how HW has understood and presented its own activist agenda and note where and how this has archival consequences.

Introduction

This chapter explores a strand of activism that addresses 'absences' in the archival record by actively documenting or collecting oral histories. The Report acknowledges a number of organisations and initiatives that have undertaken such work, including the District Six Museum, the now de-established Centre for Popular Memory (formerly the Western Cape Oral History Project) and the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), and focuses on the activities of the History Workshop (HW) at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The organisations mentioned above have shared a passionate commitment to oral histories as a source in the writing of history and have worked towards a common goal: to record the voices of individuals whose stories have been marginalised, so that history may be produced or told 'from below'. The impact of this has been significant. Through their activities they variously played an important role in mobilising history in local struggles for justice;[2] in teaching history; in challenging dominant narratives and uncovering the everyday; in unlocking the past to understand present realities; and in popularising history through exhibitions, publications, live performance, photography and audio-visual productions including documentary films.

In the late 1970s and 1980s the turn to oral history was driven by the desire to produce historical accounts which included "voices from below". In later years, particularly in the mid-1990s as *amasiko* or "living culture" and oral history assumed a central place in cultural policy discourse, organisations involved in oral history projects adopted a more deliberate approach in the preservation of their work.[3] A significant outcome of the appreciation for oral history as a critical resource for historical scholarship was the extension, in 1998, of the National Archives mandate to "document aspects of the nation's experience neglected by archives repositories in the past".[4] The use of oral history as a mechanism for fulfilling this mandate was to be given effect through: the establishment in 1999 of the National Oral History Project, by the then Department of Arts, Culture Science and Technology (DACST); the formation of the Oral History Association of South Africa (OHASA) in 2003 by the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC); and the flowering of oral history projects in national and provincial archives. Although this mandate has not been fully realised, these developments had the effect of positioning oral history firmly in the domain of archives.[1]

Radical Social History, Challenging Apartheid Narratives and the Birth of the History Workshop

Oral history first featured on South Africa's academic historiographical terrain in the late 1970s – mostly in the fields of labour and social history.[5] At that time radical social historians, in South Africa, in Northern UK and USA, were committed to uncovering histories of 'ordinary' people, primarily

by using oral histories as the main primary source. In so doing, historians were trying to subvert the established order and the established academic discipline of history. In South Africa, this development was given further impetus by the growing resistance to apartheid. Reflecting on this, Belinda Bozzoli observed that, "…university life was transformed by the vitality and commitment of students, and by the growing sense of many that academics could and should continue to make connections with the social movements which had arisen."[6]

A particular tradition of radical history was taking root, one inspired by, "[E.P.] Thompsonian social history and the pioneering efforts of the HW [History Workshop] at Ruskin, historians set out to restore to the oppressed their agency and give voice to those silenced by history. The consequence was a revolutionary transformation of South African historiography, a flowering of a vibrant new radical tradition, a displacement of earlier conservative and liberal narratives."[7] Three main intellectual currents – a "disenchanted Africanism", neo-Marxism and a revival of trade unionism – were drawing revisionist scholars, in particular historians, sociologists and social anthropologists, towards a more class-based social history than had existed before.[8]

The major academic event that marked this turning point was the 1976 Labour History Conference held at Wits, convened by Phil Bonner and Peter Kallaway from Johannesburg, and Eddie Webster from Durban. As Bozzoli and Peter Delius argued in 1990, "writing for and teaching worker and popular audiences had brought home to academics the reality that the abstract categories of analysis largely developed in England needed to be translated into the living categories of experience in their own context."[9] Thirty years later Bonner contended that this marked the birth of a distinctively South African intellectual project and opened the way for the formation of the History Workshop at Wits one year later."[10]

The History Workshop (HW) was formally established in 1977, as an interdisciplinary grouping[11] whose members "abiding focus of inquiry", Posel suggested in 2010, "has been the everyday lives of ordinary people and their immersion in wider social processes."[12] Bonner, one of the small group of founding members[13], argues that this focus was informed by a wider political intellectual agenda:

> From its inception, the HW had a broader intellectual agenda than giving public voice to the marginalised and down trodden. While not activist (for the most part) or explicitly politically inclined (in the party-political sense) it was more broadly a consciously political enterprise[14]

Noor Nieftagodien, the current director, affirms Bonner's position by and large, but links the work of the HW more directly to an activist agenda.

The History Workshop's roots lie in struggles for social justice and for liberation and that has continued by and large … some people are not involved at all but there is an underlying commitment to a broader emancipatory politics … the dividing lines between pure academic work and activism is very blurred. It's always been blurred.[15]

HW members have, in presenting and reviewing their activities over time, highlighted their activism, speaking about it with considerable pride. This is evidenced in the interviews and publications quoted in this chapter.

Popularising History and the "Golden Age of Social History":[16] 1980 – 1994

The rise of organised labour and prolific student protests during the 1970s[17] and the growth of township-based and trade union organisations drew the attention of academics to previously marginalised and unacknowledged processes and struggles that shaped South African society and history. As Bonner explained, "Right at the start there were these gigantic deafening silences about the history of the dominated classes, the ordinary people. One of the ideas that grew and grew was to fill in those gaps."[18] This awareness became stronger as resistance to apartheid intensified in the 1980s.

Looking back on this period in 2010, Nieftagodien contended that the work of the HW, which placed the experiences of the working classes at the centre of its endeavours:

> … brought into the public domain, in an unprecedented way, the varied nature of the experiences of the oppressed black majority, as well as to the lives of some of the under classes in white society. Essentially these modes of social history and local history, which did not eschew politics, allied themselves to an emancipatory project.[19]

This intellectual positioning occurred at other institutions too: a significant number of oral history projects were launched across the country[20] and individual scholars and researchers drew increasingly on oral testimonies and histories in their research. Regardless of their differences, the general context was oppositional; challenging the apartheid state and its version of the past. Writing in 2010 Posel suggests:

> This was history in and for 'struggle', an academic project set to speaking back to power: challenging the official apartheid version, as well as 'liberal' versions, of the past, and making sure that these dissident histories were popularised in dissident publics … the HW was more interested in opposition than complicity, and in protest more than quiescence.[21]

The work done by the HW and other organisations, played a significant role in

establishing oral history, and the life history approach promoted by the HW, as a qualitative research tool that enables researchers to supplement, complement or challenge the documentary record. As one of the country's most experienced oral historians, Sean Field, notes the "development of African history as it stands today would be inconceivable without oral history methodology."[22]

The activities of the HW during this period extended well beyond the recording of oral testimonies to include conferences, open days and seminars. In a 2015 interview, Bonner explained that the scale of these events, and the publications that emerged from them, made a marked contribution to popularising and rethinking approaches to South African history.[23] Bonner, in the same interview, recalled these events with great pride:

> At the same time, but even from the first conference, we had what we call an open day. The first one on the East Rand or Ekurhuleni in Germiston I think or it might have been Benoni that reflected another dimension of the early History Workshop particularly… its links to the FOSATU trade unions and we had significant base there at that point in time so it was a natural place to stage something like this. Thereafter we had them on the university campus. These were breakthrough events in terms of public history and public culture; giant things. Nobody was doing it. Subsequently the trade unions were doing it and every three years there were these major events. This was the very beginning of the 1980s. This was significant for the university as well. There were people from the townships so there was a real multiracial dimension to it. This was a big step for Wits.[24]

While the conferences attracted substantial attention, the Open Days, featuring exhibitions, plays, music and dance troupes, mimes, poetry readings and lectures, proved very popular as well. Attendees swelled from 1,000 in 1981 to 3,000 in 1987 to over 4,000 in 1990 and included large numbers of trade unionists and students from neighbouring black townships.[25] Open Days were costly to run so the HW embarked on fund-raising campaigns which resulted in the formation of several partnerships. Bonner's 2015 recollections explain the workshop's funding drives of the period:

> These Open Days, especially the ones here [at Wits], cost a lot of money so we had major fundraising drives before the conference so that was an accomplishment in itself. We got something from Atlantic Philanthropies [in the 1990s] for one of them and another with the Ford Foundation we had a collaboration. It set up the basis for major collaborations with overseas groups who were doing similar things, like the American Social History Project and we did a big slide-and-tape-show with them which was an important and significant thing and gave us links to many places across the globe. So, our presence became known … We were a group of about a dozen or fifteen academics here and our collective impact was gigantically out of proportion from

what we were. We put ourselves on the map and put Wits on the map with some major institutions which was nice because we had a very productive interaction with them.[26]

The HW's influence on intellectual and public life broadened further with the introduction of annual Teachers' Workshops in response to the deepening crisis in the school system, to the perception that history was one of the main vehicles of apartheid propaganda in schools, and wider discussions around concepts of alternative education and 'People's Education'. The history curriculum had become a major bone of contention. Kros recollects the work that she and Sue Krige did during this period:

> The apartheid curriculum had long been recognised as problematic – Sue and I had been high school teachers who had constantly outwitted the inspectors and conservative colleagues in the 1970s and 80s so we came to the HW with the idea of getting their support to work with teachers – usually in much less congenial circumstances than the ones under which we had taught. Sue came to Wits before me and joined the Workshop before me – she nominated me for membership in 1990, a year after I had arrived.

The HW's outreach programme included engaging teachers in discussions about "the interventions they could make in the classroom to mitigate the most horrible effects of apartheid propaganda contained in school history textbooks."[27] HW members introduced teachers to the latest research and publications produced by social historians in order to provide them with alternative teaching resources. "This approach was essentially anti-establishment in its conceptualisation."[28]

Another significant development during this period was the production of the documentary film *Soweto: A History*. Initiated as a result of a conversation with the Free Filmmakers of which Angus Gibson[29] was a key member, it took a number of years to complete primarily because of a lack of funding.[30] For HW the three 26-minute documentaries, based on oral history interviews and other archival material,[31] "[were] a massive leap forward in the field of popularisation – a book grew out of this five years later."[32] Parts of these films and other HW research would later be used in the Apartheid Museum exhibitions.

In her Report to Atlantic, Segal sums up the role of the HW during this period saying:

> The Workshop stayed resolutely independent from state initiatives and located itself independently at Wits University. Although small, it built itself up to the point where it generated alternative historical resources that had an incredibly powerful impact. Most importantly, it constituted a locus that denied the state the ability to control the historical analysis to the full extent that it aspired.[33]

This period was also marked by a shift towards public history, possibly in anticipation of the imminent new dispensation and as a way of addressing the challenges of the soon to be democratic society: Cynthia Kros, speaking about the "*Myths, Monuments and Museums*" co-convened by the HW in 1992 recalls:

> Entering the domain of public history was quite novel in the early 1990s, particularly since the 'public' had been until recently so tightly circumscribed and patrolled. But, on the eve of the first democratic elections, the boundaries were beginning to yield, and even the relatively conservative professional organisations were preparing for the influx of different kinds of visitors into cultural institutions … tried to anticipate what transformed institutions would look like and to expose disingenuous sentimentality or gaudy glamorisation (exemplified by the Gold Reef City museum).

This signalled the HW's commitment to public culture and museology which would be pursued from the mid-1990s.

It is evident that the work of the HW during this period was self-consciously 'activist' in nature, though the paying of attention to the archiving of recorded oral materials was not a feature of its work. Although it generated a substantial archive, this was a by-product of other activity rather than a driving motivation. This situation changed in later years when the constitution of an archive was built into every project.

Community-Driven Histories, Teacher Training and Archival Interventions: 1994 – 2007

Prior to the advent of the first democratic elections, around the time of F.W. de Klerk's 1990 speech announcing the release of political prisoners and the unbanning or political organisations like the ANC, it became apparent that the transition to a democratic state was imminent. This provoked a series of questions about HW's future role, given that it had always been "more interested in opposition than complicity, and in protest more than quiescence."[34] The sense of a crisis of relevance was particularly evident after the HWs triennial conference "Democracy: Popular Precedents, Popular Practice and Popular Culture" in 1995.

> What it heralded [the 1995 conference] was a hiatus, a loss of direction, a loss of purpose, even of confidence. Key to the HW's identity and activities up until then had been its oppositionality. It expressly aligned itself with the oppressed, disenfranchised masses, while remaining suspicious of, distanced and detached from their nationalist vanguard in the form of the ANC. Now the masses were free and the ANC was in command, bearing immense popular legitimacy. Where to go? What to do? Did the HW no longer have a role? Collectively it hadn't a clue,

and dormancy gradually settled over the Workshop, as it concluded its ongoing projects, which would persist for another three years.[35]

This resulted in a marked decline in the production of local histories. Bonner points out that the "dominant position was that of inertia, which was a cause of some distress to several HW members, not least to myself, and an attempt to plot a new way forward was finally initiated in mid-1998."[36] The HW started research on the two major township complexes on the Witwatersrand, namely, Soweto and Kathorus (Katlehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus). The workshop's membership was extended to include a few postgraduate students[37] and members from outside the university. The idea of using the past to understand the present became more central to the HWs intellectual thinking and it began to draw increasingly on the archive it had developed in the preceding decades to understand contemporary conditions.[38]

During this period, the HW also expanded its activities, participating in major public history initiatives like the Sunday Times Heritage Project,[39] the South African Democracy Education Trust's (SADET) Road to Democracy project, the Apartheid Museum, the Robben Island Memories Project and Constitution Hill and developing local histories, often at the request of community groups in areas as diverse as Ekurhuleni, the Vaal, and Polokwane.[40] This, Bonner contends, signalled "a more intensive kind of collaboration for the HW which would begin to reshape its agenda, as it were, from below by making it much more responsive to community needs."[41]

This demand for the HW's expertise was, Nieftagodien believes, inaugurated by the Alexandra Social History Project, funded through the Alexandra Tourism Development Project. The Project drew extensively on the official archive whilst creating its own archive of oral testimonies, "which at the end produced hundreds of hours of life history interviews, a major archive and a book." It also marked the beginning of HW's "innovative practices of public history that included the training of local researchers and the participation of a Community Reference Group, which acted as a community representative body to oversee various aspects of the project." Nieftagodien contends that in many respects "the Alexandra project marked a turning point in the way that the HW practised public history, especially in relation to the participation of communities, and has produced a template that is being reproduced in a number of other local history projects, such as in Orlando West and Limpopo."[42] Funding from development agencies enabled History Workshop's expertise to be built into these projects. Community-driven oral history-based research projects not only gave the HW some short-term financial relief but triggered new research areas and broadened its presence as a major oral history research collective in the country.

In the early 2000s the new school curriculum was introduced, placing oral history at the centre of the history syllabus. The curriculum, however, gave no concrete guidelines on how to teach oral history; educators were at a loss.

The HW stepped in and resuscitated its teachers' workshops providing "the most critical support of introducing oral history to the educators, exploring its strengths and weaknesses, as well as showing how this could be beneficial in the classroom."[43] Kros explains:

> The Teachers' Workshops were suspended because Sue Krige, who had been the main driver behind them, left the university. But they were revived in 2000 and the first was entitled 'Teaching Apartheid'. This rebirth was a particularly significant workshop because the material used was working with new archives generated by Constitution Hill and the recreation of the fort as well as a number of oral histories. With a particular focus on oral histories HW attracted the notice of the Mpumalanga Department of Education and the Teachers' Workshops (now driven by Philip Bonner, Sekiba Lekgoathi, Sello Mathabatha, Tshepo Moloi, Katie Mooney, Noor Nieftagodien and Nicole Ulrich) moved there. We were generating material, guides for teachers how to conduct oral history interviews …[44] and – importantly – to guide teachers (in response to their request) in assessing oral history projects in line with the assessment standards of the new curriculum.[45]

The use of oral testimonies and histories was a key marker of post-1994 South African cultural and political life. Building on the legacy of the TRC, museums, school curriculum developers, biographers, public heritage and memorialisation projects turned to oral histories to bring previously marginalised or silenced voices and experiences into view. In many instances, these were deployed in support of the production, mostly by state institutions, as Nieftagodien asserts, of "grand national(ist) narratives, motivated by the dual and interlocking objectives of uncovering and recording the histories of the black majority and of liberation movements in particular."[46] The effect of this, as Nieftagodien warns is that, "in its narrower and most popular form this exercise of historical rewriting has inclined to justify the current regimes of power."[47] HW refused to subscribe to this grand nationalist narrative – as it had refused to conform to the dominant narrative of the apartheid years – deploying oral histories and moving beyond the academy and into the realm of public history institutions[48] to challenge it. HW members played an important role in a number of significant public history projects including: the South African Democracy Education Trust's Road to Democracy Project[49]; Apartheid Museum,[50] and Constitution Hill exhibitions; and in producing local histories for Ekhuruleni[51] Alexandra,[52] and Vilakazi Street.[53]

Local Histories, Present Realities and Archiving Memories, 2007 – 2015

The Wits website entry on the NRF Chair in History reads:

> "Much of the History Workshop's research agenda has been based on the premise that well-researched historical perspectives are indispensable

to the social sciences and more generally their endeavours to engage with the political, social and economic issues of the present. To contend with the complexities of the relationship between the past and present-day realities, the National Research Foundation awarded a Research Chair on the theme 'Local Histories and Present Realities' to Philip Bonner in 2007 and renewed this to Noor Nieftagodien in 2012.

The initiative funds a cohort of post-graduate students from Honours to PhD level, post-doctoral fellows and researchers in disciplines across the humanities. They are involved in a wide-range of research projects on topics that include: struggle histories, particularly of the underground; youth politics and culture; women, gender and sexuality; migration and local trading; the politics of race; the politics of land and chieftaincy; environmental histories; the state (especially at local and provincial levels); the former bantustans; spatial politics; the emergence of new middle class communities; and the impact of mining on local economies, politics and societies. The Chair, with its geographic focus on small towns and rural geographies in the interior provinces of South Africa (Mpumalanga, Free State, North West and Limpopo) and inter-disciplinary approach, has enabled new research on areas that have been neglected in much of the published literature, which tends to privilege the experiences of the main urban centres in South Africa."[54]

Over the last three decades or so, the HW has been exploring events of the past with a view to understanding the present by focusing on local histories, animated by life stories and community voices. The move towards local history was further encouraged by the political conflicts of the last decade and in particular the wide-scale 'service delivery protests' which Nieftagodien explains:

These movements are complex and defy easy classification but they are making a critical contribution to the constitution of a post-apartheid emancipatory political agenda and, like the movements that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, have excited the imagination of scholars and commentators. An important consequence of the widespread service delivery protests is that they brought into sharp relief the dire lack of knowledge about the dynamics and complexities of local politics.[55]

The reassertion of the local at a political level has at the same time resulted in counter-narratives to those of the liberation struggle, and it is this that is at the heart of HW's Local Histories and Present Realities project.[56] However it is not entirely new it was, as Kros stresses, "always an important concern of the HW – not to fall victim to any grand nationalist narrative – certainly van Onselen nursed an almost paranoid fear of doing this – Delius' work upset conventional rural-urban binaries about the origins of resistance; Bozzoli's probed the life strategies of ordinary women, etc."[57]

These new forms of political contestation have also opened up new research areas and noticeable differences in the interactions between researchers and subjects especially in the case of the HW's community-driven projects, where the focus has shifted from the production of histories – based on oral history interviews – by academics to a greater focus on co-production, in which academics and communities share responsibility for the task. As Nieftagodien wrote in 2010:

> "Compared to the period before 2003/4 there is now a greater willingness among interviewees to point out inconsistencies and problems in the grand narratives and, significantly for our work, have begun to place greater emphasis on personal and community narratives. In this process, local narratives have also started to disarticulate from the dominant political histories (although rarely completely delinked) allowing for the exploration and construction of different and alternative narratives. Once again ordinary citizens, the subaltern, are re-asserting themselves and in the process re-inserting themselves centrally in contemporary discourse and research."[59]

In a 2015 interview Nieftagodien pointed out that, this links to broader changes in the HW's approach to public history:

> There have been a couple of important changes. Perhaps the most important has been the way in which public history has been practised and how it has evolved over time and there are probably continuities in what I am about to say from the 1970s to the present. By and large it entailed inviting publics into the space of the academy to be involved in the process of producing knowledge. What we have done more and more recently, we have quite consciously taken the space of knowledge production not entirely away from the university but into the communities where we are working. Of course, oral history always entails that, that is why I am saying there is an important continuity because oral history is a process of knowledge production and that happens elsewhere. But in all the examples I have given Alex, Evaton … it's about shifting the dynamic, shifting it away from doing all the work here where we accumulate the material and we are the ones who see ourselves as the ultimate producers of knowledge; acknowledging that the processes of knowledge production happen in multiple spaces … that is an important shift. But I do want to emphasise that it's not a sharp discontinuity, [it] is not a sharp change. These elements have always been present, there has always been that kind of intention and ambition to do this kind of public history. But I would say the emphasis has been more on recognising that knowledge production happens in multiple spaces and we need to find ways of acknowledging that and also, importantly, disseminating those products that come out of those processes. And, of course, it is facilitated by the digital revolution so one can have multiple kind of outcomes.[60]

However, the emphasis on working with people in communities remains. There is a noticeable and "strong desire to emphasise local experiences. The research agendas of these projects are usually shaped by the interests of the communities in question (or at least their leaders or representatives) and refined through negotiations with the HW."[61]

There have been occasions where the communities HW is working with have requested archival research specifically for the purpose of social justice. For example, the Ikageng Heritage Foundation, "explicitly wanted historical research undertaken in order to inform the local debate on the proposed name change of the town (from Potchefstroom to Tlokwe). In their view, any decision taken on this issue had to be based on sound historical research."[62]

Nieftagodien insists however, that the HW is not engaged in filling the gaps in the archive specifically for instrumental social justice causes. In fact, he was quite opposed to the use of the term saying, "I don't like the term social justice partly because the people who call themselves social justice organisations are really NGOs pretending to be kind of activists but people know what is being referenced so it's neither here nor there."[63] He continued:

> The work in Evaton has two imperatives that speak to these issues, they are both self-evident but they are important to mention … many people recognise that the act of producing their own histories is not simply an exercise in recovering the past. It is a profoundly political exercise because it typically speaks to absences, which people understand are not just absences derived from particular kinds of intellectual engagements; the absences that derive from political regimes and regimes of power. So, in Evaton a number of the people who we have spoken to and who have been the most kind of active and determined to do this come from a PAC background. So, for them, there is an element of political contestation in the exercise of producing histories, it's not only that because the key figures don't speak for everyone in the same way they represent a particular view but many of the people we interviewed don't necessarily have political ambitions. There are also issues around land claims … an important issue for which history has been mobilised. So, in Evaton the issues around land claims remain unresolved. So, when we interview people we create that oral archive, collect documents. So, for those people it is linked to, not exclusively for, the potential to mobilising the community around land claims. So that is crucial. It also allows people to make the argument, particularly those who are not in the ANC and have always been marginalised, and history vindicates the view that they have always had these things, are always complex and problematic they see a degree of vindication in that it adds to and contributes to their current political views. Not that that is what we intend but that is how they see the exercise. But let me signal this; that for people like that there is a kind of instrumental relationship between the two, and of course we do not try to do that, it's

really what you signalled at the beginning[64] [of this interview] by using the word "may": people "may" want to do it but it is not our intention and sometimes they are quite explicit in that. But it's not what we do.[65]

One of the key developments of the last decade has been the growing focus on archives, although the recovery of archives under threat has always been a peripheral concern, Bonner spoke about this in a 2015 interview:

> We recovered a large chunk of the Kangwane archives, they were stuck in a great metal shed in a terrible mess. I forgot how I got the money, we had four machines copying these things so we got a huge amount. This was before 1990 … the provincial stuff is all over the place. A lot of it is lost … It's amazing the activism in trying to retrieve these things … Where there are these sort of collections, formal government collections have somehow been lost we got hold of a lot of stuff on Ekurhuleni. One whole section of Vosloorus records in a police station locked in a cell and there are these things are scattered in all sorts of places and people have forgotten where they are. And the old archivists aren't there anymore … There is more around of personal papers than we used to imagine and we are collecting those as we find them. But they are there, but you need to get the trust and confidence of the people.[66]

Since 2012, when Nieftagodien assumed the Chair, the focus on archives has intensified. Nieftagodien pointed out that the interviews recorded by the HW constitute an important resource that may inform the present:

> There is and remains a strong need for broad in-depth local studies and deep historical studies but we're always cognisant of a set of contemporary issues, conundrums, problems. Not in a kind of instrumental way but in addressing either histories or the present and one needs to find ways of speaking to either in different ways. What has happened in previous years, over the last eight years, is we have built on a previous tradition … We probably have many thousands of hours of interviews; that is a significant archive and an archive that speaks to a range of research projects … there is a diverse archive connected by the idea of local history and the interviews are life history interviews.[67] Even though that archive has not been developed with any kind of intention of informing contemporary movements, it is available for those movements better to understand where they come from and what is happening, so in that way it is important…[68]

The HW's archive of life history interviews, comprising many hours of recordings and thousands of pages of transcriptions was at first stored haphazardly in various offices. It is now, for the most part, housed in the Wits Historical Papers Research Archive where it may be accessed by researchers although many interviews remain un-catalogued and un-indexed. This challenge is acknowledged by the HW. As Bonner noted, "Ironically for a

group that set itself the task of making its work particularly accessible, the data upon which this was based still remains largely outside of the public realm. So, the urgent task confronts the Workshop of digitising, cataloguing and indexing."[69]

This is a challenge that needs to be addressed with a degree of urgency especially, as Nieftagodien argues, because local communities are anxious that their histories are being lost:

> There is a palpable anxiety within communities that an opportunity may have been missed to record the life stories of elderly residents, leaving a gap in the collective memory of those communities, and the associated serious concern that traditional practices of inter-generational memory transfer have possibly been irreparably disrupted by the socio-political vicissitudes of modern South Africa.[70]

Current Funding and Institutional Arrangements

The HW has been in operation for forty years. During this period its activities have been funded and administered through the Wits History Department and through grants raised from a number of: foundations and corporations including the Robert Sobukwe Trust and the Foundation for Human Rights; academic institutions such as the Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI) and the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences; national and local urban development projects, including the Johannesburg Development Agency and the Alexandra Development Project; and through the research partnerships it has established with local and international organisations and institutions such as the University of Naples, the University of Nairobi and the Centre for History, Public Policy and Social Change at Duke University.[71] The NRF Research Chair in has "provided the personnel and infrastructure to engage in a continuous programme of proactive self-initiated research."[72]

Institutionally, the HW is accountable to the Faculty of Humanities and the School of Social Sciences. Where it enters into collaborations, the HW also becomes accountable to the various publics with which it works."[73]

Conclusion

This chapter draws attention to a fundamental shift in the production of history by HW, a move away from the authority of the historian to a sense of history being produced and reproduced in countless ways, by many different people.[74] It also draws attention to the value of the archives that have been generated through these processes. The HW oral history archives exists as significant resources in their own right

In its research work and through the projects it embarks upon HW encourages participation in and access to these archives. It is "mindful of the exclusions,

absences, and silences in the archives and consider how these gaps can be remedied, including consideration of additional cultural mnemonics."[75]

The connection between archival activism and social justice in the case of HW can be seen in four processes underpinning its work: the documentation of social movements against apartheid and contemporary state; the continual collection of life histories to document these and other struggles and the quotidian; the production of knowledge; and the creation of archives and the promotion of access to new content and collection.

Endnotes

1. In 2010 the *African Studies* journal published a special issue on History Workshop's self-reflective conference marking the 30-year anniversary of the HW and entitled 'Life After Thirty – The History Workshop'. The papers provided a rich and detailed account of the History Workshop's institutional history and activities since its inception in 1977. This chapter draws heavily on these papers because of the clear, careful and succinct way in which the HW's story is told by its members. Besides this and a few other secondary sources, the material used to draft this chapter was drawn from a number of websites and from brief interviews conducted with the former and current head of the History Workshop respectively Philip Bonner and Noor Nieftagodien as well as Cynthia Kros, a member of the History Workshop since 1990, and activist and filmmaker Rehad Desai. The interviewees stressed that although their research, and by extension that of the HW, addresses gaps in the archive the collection of new material and recovery of older material was not consciously gathered for the purposes of social justice movements. There was opposition to the use of the term social justice in our interviews with HW members. Nevertheless, the types of research, the range of projects and the varied impact or effect of the HW workshop can be understood as a form of archive activism geared towards archiving activism, establishing counter archives and creating a more just archive and a more just version of the past.
2. Projects in a number of townships, including Alexandra have played a role in enabling residents, particularly the youth, to understand the historical circumstances have shaped the present.
3. The *Draft Report prepared by the Arts and Culture Task Group*, April 1995 notes that, "Thirty years ago amongst historians there was deep scepticism about oral history. History, it was believed, came from written documents and since there was little of that in Africa, some even argued that 'Africa had no past'' Today no respectable historian o social scientist would deny the central importance of oral history – indeed oral history has become one of the fastest growing areas of historical scholarship and most countries ow have associations of oral historians and research units devoted to oral history.
4. Department of Arts and Culture, National Archives of South Africa Act, Act No 43 of 1996, *accessed September 2017, http://www.dac.gov.za/sites/default/files/Legislations%20Files/act43-96.pdf.*
5. "Social history wasn't really a discipline at Wits – that's one of the strange things – you had all this amazing stuff going on in the HW and the courses in the History Dept carried on being the conventional Medieval Europe etc with some good African history courses by Phil and then Delius – but no social history – not even at post-grad level when I was a student in the late 1970s" Personal communication, Cynthia Kros, 7 March 2016.
6. Belinda Bozzoli and Peter Delius, "Editors' Introduction", *Radical History and South African Society*, 1990, 28.
7. Neeladri Bhattacharya, "Some Reflections on 'Life After Thirty'" in *African Studies*, Special Issue, Life After Thirty – The History Workshop, 69, 1, April (2010).
8. PhilipL. Bonner, "Keynote Address to the 'Life After Thirty' Colloquium" in *African Studies*, Special Issue, Life After Thirty – The History Workshop, 69, 1, April (2010), 14-15.
9. Belinda Bozzoli and Peter Delius, "Editors' introduction", *Radical History and South African Society*, 28.
10. Philip L. Bonner, "Keynote Address to the 'Life After Thirty' Colloquium", 15.
11. The history workshop has always been interdisciplinary in its composition. Members are nominated and invited to be part of the History Workshop.
12. Deborah. Posel, "Social History and the Wits History Workshop" in *African Studies*, Special Issue,

Life After Thirty – The History Workshop, 69, 1, April 2010, 32.

13. In an interview with Katie Mooney and Jo-Anne Duggan in November 2015, Phil Bonner made mention of the various personalities involved in the founding of the History Workshop saying, "In the beginning Belinda was the chairperson, I remember at the meetings we had Eddie Webster was a part of it at that stage, Charles van Onselen was part of it at that stage, there was myself after a while Peter Delius, there was Patrick Pearson, David Webster, Tom Lodge, Jon Hyslop a bit later as well. What we did really was to spread out, it wasn't a history thing it was much broader than that. There was History, Political Science, Sociology, Social Anthropology, Literary Studies with Isabel Hofmeyr, she was an important early member. So we had a spread."

14. Philip Bonner, "Keynote Address to the 'Life After Thirty' Colloquium", 14.

15. N. Nieftagodien, interview with J. Duggan and K. Mooney, Wits University, Johannesburg, 12 November 2015.

16. Philip Bonner, "Apartheid, Memory and Other Occluded Pasts", keynote address Reading the Transcript: Preserving and Analysing the Recorded Voice, April 2008.

17. TRC, Volume 2, 450.

18. Philip Bonner, interview with J. Duggan and K. Mooney, Wits University, Johannesburg, 12 November 2015.

19. Noor Nieftagodien, "The Place of 'The Local' in History Workshop's Local History", in *African Studies*, Special Issue, Life After Thirty – The History Workshop, 69, 1, April (2010), 44.

20. One of the first oral history projects locally was initiated by the African Studies Institute (later known as the Institute for Advanced Social Research and then the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research) at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1979, the University of Natal Oral History Project in 1979-80, the South African Institute of Race Relations Oral History Project (1982-84) and then in 1982 the Oral History Project was established at the National University of Lesotho. In 1985, historians at the University of Cape Town launched the Western Cape Oral History Project. The Department of History at the University of the Western Cape was also active and formed its People's History Project in 1986.

21. Deborah Posel, "Social History and the Wits History Workshop", 32-33.

22. Sean Field, "Memory, the TRC and the Significance of Oral History in Post-Apartheid South Africa" paper presented at TRC: Commissioning the Past conference, History Workshop, 1999, 3.

23. Philip Bonner, interview with J. Duggan and K. Mooney, Wits University, Johannesburg, 12 November 2015.

24. Ibid.

25. Philip L. Bonner, "New Nation: New History the History Workshop in South Africa 1979 – 1994", 8, accessed June 2017 http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/handle/10539/7715

26. Philip Bonner, interview with J. Duggan and K. Mooney, Wits University, Johannesburg, 12 November 2015.

27. Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi, "The History Workshop, Teacher Development and Outcomes-Based Education over the Past Seven Years", *African Studies*, Special Issue, Life After Thirty – The History Workshop, 69, 1, April (2010), 106.

28. S. P. Lekgoathi, "The History Workshop, Teacher Development and Outcomes-Based Education over the Past Seven Years", *African Studies*, Special Issue, Life After Thirty – The History Workshop, 69, 1, April, (2010), 106.

29. Angus Gibson was a founding member of Free Filmmakers, a co-operative established in 1985 to create a relevant South African cinema, accessed 11 March 2018, http://thesouthafricanpavilion. co.za/angus-gibson/

30. P.L. Bonner, interview with J. Duggan and K. Mooney, Wits University, Johannesburg, 12 November 2015.

31. The idea of the documentary film started in 1988 when a group of filmmakers asked HW to be involved in the production of a documentary film. It was to be a drawn-out process due to the lack of funding, but money trickled in at different stages. In 1991 Angus Gibson and Nicola Galombic were appointed to film and the episodes were completed in 1993 and screened in both the United Kingdom and Australia prior to the 1994 election.

32. Philip Bonner, "Keynote Address to the 'Life After Thirty' Colloquium", 21.

33. Unpublished *Report on the Funding Strategy for The Atlantic Philanthropies* 2012, prepared by Lauren Segal, for Atlantic Philanthropies, Johannesburg, 23.

34. Deborah Posel, "Social History and the Wits History Workshop", 32-33.

35. Philip Bonner, "Keynote Address to the 'Life After Thirty' Colloquium", 22.

36. *Ibid*., 22.

37. Including Noor Nieftagodien who would go on to become the Head of the workshop ten years

later.

38. Philip Bonner, "Keynote Address to the 'Life After Thirty' Colloquium, 22.

39. Sunday Times Heritage Project, accessed September 2017, http://sthp.saha.org.za.

40. History Workshop https://www.wits.ac.za/history-workshop/.

41. Philip Bonner, "Keynote Address to the 'Life After Thirty' Colloquium", 23.

42. Noor Nieftagodien, "The Place of 'The Local' in History Workshop's Local History, 51.

43. Sekibakiba Lekgoathi, "The History Workshop, Teacher Development and Outcomes-Based Education", 3.

44. Cynthia Kros, interview with J. Duggan and K. Mooney, Wits University, Johannesburg, 12 November 2015.

45. Cynthia Kros, correspondence and comments on this chapter, November 2017.

46. Noor Nieftagodien, "The Place of 'The Local' in History Workshop's Local History", 48.

47. *Ibid*., 48

48. A similar move happened in the Western Cape. Rassool notes in the late 1990s, the Museum continued to benefit from a partnership with the WCOHP in drawing on its oral history collections and placing Museum members in its internship programme to be trained in oral history interviewing techniques. Ciraj Rassool, "Power, Knowledge and the Politics of Public Pasts", in *African Studies*, Special Issue, Life After Thirty – The History Workshop, 69, 1, April (2010), 88.

49. South African Democracy Education Trust Fund, accessed September 2017, http://www.sadet. co.za.

50. HW's role in curating the Apartheid Museum was driven by Bonner. As he explained: "The Apartheid Museum was me. I drew up the concept document mainly because I was pushed into it. I thought that the previous ideas were ludicrous … there was no money involved at that stage …. They asked me to write a concept document for a museum. Now the core of the AM is Johannesburg … so then I had to draft the whole thing. At a similar time, Christopher Till was brought in as the curator and we wanted to have Angus in there. We had a lot of opposition from the owners (the Krok brothers) of the theme park. We had quite a lot of fights with them. He wanted to make it grotesquely popular and the images were laughable. Casino Images. They were terrible. I had to recruit a team of people so just about all of the texts are from the History Workshop. I edited them down after they had done it. So, it was a History Workshop thing. It's a statement of the History Workshop's purpose in some ways". P.L. Bonner, interview with J. Duggan and K. Mooney, Wits University, Johannesburg, 12 November 2015.

51. Bonner, Philip, and Noor Nieftagodien. *Ekurhuleni – The Making of an Urban Region*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press, 2012.

52. Wits University Press, Alexandra: A history, accessed September 2017, http://witspress.co.za/ catalogue/alexandra/.

53. City of Johannesburg, Walk down Vilakazi Street, accessed September 2017, https://www.joburg. org.za/media_/Newsroom/Pages/2013 articles/2011 & 2012 Articles/Walk-down-Vilakazi-Street.aspx.

54. Wits University, *Welcome to the NRF Chair in History: NRF SARChI: 'Local Histories and Present Realities'*, accessed September 2017, https://www.wits.ac.za/history-workshop/nrf-sarchi-in-local-histories-and-present-realities/.

55. Noor Nieftagodien, "The Place of 'The Local' in History Workshop's Local History, 52.

56. Arianna Lissoni and Noor Nieftagodien (with Shireen Ally), Introduction: 'Life after Thirty' – A Critical Celebration in *African Studies*, Special Issue, Life After Thirty – The History Workshop, 69, 1, April (2010), 5.

57. Cynthia Kros, correspondence with K. Mooney, February 2016.

58. Nicky Rousseau, quoted in Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassol (2017), points out that while popular history projects aimed to write "history from below' they did, in fact, give prominence to history that was produced through the academy and is methodologies.

59. Noor Nieftagodien, "The Place of 'The Local' in History Workshop's Local History", in *African Studies*, Special Issue, Life After Thirty – The History Workshop, 69, 1, April, (2010), 52-53.

60. N. Nieftagodien, interview with Jo-Anne Duggan and Katie Mooney, 12 November 2015.

61. Noor Nieftagodien, "The Place of 'The Local', 54.

62. *Ibid*., 53-54.

63. N. Nieftagodien, interview with J. Duggan and K. Mooney, Wits University, Johannesburg, 12 November 2015.

64. *Ibid*.

65. *Ibid*.

66. Philip Bonner, interview with J. Duggan and K. Mooney, Wits University, Johannesburg, 12 November 2015.

67. The HW for the most part adopts a life history approach that allows for more varied, ambivalent and unpredictable insights from the interviewee.

68. Noor Nieftagodien, interview with J. Duggan and K. Mooney, Wits University, Johannesburg, 12 November 2015.

69. Philip Bonner, "Keynote Address to the 'Life After Thirty' Colloquium", 25

70. Noor. Nieftagodien, "The Place of 'The Local' in History Workshop's Local History", 54-55.

71. See History Workshop, Research Partnerships, accessed September 2017, https://www.wits.ac.za/history-workshop/partnerships/.

72. See History Workshop, Research Partnerships, accessed September 2017, https://www.wits.ac.za/history-workshop/partnerships/.

73. Email communication between N. Nieftagodien and K. Mooney, 26 February 2016.

74. Cynthia Kros, in a personal comment on this chapter notes that, "There are two different meanings of 'history' at play here. In the sense of events of the past, of course there have always been many actors, but the established discipline of history and the historians' guild has not always accepted their significance. The HW has always tried to show that people who were not famous, rich or powerful also influenced what happened profoundly. So what it has been committed to is changing the discipline of history to reflect different understandings of how it is made AND trying to diffuse the authority of the professional historian – acknowledging that there are many other people who produce knowledge about the past".

75. Wendy M. Duff, Andrew Flinn, Karen Emily Suurtamm, David A. Wallace, "Social justice impact of archives: a preliminary investigation" *Archival Science* 13:317–348, (2013), 330.

CHAPTER FIVE

MOBILISING THE ARCHIVE TO ADDRESS THE WOUNDS OF INJUSTICE[1]

Lead researcher: Theresa Edlmann

Chapter Overview

This chapter focuses on archival activism in relation to what, it terms 'wound work'. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was a cusp moment in defining, documenting and addressing the damaging (or wounding) effects of apartheid injustice in South Africa. It drew on the legacies of work initiated decades before by organisations which documented and publicised acts of political violence, and the abuse of human rights,[2] while also setting in motion a new phase of activist approaches to documenting and *archiving* the effects of systemic and political violence in South African society. The TRC provided a particular focus on the psychological, social and human rights damage caused by both the colonial and apartheid systems. It actively sought to enable healing for both individuals and communities.

Introduction

In this Chapter 'healing' does not refer simply to the repairing of damage or the finding of 'closure', although for many healing potentially involves both. There can be no blueprint for how people work with their pain and their trauma. Individuals, families and communities find healing in their own way. The challenge of wound work, as it is understood in this context, is to create the spaces people need in order to find healing for personal relational and communal wounds.

As in many countries reckoning with oppressive pasts, much of the work aimed at enabling individuals and communities to find healing in South Africa is predicated on the assumption that remembering brings with it healing. The provenance of this view internationally is complex, but the dogmas of psychoanalysis and transitional justice define it. In South Africa, the influences of Christian notions of confession, repentance and forgiveness have been particularly strong. Indeed, it could be argued that the TRC was framed very deliberately by these notions.

Contemporary wound work in South Africa has a long provenance. Anti-apartheid struggles, especially from the mid-1980s, developed practices of documenting violation and caring for those traumatised. Arguably wound work became integral to a particular struggle praxis. Christian influences were strong, for instance in the work of organisations like the South African Council of Churches, the Christian Institute, Koinonia and the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness. But both broader religious and secular sensibilities were to be found in these organisations, the Black Sash, the Detainee Parent's Support Committee, a national network of detainee support committees, the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, the South African History Archive and many others all undertook wound work. Some focused on documenting, some on caring, and some on a combination of the two.

The TRC cusp moment, roughly the decade 1994-2004, saw a shift in emphasis from what could be called "wound work *for struggle*" to a search for healing of the wounds of the past. A clutch of community-based and non-governmental organisations around the TRC: *inter alia* the Khulumani Support Group; the Institute for Healing of Memories; the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation; and the Human Rights Media Centre. These organisations, and the public discourse they generated, were soon confronted by the challenge of an increasingly violent society in which new layers of violation were joined to those of the past. Wound work has had to engage with continuing struggles for justice. And it has had to reckon with growing levels of rage at all levels and in all sectors of society. Activism has, needs be, become the defining energy of this work.

This Chapter attempts a broad-stroke account of wound work before focusing

on three brief case studies to provide a sense of the forms of archival activism that have evolved in various parts of the country since 1994: the Nokulunga Gumede Reconciliation Memorial in KwaZulu-Natal, the Human Rights Media Centre in Cape Town, and the Legacies of Apartheid Wars Project at Rhodes University in the Eastern Cape. The Chapter concludes with a reflection on the forms of archival activism at work in these initiatives

Wound Work and Healing

'Wound work', as discussed in this Chapter, has to do with efforts made to place on record and respond to the damaging effects of past systemic violence at psychological, social and political levels. These damaging effects comprise both specific and intersecting forms of disruption, injury or fracture to:

- the structural dimensions of a society,
- the social relations of and within communities and cultural groups,
- the relational and physical health and safety of families, and
- the psychological and social well-being of individuals.

Over time, these effects have been documented and addressed in various ways. In the 1950s, shortly after the National Party came into power and began implementing apartheid-related legislation, organisations such as the South African Institute of Race Relations (IRR) and the Black Sash focused on the human rights and structural dimensions of the wounding effects of apartheid rather than the psychological effects. In the midst of the overwhelming task of addressing systematic human rights issues in the early stages of apartheid legislation and implementation, there was not the time or language to articulate the psychosocial dimensions of the state's violence. From the late 1970s a handful of organisations,[3] began to attend more closely to the psychosocial damage inflicted on individuals, families and communities by the multiple forms of violence arising from colonial and apartheid rule, linking broader issues of inequality, economic marginalisation and the breakdown of social structures. The work of the TRC built on the foundation they created and added immeasurably to the ways in which this damage and its consequences may be understood, and how the roles of these organisations can be understood in retrospect.

As is evident in the case studies in this Chapter, the field of wound work is adaptive, diverse and context specific. Several of the projects mentioned address a number of interrelated issues along the continuum of possibilities from the personal to the socio-political; partly because of the intersectionalities that exist between them and partly because of the difficulty of differentiating between each element. However, as will be seen in both the historical overview of wound work and the case studies, the history of wound work is characterised by a sense of outrage at injustice and clearly identifiable organisational and programmatic forms shaped by a desire to document its wounding effects.

The Colonial and Early Apartheid Years

The earliest systematic documentation of racial injustice in South Africa was, arguably, the IRR , established in 1929[4] to support positive cooperation between the racial communities of South Africa and to perform research on these relationships. Its founders included prominent liberals such as Edgar Brookes, Alan Paton, and Alfred and Winifred Hoernlé.[5] The IRR has, since its inception "concentrated on the investigation of social and economic conditions in order to influence the decisions of policy makers".[6] From 1933 it produced a quarterly *Race Relations Journal* which contained articles by the leading economists, political analysts, and sociologists of the day. From 1936 it produced a monthly eight-page newsletter, *Race Relations News,* which contained reports, articles, and comments on recent events. This was replaced in 1991 by *Fast Facts*. Since 1947 the IRR has also published an annual *Race Relations Survey*. The SAIRR, it could be argued, has documented woundedness and provided an invaluable archive for wound work.

Another organisation concerned with documenting the injustice of the apartheid system, and people's suffering at the hands of the state, was the Black Sash. Established in 1955 to voice white women's opposition to the National Party government's intended changes to the constitution that removed people designated as "Coloured" from the voters' roll, it recently celebrated its 60th anniversary.[7] In the course of its history, the Black Sash has borne witness to human rights violations, provided psychosocial and financial support to people, lobbied government on issues of human rights abuses and rigorously documented its work.[8]

The 1960s saw the emergence of two significant religious structures. The Christian Institute of South Africa (CISA), formed in August 1963, with Rev. C.F. Beyers Naudé as Director. The establishment of CISA followed the Cottesloe Consultation of Church leaders in December 1960 to discuss the influence of apartheid on the church. At this meeting all churches agreed that apartheid posed a threat for the practice of religion.[9] CISA published a journal, *Pro Veritae*,[10] and initiated the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPROCAS):[11]

> Including six commissions and a diverse set of over 140 commissioners and consultants, it focused on the need for change in South Africa, examining economics, education, law, politics, sociology and the Church. The project not only played a critical role in thinking within the South African churches about how to overcome apartheid but also marks a critical stage in the birth of the Black Consciousness Movement.[12]

Following this, numerous other Christian and church-related networks and initiatives emerged which were concerned with documenting and challenging the wounding effects of apartheid. The South African Council

of Churches (SACC), established in 1968,[13] was, during the period under review, characterised by the quality of its leadership, its strong opposition to the apartheid state and its unapologetic allegiance to the liberation struggle and liberation theology. The SACC played an important role in documenting and communicating information about life in South Africa under apartheid rule through its international networks. It also played an important role in promoting peace-making initiatives while holding the position that there could be no healing in South Africa without justice.[14] The Diakonia Council of Churches, established in Durban in 1976, to "help people in the churches to get involved in issues of injustice and human rights violation,"[15] became involved in, for example, taking action against forced removals, supporting emerging trade unions in their struggles for a living wage, and assisting the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) in its struggles to end the forced fighting of young white men against their own fellow South Africans. Diakonia also mobilised support for those held in detention without trial and organised church services protesting against those killed in detention. From 1989 Diakonia played an important role in monitoring political violence and in various reconciliation and peace-work initiatives in KwaZulu and Natal and, at the time of the 1994 elections, ran programmes to facilitate an understanding of democracy. The Pietermaritzburg Agency for Community Social Action (PACSA), established in 1979, published information about incidents of violence conducted (and often concealed) by the apartheid state, provided medical care, offered counselling and support to victims of violence and engaged in peace-making work in KwaZulu and Natal.[16] The regular newsletters which PACSA published were intended, at the time, as a form of information dissemination and awareness-raising. Over time they have, like those of similar activist organisations mentioned elsewhere in this Chapter and in the Report, have come to constitute a unique and valuable historical record.

Another organisation that can be described in retrospect as dealing with "wound work" was the Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies, established at the University of Cape Town in 1968 under the leadership of H.W. van der Merwe.[17] In its early years, it played a pioneering role in publishing information about apartheid policies and establishing peace studies as a field of community work and research in South Africa.[18] This organisation was renamed the Centre for Inter-Group Studies in 1973 and became the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) in 1992. The CCR Peace Library currently houses over 12 000 archival items relating to the field of peace, conflict resolution and mediation.

The organisations mentioned above shared an abhorrence of the systemic injustices and political violence of the state, the violations of human rights and the psychosocial damage arising from these. They believed that they had a moral and civic duty to document, respond to and challenge these injustices.

In the 1980s, as civil society's resistance to the state's repressive actions

strengthened and levels of violence escalated, so did the number of organisations working in this field. Among these were, for example, the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) which was established in 1981 to provide legal, financial and psychosocial support to activists who had been arrested and imprisoned (often without trial) by the apartheid state and their families.[19] Organisations such as the Black Sash, the SACC and the DPSC worked in collaboration with each other, sharing resources and information, running joint campaigns and offering mutual support. From 1983, these and other like-minded organisations including faith-based organisations, civic associations, trade unions, student structures, and sports bodies[20] were brought together in a powerful civil structure, the United Democratic Front (UDF), in a strategic move aimed at creating a broad-based movement, united against apartheid, inside South Africa.[21]

It took until the early 1980s for professional psychologists to enter the arena of activist – responses to the damaging effects of apartheid and more particularly, of the state's suppression of resistance through detention and torture. The Psychology Apartheid Committee and the Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSSA)[22] were established in 1983 by psychologists concerned about the limited effectiveness and ability of the existing professional and social structures within which they worked to intervene in addressing the psychological dimensions of apartheid-era violence.

The Quaker Peace Centre (QPC), established in 1988 was an important initiative in developing and promoting community peacebuilding initiatives that focused on nonviolent responses to state violence, conflict resolution and peer mediation training in schools.[23]

The 1980s also saw growing concern amongst activists about the need to address not only the system of apartheid and the high levels of conflict and violence that existed in South African society, but also to analyse and begin to theorise about what the social and psychological effects of this violence might be. Growing numbers of civil society organisations and academic institutions devoted to these issues began to emerge, arguably the most prominent being the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) – initially called Project for the Study of Violence – which was established in 1989.[24] It was a ground-breaking initiative for its time, combining the provision of counselling and psychological support for victims of violence with community-based workshops, support programmes and academic research. From the outset, the CSVR was committed to documenting, disseminating and archiving the material that the organisation produced. Thus, a unique field of 'wound work' began to emerge which combined and integrated sociological, political, psychological and conflict resolution theory with community work, counselling and advocacy. The CSVR's shift from being a project that addressed violence to a centre that also studied and promoted reconciliation was significant. It marked the beginning of a move towards including elements of transitional

justice within such initiatives. This approach became the blueprint which other related endeavours sought either to emulate or to extend in some way. It also became a model for African and international civil society transitional justice organisations.

The early 1990s were defined by two related developments: the intense levels of violence that marked the lead-up to the first democratic elections in 1994; and the upsurge of civil society initiatives aimed at supporting the democratic project and broader social transformation agenda.

The organisations established during this period include the National Peace Accord Trust, set up in 1992 to encourage, monitor and support peace in communities prior to the first democratic elections and to deal with challenges relating to post-apartheid era socio-economic reconstruction.[25] In 1993 the Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture was established, committed to addressing trauma through inclusive healing processes to build a nonviolent society with respect for human rights.[26]

In a parallel development, the 1990s also saw a growing recognition of the need to address the psychosocial wounding of, and mental health issues associated with, HIV/AIDS. This included work with families and vulnerable children, as well as a growth in research and NGO programmes to address the traumatising effect of AIDS-related mortalities.

After 1994

During the time of the TRC a number of parallel civil society initiatives took place, an example being the CSVR seminar in 1995 which specifically focused on the psychological implications of the TRC.[27] Another was the initiation of research undertaken by health care professionals into the apartheid-era military's treatment of gay and lesbian personnel: *The Aversion Project: Human rights abuses of gays and lesbians in the South African Defence Force by health workers during the apartheid era*.[28]

The TRC (1995-2003) was one of the most prominent legislated and human-rights based responses by the newly established government to the psychosocial injustices and woundings of the apartheid years. It went some way towards enabling people to realise their right to know the truth about what was done to them and their loved ones, established a precedent and a model for future work, and generated a unique archival record of past injustices and the shameful abuses of human rights of the apartheid era.

The TRC was both activist and archival in character. It built on an accumulation of decades of civil society activists' attempts to record both human rights abuses and their wounding effects. While more could be said about the TRC than could possibly be adequately discussed in this Report, a few salient points need to be highlighted. The TRC, under the leadership of

Archbishop Desmond Tutu in particular, used the language of woundedness to define South African society and the nature of the healing work required. Tutu defined the structural fractures and injustices of the apartheid system as a form of moral, social and spiritual wounding, which left in its wake a wounded nation. South Africans themselves were therefore understood to be wounded people, in need of reconciliation with historical enemies and historically defined "others". All were damaged, whether victim or perpetrator oppressor or oppressed. The language of trauma began to enter general South African discourse for the first time as well, providing a particular framing and language for woundedness and the healing methods that were understood to be required.

Within this conceptual framework, the TRC created an unprecedented culture of 'wound work' and healing. This was largely confessional, with both victims and perpetrators called on to testify in public about certain cases that had been classified as gross violations of human rights. The assumptions underlying this approach to 'wound work' were that, if the truth was uncovered, the woundedness of the past could find closure and healing through a combination of emotional catharsis, counselling, reconciliation and reparations or rehabilitation that addressed social and economic injustices.

The healing of wounds that may have taken place as a result of the TRC's work arose primarily through the public acknowledgement of human rights abuse and the documentation of this. The greater goal of social healing through reconciliation across racial, ideological and other lines proved impossible in the time, and with the resources, available. Even establishing the truth of what happened during the apartheid era was a far more difficult task than could have been imagined during the conceptualisation of the TRC.

Perhaps the greatest legacy of the TRC is its archive. This is due, in all probability, to the fact that many of the people who worked on the TRC as commissioners, researchers and other support roles had previously been activists in the field of 'wound work' and social justice. Despite the recommendation contained in the *TRC Final Report*, that the records and archives of the Commission be open and accessible to the public, the South African Department of Justice has place restrictions on aspects of this archive. The *Final Report* itself and the extensive sound and video recordings of hearings, and the transcripts of each public testimony, amnesty and special hearing, as well as the amnesty applications are available online,[29] providing an extraordinary and accessible archive of injustice and its consequences. What is missing from the public record are the records deemed as 'sensitive', particularly those relating to the work of individual investigators and investigations and those of in-camera hearings. At issue is the fact that the restriction on access to the TRC records means that for many victims of gross violations of human rights the possibility of justice has been denied. For further details, and information about SAHA's activism in relation to making the TRC archives accessible see Chapter Two of this Report, and visit the SAHA website.[30]

The TRC acted as a catalyst for the emergence of new academic studies notable in the work of Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela,[31] Antjie Krog,[32] Wilhelm Verwoerd,[33] Fiona Ross[34] and Brandon Hamber[35] whose work has continued to build on its conceptual and archival foundations in different ways, either through scholarly research, interpretation and analysis or through their engagement in work with communities.

The work of the TRC also led to the establishment of a number of new organisations working in this area, including the Khulumani Support Group, which was established by survivors testifying at the TRC, and which has become a globally-recognised movement spear-heading healing and memory, the struggle for reparations, and active citizenship in countries transitioning out of conflict.[36] The Institute for Healing of Memories, which was established in 1996 under the auspices of the Trauma Centre and became an independent organisation in 1998, aims to "contribute to lasting individual and collective healing that makes possible a more peaceful and just future"[37]. The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) was launched in 2000 in the wake of the TRC to ensure that lessons learnt from South Africa´s transition from apartheid to democracy were taken into account as the nation moved ahead with the democratic project.[38]

In 2000, shortly after the completion of the TRC's work, a national network of organisations working in the field of trauma and victim empowerment was established, led by CSVR, the Trauma Centre and the SA Institute for Traumatic Stress (SAITS), with the aim of supporting and developing work being done in the broad field of 'victim empowerment'. It was given the name Themba Lesizwe (meaning 'hope of the nation'). The aim of the network was "to make trauma and mental health care services more accessible, more affordable and more professional throughout South Africa. By focusing on empowerment of victims of crime and violence, Themba Lesizwe (sought) to contribute to building a peaceful society in which respect for human rights and human dignity (were) the norm."[39] The call for abstracts for Themba Lesizwe's 2004 a conference, held jointly with the biennial Critical Methods Psychology Conference, articulated the organisations' broad concerns about the relationship between trauma and social problems, raised some critical questions and suggested areas for further study:

> Trauma provides a vital concept for critical psychology, clearly linking social problems with subjective experience. It can allow us to document the psychological consequences of socially embedded forms of violence and exclusion, including problems such as violent crime, sexual violence, xenophobia, racism, poverty and the HIV/AIDS (sic) epidemic. We also need to research the specifics of local experiences and interventions in the context of complex cultural differences and the limited resources available to most community based organisations. In addition, there should be critical reflection on the trauma industry itself: the identities it produces, the forms of thinking it allows and those it stifles, the social

relations it creates and sustains. The conference aims to bring together critical research and theoretical work relating to these issues.[40]

By 2007 Themba Lesizwe had grown into a network of 269 affiliates in the victim empowerment sector in South Africa. It coordinated and funded a variety of programmes for victims and survivors of violence, ranging from research to supporting small rural organisations that assisted rape and trauma victims.[41] However, at the very peak of its success and reach, issues arose around compliance with European Union funding requirements, and it suddenly and dramatically collapsed.[42]

The timing of the dissolution of Themba Lesizwe coincided with a general shift in the nature and scope of this kind of activism within South African society. The steady withdrawal of international donors from South Africa, a shift away from what has been perceived as work whose impact is difficult to track, and a trend of concepts such as reconciliation and victim empowerment being contested, deconstructed and revised, all contributed to shrinkage and slippage of this form of activism. Those forms that have survived and sustained their work have generally followed one or more of the following three strategies: maintaining a very specific and clearly defined focus, shifting their work beyond South Africa and into other African countries, or aligning themselves with an academic institution in some way.

In 2010, the South African Coalition for Transitional Justice was established comprising six NGOs: the Khulumani Support Group, CSVR, IJR, HRMC, SAHA and the Trauma Centre. Its aim is to apply pressure on the state to deliver reparations as envisaged by the TRC, and which the TRC Unit within the Department of Justice was set up to address. HRMC Director Shirley Gunn describes the work of the coalition:

> Coalition actions have including successful litigations, enforcing transparency and consultation with effected and "wounded' people / communities to fulfil its mandate. The lack of delivery of adequate reparations leads to prolonging and deepening 'woundedness' adding to the failure of TRC's reconciliation project. The point is that the collective efforts of 'wounded' KSG members assists to reduce social isolation, exclusion, and recovery of voice and shedding the shackles of woundedness.[43]

In recent years, wound work has expanded to embrace a wide range of issues, challenges and modes of violation. This shift has been caused by growing awareness of the multiple wounding effects of different types of violence, the availability of funding, and changing personalities and styles of leadership within organisations. Dramatic events have influenced the sector – like outbreaks of violence directed at people identified as foreigners (2008 and 2015), the Jacob Zuma rape trial[44] in 2007 and the Marikana Massacre in 2012. More recently, given the growing concerns about 'state capture' and the

misuse of state funds, organisations such as the Black Sash and the Quaker Peace Centre have initiated court cases to hold the ANC government to account for corruption and mismanagement.[45]

Current contestations about history and identity in post-post-apartheid, arguably most clearly defined by the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall social movements, which, from 2015, reinvigorated debates around the cumulative and unresolved effects of colonialism and inequality[46] have led to the emergence of new idioms of outrage in which the legacies of colonialism and apartheid, as well as the ongoing intersectionalities of woundedness in post-apartheid South Africa, have been the defining features.

Wound work draws on memory and other evidence or traces of past damage. While few, if any of the organisations mentioned thus far chose consciously to create an archive, the record of their work serves as an inadvertent archive of woundedness, outrage and healing over time. The three organisations described in the case studies below are different. Each one set out deliberately to create an archive of sorts by inscribing memory in a form and place that is both publicly accessible and separate from the individual. As Derrida argues, "You cannot keep an archive inside yourself – this is not archive".[47] Each initiative then may be said to fit our definition of archival activism because they have accorded memory the status of archive and mobilised it in support of struggles for social justice.

Case Studies

Nokulunga Gumede Reconciliation Memorial in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu-Natal

This memorial has been identified as a case study for several reasons: It is a rural project, driven to a large extent by community members themselves; and it is integrated into a range of projects and initiatives that address the personal, social and economic wounds of the community –- a model that its leaders, the Zulu Mpophomeni Tourism Experience (ZMTE),[48] describe as 'ecological' because of the intersecting nature of the wounds of this context and efforts to address them.

The community of Mpophomeni was established in 1969 as a result of forced removals in which the apartheid state forcibly relocated people from the nearby town of Howick and placed them on a farm 20 kilometres away.[49] While Mpophomeni is isolated and marginalised, there was relatively little violence in the Mpophomeni community until the 1980s, when there was a series of bus and rent boycotts. In 1985, the workers in the nearby BTR Sarmcol rubber factory went on strike for basic workers' rights. All 970 workers were fired, 33% of whom lived in Mpophomeni. Local oral historian and religious leader, Philippe Denis, describes the effects of this:

This triggered a cycle of violence between the striking workers, mostly United Democratic Front (UDF) –- African National Congress (ANC) supporters, and the people hired to replace them, in many cases residents from Inkatha-aligned areas. Deprived of income, many families experienced extreme poverty. The brutality of the dismissal and the efforts of the community to develop alternatives soon attracted the attention of journalists, union leaders, academics, anti-apartheid activists, violence monitors, clerics, lawyers and cultural workers. Several oral history projects were dedicated to this history in subsequent years.[50]

In 1991 a five-year-old child, Nokulunga Gumede, was knocked over and killed by an armoured police vehicle while playing outside her house. The arbitrariness of this violence, and the fact that the vehicle drove off without stopping to see if the child was injured, galvanised the shattered community. After consultations and engagements facilitated by local Anglican priest and community worker, Dan le Cordeur,[51] it was decided to erect a memorial to all community members who had died during the violence. Families that had lost loved ones in the conflicts of the previous decade were invited to place a plaque on a Wall of Remembrance which was erected where Nokulunga Gumede had died. It was unveiled on 27 April 1995, the first anniversary of the 1994 democratic elections.[52]

While the wall records the names of those who died, and acts as a memorial to them, it forms a small part of what Frank Mchunu, ZMTE Marketing Manager, describes as an Eco-Museum Project.[53] This comprises a series of community initiatives, including a community museum in what was the original farmhouse. The museum chronicles the history of Mpophomeni, including the stories of the previous landowners, the Lund family, the SARMCOL workers, the religious institutions and traditions within the community, a community centre, a community garden project and an environmental project to protect the wetlands that form part of the land on which the community lives. The museum itself is also regarded as part of the social ecology of the community, having links with the Zenzeleni Centre, the focus of most of Mpophomeni's community projects[54], local tourist initiatives, schools in the area, faith-based organisations and the people who live in the village.[55]

This initiative provides a remarkable example of community activism in the area of memorialisation which has an archival dimension. The Nokulunga Gumede Reconciliation Memorial itself is an archive of the way this community has dealt with the violence and trauma of its past, while also comprising a public record of the names of people who died during civil and political conflict. The work remains complex, however. An example being that not all the names of people who died in Mpophomeni's conflicts have been included, and some plaques have been removed from the wall since its unveiling due to the fact that families have had a change of heart about their family member's name being part of this initiative, due to a sense of

frustration with what is perceived as a lack of ongoing reconciliation and development work in the community. The wall is an archive of history and of its ongoing complexities.

Since 2005, further archiving work, in the form of oral history interviews, has been done in collaboration with the Sinomlando Centre for Oral History and Memory Work in Africa,[56] an organisation established within the School of Religion and Theology, UKZN, in 1994 to add indigenous oral history to the record and to recover the silenced memories of the Christian communities, particularly those which suffered under apartheid. The Sinomlando Centre's main role in this initiative has been to train community residents in oral history methodology. In April 2010 ZMTE and Sinomlando signed a partnership agreement in terms of which part the former would receive part of a National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund grant to collect oral history testimonies on the history of the Mpophomeni. Subsequently more than 20 Mpophomeni residents or people associated with them were interviewed, three group interviews were conducted and various exhibits were collected. In December 2011 two volumes of interviews, one in English and the other one in isiZulu, were presented to the community on the occasion of the pre-launch of the Mpophomeni Eco-Museum.[57] Original recordings and transcripts are preserved in the Sinomlando Collection, based at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Alan Paton Centre & Struggle Archives[58] where they are accessible to researchers.

The work of the museum, the ZMTE and its networks of partners amplifies what the wall represents by archiving the history that gave rise to the violence that has beset this community. It has also very deliberately sought to promote spaces and opportunities for healing. The challenge remains how to ensure that the archive becomes a resource which the community can use in addressing the challenges of violence and in undertaking struggles for service delivery and the meeting of other needs.

Human Rights Media Centre, Western Cape

This organisation has been included as a case study in this Chapter because of the cutting-edge work in archival activism that has developed and grown over the 16 years of its work. The mission of the Human Rights Media Centre (HRMC), established in 2000 in the Western Cape by veteran struggle activist, Shirley Gunn, is to advance "an awareness and activism about human rights through the documentation and dissemination of oral narratives through a variety of media forms and social interventions."[59] HRMC projects have, to date, focussed on a variety of issues including: apartheid-era violence; memorialisation; child maintenance; domestic workers; blindness and albinism; the plight of refugees; and intergenerational memory and trauma.[60] This work is often done in partnership with other organisations. *Breaking the Silence: A luta continua*, a fourteen-year-long creative arts and memory process which aims to "give unacknowledged heroes and

survivors of the struggle against apartheid a chance to remember and express their experiences, and to create a record that might honour their sacrifice and educate future generations,"[61] was, for example, conducted in partnership with the Khulumani Support Group in the Western Cape. Another project, undertaken in partnership with Khulumani, was the production of two video documentaries *We Never Give Up*, and *We Never Give Up II*, which focused on the stories of a group of people who testified at the TRC's Gross Violations of Human Rights Committee hearings. The publication *Looking Inside: Five South African stories about people living with Albinism* was undertaken in collaboration with the Western Cape Blind Association and funded by the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund, while *Knocking on: mothers and daughters in the struggle in South Africa – an intergenerational memory project –* was undertaken in collaboration with the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, with funding from The Atlantic Philanthropies. The HRMC has also partnered with communities, particularly in projects related to memorialisation. The HRMC, in collaboration with ACG Architects was commissioned, after an open competition, to create the Trojan Horse Memorial, to commemorate the lives of three young people killed by the security police on 15 October 1985. The HRMC also drew attention to a similar incident that occurred in Crossroads, in which two young people perished, raising awareness of both incidents through a book, *If trees could speak*, working with school children and engaging in a consultative process with the community, and raising funds from the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung for the erection of a memorial.[63] A similar initiative was undertaken in Langa to commemorate the 1960 march against passbooks.[64]

The organisation has a substantial archive of artworks, journals, audio recordings, video recordings and published books.[65] The recordings are transcribed and stored in the HRMC offices, but remain to be digitised and catalogued – due largely to the HRMC's busy work schedule and funding constraints. A key element of the HRMC's work is to focus on individual projects with a specific end-product in sight, i.e. a publication or a film which is made available in the public domain. This ensures that the research they undertake does not languish unseen in an archive. Published material is archived in HRMC office, and copies of their books are available for sale and widely disseminated to local, provincial and university libraries and community organisations. Some of the narratives have been read and broadcast on the South African Broadcasting Corporation's SAFM, while the narratives on disability have been voice recorded and lodged at the South African Library for the Blind in Grahamstown.[66] The issue of the long-term preservation of the materials remains a concern for Gunn,[67] especially if the project should come to an end. Ideally, she hopes that the HRMC archive may be housed in an institution where it will be conserved and made accessible, in digital format, for future generations.

The success and longevity of the organisation can be ascribed to the tenacity and endurance of its founder, the very simple operational infrastructure that

they have developed and the integrity of their work. The latter, in particular, has enabled them to secure small amounts of sustainable and repeated funding from local and international donors including the Ford Foundation, Open Society Foundation, British Council, Business and Arts South Africa and the National Arts Council. Another factor that works in the HRMC's favour is that it has chosen to focus primarily on the Western Cape, allowing the layers of unfolding histories and issues to guide their work (although they have applied their methodologies elsewhere both nationally and internationally for ad hoc and short-term projects).

The Legacies of Apartheid Wars Project, Rhodes University, Eastern Cape

The Legacies of Apartheid Wars (LAWs) Project[68] grew out of discussions held in 2009 at the 25th anniversary celebrations[69] of the establishment of the End Conscription Campaign's (ECC).[70] The focus of these discussions was the unfinished work of understanding and addressing the woundedness and struggles of men who were conscripted into the apartheid-era military. Theresa Edlmann of the Rhodes University History Department and the lead researcher of this Chapter, was working on a PhD research into this issue at the time,[71] and offered to facilitate further discussion.

Atlantic Philanthropies provided seed-funding for a year-long consultative process during which Edlmann facilitated a series of 'compassionate conversations' and creative dialogues between those who had served in the South African Defence Force (SADF), those who had objected to serving in this system and those who had chosen to fight in the various organisations and military structures that resisted apartheid. These conversations took various forms: groups of 12 people participated in a series of events and discussions at the 2011 National Arts Festival in Grahamstown; others engaged though conferences and events or through informal engagements; and on ex-conscript undertook a bicycle trip through Angola, engaging with the people who live on the sites where conflicts, including the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale, occurred and producing a book documenting this.[72] These engagements proved an innovative way of recording not only people's own experiences of apartheid but also perceptions of each group's enemy at the time. Increasingly, these conversations acted as a catalyst to lift the potent silences about apartheid-era conflicts in Southern Africa, providing opportunities for new insights to emerge about the past and present through people from historically opposing sides engaging with each other[73] and to focus on how they might contribute to a more lasting peace across the region.

These events were aimed broadly at catalysing innovative conversations about and responses to the past, with a focus on how they can contribute to a more lasting peace across the region.

The LAWS Project received further funding from Atlantic Philanthropies,

enabling it to continue its work for a further two years, from October 2012 to June 2014. During this period LAWS was based in the Rhodes University as an externally-funded entity receiving financial and administrative support from the Rhodes Research Finance Division, with its operations overseen by a small, non-statutory, management committee.

During this period, the LAWs Project acted as a hub for a wide range of activities in South Africa and in Namibia:

- Commissioning and facilitating research: a number of Rhodes postgraduate students focussed their research on issues related to SANDF conscripts; supporting Dr Janet Cherry's work with the Amabutho,[74] and established links with their colleagues at the University of Namibia
- Promoting the development of psycho-social services and peer support groups for ex-servicemen
- Promoting dialogue between ex-servicemen and ex-combatants from the liberation movements. One of the outcomes of this was the invitation from Radio 702 for the LAWS Project to participate in a series of weekly call-in discussion on the legacies of the apartheid wars. Listenership of these shows was estimated at between 80,000 and 100, 000 people
- Undertaking an oral history project, with Dr Janet Cherry, with the members of the Self Defence Units (former anti-apartheid street fighters) and former conscripts who patrolled the townships in and around Port Elizabeth in the 1980s
- Hosting a series of public dialogues across the country including at the 2013 National Arts Festival's "Think!Fest" and a conference at Rhodes University in 2013 with national and international presenters. The papers from this conference are in the process of being edited with a view to publishing a book
- Hosting a series of photographic and art events including: Paul Liebenberg and Christo Doherty's photographic exhibition, Mekhonjo

One of the most significant outcomes of the LAWS Project has been the creation of an archive of material, including the history of the Amabutho – oral history recordings, photographs and a documentary film. All of the material gathered through the LAWs process will be curated, archived and made available online to members of Amabutho, researchers and members of the public.

The LAWS Project proved to be unsustainable in the form envisaged initially – as an externally- funded unit within the Rhodes University Department of History – and came to a close in 2015. Several of the initiatives that begun are continuing in different forms, and work on publications related to its activities is ongoing.[75]

The LAWS project defined itself as undertaking a form of memory activism which simultaneously documented historical events, explored the legacies

of those events and shifted the 'discursive laagers' which have defined the memories, identities and social positioning of people caught up in this period of history[76] through the dialogues it facilitated and the research, including oral history projects, that it undertook. Having a base at an academic institution gave the project a particularly valuable identity, level of support and access to funding. Its greatest strength was the network of people that gathered around the values and vision of the work. While its organisational and funding bases might have been fragile, its activist ethos has led to a level of sustainability outside of conventional project life.

Sustainability

Those who have done wound work in South Africa have often been pioneers, responding to the largely unseen and qualitative dimensions of the fractures and brokenness of their context. It has been work characterised by a combination of vulnerability and courage – at both personal and organisational levels. A consequence of this is that the sector has seen many organisations start up and then fold, due to the challenges of financial, institutional and human resource-related sustainability.

The issue of sustainability is a complex one, both in this specific field and in South African civil society in general. Funding and leadership have been key issues in determining whether organisations have survived or not. Another has been the extent to which organisations have been able to form partnerships and alliances with universities, religious organisations and networks and other civil society initiatives. As noted in the case studies, this has been done with varying degrees of success. While universities have offered administrative and sometimes intellectual support and have shown a willingness to preserve the archives emerging from these initiatives, they have not generally funded the work done in communities or with groups of affected people. The survival of these projects remains largely dependent on donor funding. This is a challenge as international funders withdraw support from South African organisations and local funders prioritise other types of activities, such as education and enterprise development that appear to be more urgently needed.

Conclusion

'Wound work' in South Africa has been diverse and multi-faceted, but arguably has been shaped fundamentally by a conceptual framework that is international rather than local and that is of the North rather than of the South. Faith-based frames of reference have loomed large. Funders, founders, framers and chief executives have been predominantly white. The origins of this work within psychoanalysis and its subsequent shapings by transitional justice have also led to contestation around the cultural definitions of woundedness and the healing work that is required – particularly as it relates to memory work. Notions of acknowledgement, legacy, closure and healing

are all key to these debates, and influence the forms of archival activism that emerge from particular projects and organisational work.

The archive looms large in all three case studies selected for this Chapter. They exemplify proactive archiving as a conscious and deliberate act of building a historical record for wound work. For all three, healing is unimaginable without archive. For all three, the work of archive is justice. However, only the HRMC managed to develop a strong commitment to *continuing* struggles for justice. None have generated the levels of community support and stakeholder engagement required to ensure sustainability. And, based on assessment of their on-line presence, none have been able to ensure significant virtual "presence". Arguably sustainability hinges on the presence-relevance nexus.

The archival component within 'wound work' is as complex as the field itself. During the apartheid era organisations were often primarily focused on the activist-orientated goals of their work, making the archival dimensions incidental. Time, context and available technology often meant that printed newsletters were the primary way of documenting and disseminating information and there was, initially at least, little concern for preserving the record for future use. Today there is widespread awareness among social justice activists that the archive is a potentially powerful resource for struggle. New technologies make it easier for shared 'memory' platforms (like WhatsApp, Facebook and so on) to be ever present and action-orientated – although quite how the shared experiences expressed on these platforms will be archived is another question. Multiple shifts in how memory, legacy, information and history are collected, curated and communicated have challenged historical notions of archiving and archival activism, making for a dynamic ethos in the work. As in every realm of human endeavour now, in 'wound work' the archive is demonstrably a must-have rather than a luxury. It provides the space, simultaneously, for solidarity, reflection and collaboration.

Endnotes

1. With thanks to Philippe Denis, Shirley Gunn, Garth Stevens, Nomfundo Mohapi and Friederike Bubenzer for their feedback on early drafts of this Chapter.
2. These organisations, including the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF), Institute for Race Relations (IRR), the Black Sash and the Christian Institute of South Africa (CISA). Focused on identifying, documenting and drawing the attention of the public, including the international community to acts of political violence and human rights abuse. While their activities were not primarily based on creating an archive, their records have archival status.
3. These included the Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSSA) and the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR).
4. "The inaugural meeting was held on 9 May 1929 in the Johannesburg home of the missionary Reverend Ray E. Phillips. In attendance were Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu, one of the first professors at the University of Fort Hare; Johannes du Plessis, a missionary and theologian; Charles Templeman Loram, chief inspector of Native education in Natal Province; Edgar Brookes, J. Howard Pim, a government official; Thomas W. Mackenzie, editor of *The Friend*, a Bloemfontein newspaper and J. H. Nicholson, Mayor of Durban. In its early years of the 1930s, SAIRR had a powerful ally in the politician Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr. Hofmeyr was an influential liberal who opposed some of the proto-apartheid policies of the time and pursued a pro-British agenda. However, Hofmeyr died in 1948, the same year as the decisive elections which put the National

Party in power. Apartheid was formalised and the democracy was structured to favour the National Party, which would maintain rule over South Africa until 1994. White liberals were largely marginalised; even in 1948, where the United Party beat the National Party by 10% points in the popular vote, the National Party earned more seats, leading to a sense of helplessness about attempting to contest elections. Opposition to apartheid was routinely demonised as being pro-communist. Thus, SAIRR's influence declined greatly from 1948 onward." *The South African Institute of Race Relations*, accessed July 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_African_Institute_of_Race_Relations

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74. The term Amabutho refers collectively to quasi-military formations of township youth who were also often known as "comrades" or "young lions." Mainly active in urban areas, especially in the eastern Cape, most were unemployed school-leavers who supported the United Democratic Front during the years of its ascendance, 1983-88. Often, they lacked the political sophistication of school students, but with little to lose and time on their hands to roam the streets, they

became the most militant and daring element within the UDF. Amabutho played a central, often unpopular, role in policing stayaways and consumer boycotts. The toyi-toyi, a high-spirited warriors' dance, became their political trademark at mass gatherings, marches and funerals. Between 1985 and 1987 they were responsible for rendering many townships temporarily off limits to state authorities - "ungovernable," in township parlance. Accessed November 2017, http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/interview-with-amabutho-members

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CHAPTER SIX

CHAPTER SIX

NEW STRUGGLES FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE: NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Lead researcher: Jo-Anne Duggan

Chapter Overview

This Chapter points to emerging trends in ongoing struggles for social justice, and the archival possibilities that these new developments present. The Chapter examines four case studies: The Nelson Mandela Foundation; The Parliamentary Monitoring Group; *Miners Shot Down* a documentary film about the Marikana massacre; and the Five Hundred Year Archive Project. The Nelson Mandela Foundation uses the archive of its founder to leverage larger and wider discussions about the power and politics of archive and memory, to raise difficult matters for discussion, and to support vulnerable causes in the face of overwhelming political pressure. The Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG) was established in the mid-1990s to provide information about the proceedings of government to social justice organisations so that they would be better equipped to lobby government. While the PMG originated as a mechanism for disseminating information to the public, it has become a valuable archival resource about the workings of government, and the interactions between government and civil society, over the last decade. *Miners Shot Down*, a documentary film about the Marikana miners shot by the South African Police Service (SAPS) in 2014, draws on, and mobilises, archival records and oral history interviews. The film has been used extensively by the Marikana Support Committee in their campaign for justice for the slain mineworkers and their families. The Five Hundred Year Archive (FHYA) project addresses a problem of the inherited archive, namely that materials pertinent to the remote past have come to be treated as timeless, traditional and tribal materials. This has resulted in the eras before European colonialism appearing – falsely – to be without an archive. The FHYA is developing an archival exemplar that: invests collected material with the grammar and the status of the archive, recognises institutions such as archives, museums and libraries as knowledge producers rather than inert repositories; and makes provision for citizens to contribute information. The Chapter concludes with an account of interventions aimed at archiving some of the recent developments on university campuses, generally referred to as #rhodesmustfall and #feesmustfall, and the challenges arising from this.

Introduction

The previous Chapters of this Report cover over four decades of archival activism in support of ongoing struggles for social justice. Most, if not all, of the institutions or organisations discussed thus far in the Report have long histories and have focused their attention on activities that took forward the struggle for liberation and human rights in South Africa under apartheid rule or have contributed to building a more just society in the years immediately following the country's first democratic elections. The case studies in this Chapter focus on contemporary struggles for social justice: the struggle to hold government accountable for the exercise of its duties and to empower citizens with the tools to do this; the struggle to ensure that neglected and dissident voices are heard; and the struggles to overthrow the oppressive and insidious legacy of our colonial past. These case studies provide some indication of the current and future trajectories of archival activism in South Africa, and the pervasive influence of the rapid developments of technology and social media in recent years.

The work of two organisations operating in the online environment, but not discussed in detail below bears special mention because of their remarkable activism and their impact in two separate spheres of activity. *South African History Online* (SAHO)[1] and *#GuptaLeaks*.[2]

SAHO was founded by renowned photographer and cultural activist Omar Badsha, in 2001. Described on its website as a "non-partisan people's history project concerned with the presentation of a critical, open access, and democratic history of South Africa" it operates a website and digital archive which includes an online classroom for learners and educators. The SAHO team which includes content producers, editors, designers and web technicians has made close to 40 000 documents, approximately 7 000 biographies, and an archive containing tens of thousands of letters, statutes, photos, speeches, etc., available online. The site is well used: between 2012-2017 the site registered over 50 million pageviews. In 2016/17 the site was used by four and half million people globally, who viewed over ten million pages. SAHO activity extends beyond the provision of a website to include conferences and publishing. The organisation is a registered non-profit and is donor funded. It works in partnership with local and international educational institutions.[3]

#GuptaLeaks is a collaborative microsite that brings together the investigative work and analysis of the leaked 'Gupta emails' by the amaBhungane Centre for Investigative Journalism,[4] an independent non-profit; Scorpio, the Daily Maverick's investigative unit;[5] and News24.[6] The microsite does not offer access to the hundreds of thousands of leaked documents and emails. But a small selection, curated to show interactions, was made available publicly online for a period of ten days by the Association for the Protection of Whistleblowers in Africa (PPLAAF) following their testimony to South Africa's Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Public Enterprises, and at the request of the acting

chair to assist with the completion of its inquiry into Eskom.[7] The leaks and the analysis of the investigative journalists have played a significant role in bringing to light evidence of corruption and 'state capture'.

> We believe that the vehicle for sharing memory effectively, for growing it, and for engaging with it in the promotion of justice, is dialogue. We actively open our memory work – on the life and time of Nelson Mandela, the events and the people he influenced or was influenced by – to debate and discussion, and we draw on this memory work in convening dialogue on critical social issues that present a threat to justice in society.

As noted in the *State of the Archives* analysis, over the last two decades or so there has been a sharp increase in memory projects – the establishment of archives, foundations and annual lectures – that mark the life and legacy of activists involved in the struggle for liberation. While many of these initiatives aim to ensure that the record of a particular individual's life is secured and preserved in an existing institution, few mobilise the record in support of current struggles for social justice. The most notable exception is the Nelson Mandela Foundation (NMF). A close reading of the NMF's projects and programmes reveals how it uses the archive to leverage wider and deeper discussions about the power and politics of archive and memory, to raise difficult matters for discussion, and to support vulnerable causes in the face of overwhelming political pressure.

Background

> The Nelson Mandela Foundation was established in 1999 when its Founder, Mr Nelson Mandela, stepped down as the President of South Africa … Soon after Mr Mbeki [his successor] was inaugurated as President on 16 June 1999, Mr Mandela was on the telephone to rally his staff for the new tasks ahead. They had to remind him they no longer worked for him, and so the Nelson Mandela Foundation was born. As Mr Mandela's post-presidential office, it provided the base for his charitable work, covering a wide range of endeavours: from building schools to HIV/AIDS work, from research into education in rural areas to peace and reconciliation interventions.[8]

From its establishment in 1999 until 2004, the NMF was simply and unequivocally Nelson Mandela's post-presidential office. The NMF began its transition into an organisation focused on memory, dialogue and legacy work in 2004 when the Board started to consider different options for reimagining both the NMF's role and its mandate. In 2006, the Board took a decision to shift the organisation's role from that of post-presidential office to that of human rights-oriented NGO and gave it a mandate to undertake advocacy

work and adopted a new mission statement. In 2010 Mr Mandela stopped using his office at the NMF and in 2012, his personal office was formally closed. The five-year strategic plan (2013-2018) provided the NMF with a mandate for activism in the memory-dialogue nexus.

In 2013 The NMF opened the Centre of Memory, having refurbished its premises to include a state of the art archival repository, exhibition and meeting areas and an auditorium to provide it with a physical home befitting its changed status.

Vision and mission

The NMF's vision is "A society that remembers its pasts, listens to all its voices, and pursues social justice"; its revised Mission Statement, adopted in 2011 is, "To contribute to the making of a just society by promoting the legacy of Nelson Mandela, providing an integrated public information resource on his life and times, and convening dialogue around critical social issues"; and its core work: "To deliver to the world an integrated and dynamic information resource on the life and times of Nelson Mandela, and promote the finding of sustainable solutions to critical social problems through memory-based dialogue interventions".[9]

The NMF's activism is underpinned by the following principles:

- Interventions are rooted in areas of organisational expertise and experience, mandated by policy, and guided by approved strategy.
- Interventions must promote rather than undermine the NMF's positioning as 'the trusted voice' on Madiba's legacy. Amongst other things this demands reliance on robust research, analysis and consultation capacity.
- Interventions must accommodate the NMF's role as a trusted convenor of dialogue. This does not demand that the NMF adopt public positions that are seen to be 'neutral', but it does require the NMF to ensure that its positions build trust in its convening role.
- Interventions are mindful of the NMF's unique positioning in relation to the state, government, governing party, Mr Mandela's family, its sister organisations, and other key stakeholders in its' Founder's legacy.

Demands on the NMF for intervention are multiple and often complex. There can be no blueprint for decision-making. Decisions are made on a case-by-case basis using the framing and the principles outlined above.

Organisation

The NMF is registered as a not-for profit organisation governed by a Board of Trustees – including academics, business leaders, politicians and others who may be described broadly as 'thought leaders'. The organisation is managed by a Chief Executive Officer, directors of Archive and Dialogue,

Communications and Outreach, and Finance and Support Services. The team includes archivists as well as media and dialogue analysists. The NMF hosts local and international interns.

The NMF works closely with local and international memory institutions that "have a stake in the Mandela archive"[10] in partnership with a broad range of government departments and institutions and civil society organisations to achieve its vision and mission. Its fundraising strategy focuses on ensuring sustainability through a focus on endowment and programme funding. The NMF is able to leverage its founders' status to garner significant support for its legacy work.

Archives

The NMF houses a small collection of archival materials including: records from the Office of Nelson Mandela (his office at the NMF); Nelson Mandela's personal archives; records of organisations and individuals related to the life and times of Nelson Mandela and a reference collection; records of the Nelson Mandela Foundation; 46664 records – these are mainly the recordings of the various concerts and some organisational records; Nelson Mandela Gifts Collection – gifts received by Mr Mandela mainly from 1999 onwards; and the Nelson Mandela Awards Collections – awards received by Mr Mandela mainly after 1999. These collections include documents, photographs, sound and video recordings, posters and ephemera.

Reporting on the NMF's archival holdings, the 2010/2011 Annual Report notes that:

> The Archive currently holds in excess of 20 000 documents with more than half comprising the personal papers entrusted to the Centre by the Founder. Although it is not the Centre's intention to become a conventional archive and centrally collect the vast and scattered record of the life and times of Mr Mandela, it nevertheless acquired small but significant historical records during the year. These include copies of Mr Mandela-related documents from the South African National Intelligence Agency; documents from Judge Pillay related to his work as Mr Mandela's lawyer; and copies of records of the historic Mells Park talks between the African National Congress (ANC) and the previous South African government in the late 1980s.

The Archive continues to grow. The 2015/2016 Annual Report notes that:

> Mac Maharaj donated to the Foundation a priceless accumulation of Robben Island-related materials, including pages of *Long Walk to Freedom* which he had smuggled off the Island; Judge Goldstone donated his Goldstone Commission materials; and Hassen Ebrahim donated his CODESA and Constitutional Assembly records. Capacity constraints

make proactive acquisitions impossible and limits the processing of collections.

Digital archives

The bulk of the material that comprises Mr Mandela's archive is scattered in archives and other institutions across the world. The NMF has documented these records and, where appropriate, entered into partnerships with the custodians to ensure that the material is preserved and made accessible. Information about these collections is available on the NMF website.

In 2012 the NMF and the Google Cultural Institute launched a digital archive, making materials relating to Mr Mandela accessible online. Describing the terms of the partnership and its agreements with the many institutions that hold custody of relevant material, Verne Harris, Director Archive and Dialogue explained that while Google funded the digitization of material and the NMF selected the content to be presented, individual contributors retain copyright. Digital material is displayed on the website in a way which makes it accessible to audiences around the world but prevents the material from being downloaded and used without the permission of the holding institutions. The project is a living archive that will continue to expand as people across the globe contribute new material.

The Digital Archives and other digital platforms enable the NMF to reach a global audience. The 2012/2013 Annual Report notes that the NMF's website attracted 875 139 visitors while over 150,000 viewers visited the YouTube channel. The organization was followed by over a million people on Facebook and 380,000 on Twitter. Photo albums and videos on the website record a wide range of events and activities including Annual Lectures, visits by dignitaries and celebrities and campaigns. By 2017 the organisation's social media platforms had over ten million followers.

Exhibitions

A permanent exhibition on *The Life and Times of Nelson Mandela* is on display in the Centre of Memory. This is complemented by a series of diverse temporary exhibitions. Among these have been exhibitions that focus on a specific aspect of Mr Mandela's life such as *Making Peace* (2012) which explored the relationship between former ANC presidents and Nobel Peace Prize recipients Chief Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, photographic exhibitions such as *Between States of Emergency* (2016), exhibitions that pay tribute to individuals such as Ahmed Kathrada in *Kathy, the man behind the public figure* (2012), exhibitions showcasing Zapiro's cartoons and comics such as *Drawing on Madiba* (2012).

The reach of NMF exhibitions extends far beyond the Centre for Memory. In 2014/2015, for example, the Annual Report notes that: the NMF's first

exhibition, *466/64: A Prisoner Working in the Garden*, launched jointly with the National Archives, remained as a permanent feature of the Constitution Hill precinct; The Nelson Mandela Academic Hospital in Mthatha Mthatha retained the exhibition developed for Nelson Mandela International Day 2010; The major exhibition on Mandela remained on display in the Apartheid Museum – where it was viewed by an average of nearly a 1000 visitors a day; *Black Man in a White Man's Court: The Forgotten Trial of Nelson Mandela* was loaned to UNISA and the University of Stellenbosch; For Madiba with Love, a selection of images by world-renowned photographer David Turnley from the period 1985-95, was loaned to the University of Stellenbosch; and a second travelling version of the permanent exhibition was developed for use in South Africa and abroad, with additional panels representing Mr Mandela's passing. This was installed in New York, Mauritius and Johannesburg.[11]

Annual lectures

The Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture Series invites prominent people to drive debate on significant social issues and encourages people to enter into dialogue – often about difficult subjects – in order to address critical challenges.[12]

Previous speakers include former US president Bill Clinton; Archbishop Desmond Tutu; former president Thabo Mbeki; Chilean-American author and human rights activist Ariel Dorfman; Nobel laureate Wangari Maathai; former UN secretary-general Kofi Annan; Liberian President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf; social entrepreneur Muhammad Yunus; Director of Egypt's Library of Alexandria Ismail Serageldin; former Irish president and philanthropist Mary Robinson; philanthropist Mo Ibrahim; Chilean President Michelle Bachelet; economist Thomas Piketty; and Microsoft founder Bill Gates.[13]

The Annual Lecture reaches a significant number of people. In addition to the audience present at the event itself, in 2015, for example, the lecture was broadcast live in South Africa and to more than 50 African countries and several universities.[14]

Dialogues

The NMF uses the term 'dialogue' to mean "the convening of spaces safe enough for meaningful and effective negotiation of sustainable solutions to critical social problems.'[15]

It was Mr Mandela's wish that the Centre of Memory should "not become a mausoleum," It should strive to grow beyond a memory bank. This wish has been given effect through the establishment of the NMF's Dialogue and Advocacy platform which aims to "perpetuate and reinvigorate the culture of engagement, using the example of inclusive and open dialogue set by Mr Mandela" and draws on the "rich traditions of transformative dialogue, problem-solving and social renewal that made possible South Africa's

remarkable transition.[16] As the NMF website notes:

> Dialogue is at once a vital instrument for addressing critical social issues and the most effective vehicle for sharing memory, for growing it, and for engaging it in the promotion of justice and social cohesion. The objective of the Dialogue & Advocacy platform is to find sustainable solutions to critical social issues. Drawing on the rich traditions of transformative dialogue, problem-solving and social renewal that made South Africa's remarkable transition possible, we hope to drive positive change and realise social justice by facilitating greater awareness and engagement about the problems people face.[17]

The NMF has constituted Dialogues on a number of critical issues. These include: for example, the *Open Democracy Colloquium* (2014) which considered the issue of access to information; *Community Conversations: Social Cohesion* (2008-1010); *Caring Schools Dialogues* 2006; and the *Editors Forum* (2007). *The Nelson Mandela International Dialogues* brings participants from around the world together to reinvigorate debates about memory work and offer new approaches, new questions and challenges to existing paradigms.

The dialogues are defined by six propositions:

- Memory *is* dialogue.
- Memory should always be negotiated collectively.
- The most effective vehicle for sharing memory, for growing it, and for engaging it in the promotion of justice, is dialogue.
- Dialogue demands a sustained negotiation, by all the stakeholders in a particular social issue, focused on finding sustainable solutions to problems, committed to building futures with pasts, in an environment hospitable to a hearing of 'the other'.
- The unique strength of the NMF is its capacity to bring to the table people who do not want to listen to one another, and to provide a space safe enough for people to consider saying the unsayable.
- The objectives of the NMF are best served and its strengths best utilised through an integration of the memory and dialogue functions.[18]

The extent and impact of the dialogues is evident in the number and range of institutions with which the NMF collaborates. As noted in the 2010/2011 Annual Report, for example:

> In keeping with the Founder's ethos of inclusivity, the Centre partnered with a number of other institutions in facilitating key policy level dialogues. These included serving on the African National Congress' archival sub-committee in preparation for the ANC's centennial celebrations; working with the City of Tshwane's Lalela Project designed to transform the capital's Church Square; with the South African Human Rights Commission and the Free State University in

a dialogue that led to the Reitz Four apologising to university workers for racial abuse; with the South African History Archives and the Robert Sobukwe Trust to mark the 10th anniversary of the passing of the Freedom of Information Act. This coincided with the launch of an exhibition about Robert Sobukwe's life as part of the Centre's Disavowed Voices programme.

Community conversations

In 2008 the NMF launched a two-year pilot project aimed at addressing the xenophobic violence that had broken out earlier that year in communities across South Africa, and to promote cohesion between residents and foreigners through dialogue. During this period, the NMF hosted 'community conversations' in 17 communities across 5 provinces and a seminar on *Dialogue for Social Change*. These were attended by a total of 1,819 South Africans and migrants. These Dialogues aimed to strengthen communities to deal with the challenges they faced. Applying a process of Community Capacity Enhancement (CCE) developed by the United Nations Development Programme, the community conversations:

> Provide safe spaces where people can get to know and trust each other without fear and get to the heart of their concerns. Here, they identify and explore their issues, values and resources. They begin to make decisions, build relationships, and take action to improve their lives. They constantly review and reflect on the process they are going through. The process is also shared beyond the community through documentation, arts and the media.[19]

Reflecting on the value of the community conversations Bea Abrahams, one of the projects implementing partners observed that:

> In their quest for overall well-being, equality and social justice, communities on the margins of decision –making want opportunities to speak their truths; to feel that they are plotting the changes they want to see; to craft and chisel their own narrative and to be the custodians of their vision.[20]

Commenting on the impact of these Community conversations, the 2010/2011 *Annual Report* notes that the project successfully strengthened organizational capacity by empowering operational partners to implement dialogues in their own operational areas. It contributed significantly to an understanding of the underlying factors fuelling violence and an awareness of alternatives to violence, enabling some communities to initiate a new journey towards collective action and improved relations.[21]

The Mandela Dialogues on Memory

Between November 2013 and July 2014, the NMF and the GIZ Global Leadership Academy brought together 26 participants from ten countries to engage in a three-part dialogue series on memory work in contexts where oppression, violent conflict or systematic human rights abuses have taken place. The dialogues offered those engaging with the past in this context the opportunity to share the complex personal, collective and professional challenges that they faced, to engage critically with transitional justice discourse internationally and to deepen understanding of memory work.

Participants in this process contributed to a document, *Memory for Justice: A Nelson Mandela Foundation provocation,* which sets out the objectives of memory work and the fundamental principles that underpin that work.

> Reckoning with the past may intentionally or unintentionally have destructive outcomes. It may widen the gap between people, spread hate or prejudice, exploit wounds from the past to mobilise and instigate for violence, or it may support peacebuilding, the healing of wounds, a forgetting of immediate pain and trauma, and a preventing of the recurrence of injustice.[22]

The impact of this work, as with the other dialogues is significant, with representatives of 10 countries (Argentina, Bosnia Herzegovina, Cambodia, Canada, Croatia, Germany, Kenya, Serbia, South Africa and Uruguay) initiating follow-up projects.[23]

Summing up the lessons learnt through this process by the NMF for the continuing work of memory in a country burdened by is pasts and reaching for a liberatory future Verne Harris and Chandre Gould argue that:

> The purpose of what we call liberatory memory work is to achieve the latter [the prevention of the recurrence of injustice]. It is premised on the need to work with the past, to insist on accountability, to acknowledge and address pain and trauma, and to reveal hidden dimensions of human rights violations – these are key to preventing a recurrence.

This is the nub of the work of the NMF's dialogue forums: to work with the past reflected in the archive and in memory and in the hearts and minds of individuals and communities and to use this to effect a more just and equitable future.

Impact

As noted above, the NMF's impact both locally and internationally in each of the areas in which it works is significant. This is evidenced in: the extent of its reach; the status of the partners with which it engages; and the responses of individuals, groups and communities to its programmes.

The approach taken by the NMF chimes with GALA's recognition that an archive, and in this case, an illustrious legacy as well, can be made to do valuable work in the present over and beyond providing source material for the study of the past. It also resonates with and develops aspects of the 'wound work' discussed in the previous Chapter by recognising that traumatic pasts require ongoing engagement in a manner that accommodates pain, outrage and anger.

The Parliamentary Monitoring Group:

The Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG) was established in the mid-1990s to provide information about the proceedings of government to social justice organisations so that they would be better equipped to lobby government. While the PMG originated as a mechanism for disseminating information to the public, it has become an invaluable archival resource about the workings of government, and the interactions between government and civil society, over the last decade.

The Archival Platform's Report, *State of the Archives: analysis of South Africa's national archival system*, sounded an alarm about the state of government record-keeping and the failure of the institutions mandated to "preserve public and non-public records with enduring value for the use by the public and the state".[24] The Report also flagged the challenges that active citizens experience when they try to access information about the workings of government and its decisions and actions in the present.

One of the ways in which these challenges have been addressed in countries with democratic governments is through the establishment of parliamentary monitoring organisations (PMOs).[25] These organisations are key to giving effect to the right of access to information, facilitating the exercise of accountable government and empowering active citizenship. Most PMOs are independent, non-partisan, non-profit entities. While the extent of the activities or bodies that they monitor and their relationships with parliaments and other non-governmental entities differ significantly, they share a commitment to enhancing citizens' engagement with government and improving transparency. PMOs generally communicate across a number of different platforms including websites and through face-to-face engagements at conferences and workshops.

Origins

Under apartheid, the work of Parliament was, to a large extent, veiled in secrecy and Parliament did not encourage citizens' involvement or foster a culture of respect for human rights. While the proceedings of Parliament were published in the Hansard, the work of the Parliamentary Committees was largely conducted in secret and meetings were not open to the public. This changed when the first democratic Parliament took office in 1994.

In the new structure, the number of parliamentary committees was greatly expanded. In recognition of the fact that a parliament should not operate in isolation of the people, these committee meetings were now opened up to attendance by the public and were intended to provide a forum for departments and, when invited, for private or civil society bodies to present their views on policies, budgets and proposed legislation. In this way, the parliamentary committees took on increased responsibilities and functions as the "engine room" of Parliament, where vital debates and developments would occur.[26]

It soon became apparent that Parliament did not have the capacity to provide information about these meetings: "This ranged, at the time, from the most basic information about the schedules for meetings, to reporting on what was discussed in the meetings and at media briefings".[27] In the short term, this compromised the work of social justice advocacy organisations following the work of the committees. The time and resources this required hampered their efforts to make public submissions on issues of critical interest or lobby Parliament on pieces of legislation, matters of democratic processes and Parliamentary oversight of the executive. In the long term, the lack of capacity compromised the creation of an 'official' institutional record.

The PMG, an information service, was established in 1995 as a partnership between the Black Sash,[28] the Human Rights Committee (HRC)[29] and the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa)[30] with the aim of providing accurate, up to date information about Parliament and its committees to support the work of the founding partners. This intervention was necessary was because there was, and still is, no publicly available record of *committee* proceedings; the engine room of Parliament. This type of information is essential to support active citizenship and the work of social justice organisations who lobby Parliament and its committees on legislation, matters of democratic processes and oversight of the executive.[31]

The PMG website was launched in 1998 to make the information about Parliament and its committees, generated by the PMG, available to a wider audience. While Parliament continues to publish the Hansard, the PMG website remains the *only* source of information about the work of Parliamentary Committees. As the PMG website notes, "it provides a window into the performance of each government department and public entity over which each Parliamentary Committee has oversight".[32]

Work

The PMG website offers a concise summary of the its aims and key areas of work:

The PMG aims to provide accurate, objective, and current information on all Parliamentary Committee proceedings in the form of detailed,

unofficial minutes and documents and, since 2007, sound recordings of the meetings.

PMG's key activity is the attending of all Parliamentary Committee meetings, where a monitor will tape and minute the proceedings and obtain all documents tabled in the committees. Immediately after the meeting, the audio recording is published on the PMG website. Once a detailed written report has been compiled, it passes through an editorial and quality control process. It is then published on the PMG website within three working days of the committee proceedings along with all the relevant committee documents such as such as public submissions, working drafts of Bills and briefings on policy & legislation.

The PMG website offers:

- Committee reports. These include agenda's minutes, audio recordings and supporting documents;
- Information on Committees and their members;
- Information on MPs and their constituencies;
- Ministerial replies to written questions;
- Featured content, focusing on topical issues;
- Committee and parliamentary programmes;
- Legislative programmes for each department;
- Calls for public comment and public hearings;
- Hansard full-text searchable database;
- New Bills and weekly updates on Bills.

PMG shares information through its website,[33] Facebook page[34] and Twitter account[35] and *Monitor,* a monthly newsletter, which provides a plain language summary of essential socio-economic developments discussed in Parliament. This is emailed to subscribers, advice offices and community-based organisations.

As noted in the introduction to this section, some PMOs adopt a neutral stand towards the parliaments they monitor. Others adopt a more adversarial position. The South African PMG positions itself as a non-partisan information service. Unlike its founding organisations Idasa, the Black Sash, and the HRC it does not analyse, interpret or comment on the information it provides but makes it available to "provide the public with an insight into the Parliament of South Africa and its daily activity"[36] on the assumption that "a society that is able to track parliamentary proceedings will be better empowered to engage in participatory democracy, by intervening in the policy and law-making process and monitoring committee oversight of government entities".[37] While the PMG board and management committee have, from time to time, debated the desirability of adopting a neutral position, they argue firstly, that the organisation does not have the capacity or funds to take on a different role and secondly, that representatives of civil society,

public institutions, parliamentary staff and MPs have endorsed this stance and that they "should therefore continue in this role, at least whilst no other institution is able to provide the information in the same efficient and unbiased manner".[38] Notwithstanding its neutral stance, the PMG is a member of Parliament Watch, a collective of independent organisations working towards the advancement of social justice, the realisation of human rights, and strong constitutional democracy in South Africa. Collaborators include the Dullah Omar Institute for Constitutional Law, Governance and Human Rights; Equal Education Law Centre (EELC); Livity Africa (LA); Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG); Public Service Accountability Monitor (PSAM); The Right to Know Campaign (R2K); Social Justice Coalition (SJC); and Women on Farms Project (WFP).

Management and staffing

The PMG is a nongovernmental organisation whose operations are guided by a group of five directors. The organisation employs nine staff members including an Executive Director and makes use of the services of part-time monitors and local or international interns to attend Parliamentary Committee meetings and compile reports.

Sustainability

In 2002, when it became apparent that donor funding was diminishing and operational costs rising, the PMG took a decision to charge government parastatals and commercial institutions a subscription fee for some committee reports. In 2011, PMG limited free access by government departments, Parliament, legislatures, municipalities and trade unions. Presently subscription fees are payable for reports of 15 of the over 50 committees: Communications, Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, Defence and Military Veterans, Economic Development, Energy, Finance, Health, International Affairs and Cooperation, Justice and Constitutional Development, Labour, Mining, Police, Public Enterprises, Trade and Industry, and Transport. Content for which a subscription is charged is offered free once a certain period of time has elapsed. So, for example, in June 2017 all material covering the period 1998-2016 is offered free of charge. PMG provides information free of charge to individuals, non-government and community-based organisations and educational institutions. The PMG's activities are currently funded by the: Open Society Foundation; Raith Foundation; Heinrich Böell Foundation; Government of Flanders; and the Indigo Trust.

Impact

PMG convenes information about the present, in the present, to serve present needs. By doing this, it is creating an archive that may be mobilised in support of struggles for social justice. The significance and value of this initiative is made evident when one compares the information that the PMG

makes available on its website with the official offering on the website of the Parliament of South Africa.[39] Copies of the Hansard are uploaded onto the Parliament website once a year, in June. On 24 June 2017, the latest copy of Hansard available on this website was dated 24 February 2016.[40] By comparison, the PMG website includes information dated 8 May 2017.[41] No information about the proceedings of Parliamentary Committees is available on the website of Parliament. The PMG website includes, as noted above, transcriptions of minutes, recordings and relevant documentation including presentations made by government officials, representatives of parastatals and public entities as well as submissions by non-governmental organisations and civil society. So, for example, the record of the Archival Platform's presentation to the Parliamentary Committee on Arts and Culture on 1 September, 2016 includes: a summary of the meeting and a meeting report which captures presentations and discussions prepared by PMG monitors; the Archival Platform's Report, *State of the Archives: an analysis of the national archival system;* as well as a presentation prepared by the Department of Arts and Culture, *Response to the Archival Platform.*[42] What PMG does, unlike the Hansard which records only what is said in Parliament, is to capture and make accessible the record of civil society engagement with government officials and committee members. What the PMG archive does is to provide the information needed to monitor government and hold it to account. It also makes it possible to track civil society interventions.

Miners Shot Down

Miners Shot Down is a documentary film about the Marikana miners shot at by the South African Police Service (SAPS) in 2014, which draws on and mobilises, archival records and oral history interviews – many of which were recorded in the process of making the documentary. The Marikana Support Committee (MSC) has used the film extensively in their campaign for justice for the slain mineworkers and their families.

The Archival Platform's 2015 Report, notes that the National Archives Act (No 43 of 1996) as amended requires the National Archives of South Africa to "collect non-public records with enduring value of national significance which cannot be more appropriately preserved by another institution, with due regard to the need to document aspects of the nation's experience neglected by archives repositories in the past".[43] The inclusion of this provision in the 1996 Archives Act marks a clear departure from previous acts because it is aimed specifically at redress and transformation in two ways. Firstly, it addresses the issue of historical bias and exclusion very specifically. Secondly, the requirement for archives to '*document*' rather than simply 'collect' or 'preserve' indicates a shift from the traditional conception of archives as custodians of records, according them a more proactive role as 'makers' of knowledge in the process of memory formation. The 2015 Report, concluded that while very little is being done by national and provincial institutions to deliver on this mandate, civil society organisations are making a significant

contribution in this field. The film is one such contribution.

Background

> On the afternoon of 16th August 2012 members of the South African
> Police Service (SAPS) killed 34 men at a Lonmin Plc owned platinum
> mine in the Marikana area in North West province. The killings on
> the 16th August ('the Marikana massacre') were preceded by a number
> of other incidents of violence and confrontation over the period from
> Friday 10th August onwards, relating to an unfolding conflict at the
> Marikana mine. This conflict was linked to an unprotected strike that
> a group of miners had embarked on and that had started on Thursday
> 9th August. In addition to the 34-people killed on 16th August, 10
> other people were killed in incidents related to the conflict during the
> three-day period from Sunday 12th – Tuesday 14th August.[44]

On 23 August 2012 President Zuma appointed the Marikana Commission of
Inquiry to "investigate matters of public, national and international concern
arising out of the events in Marikana which led to the deaths of approximately
44 people, the injury of more than 70 persons and the arrest of more than
250 people."[45] The Commission sat for a total of 300 days between October
2012 and November 2015. During this time, it conducted a number of *in loco*
inspections, heard oral testimony and argument, saw videos and considered
audio-visual and documentary evidence. Transcripts of these proceedings,
a total of 39,719 pages in all, are available on the Department of Justice
website.[46] The Commission submitted its Report to President Zuma on 31
March 2015. The Report was made available to the public on 25 June 2015.
The full Report is available on the South African Human Rights Commission
website.[47]

The documentary

The documentary *Miners Shot Down*, produced and directed by activist and
filmmaker Rehad Desai[48] and released in 2014, draws on numerous archival
sources including film footage, police records, oral history interviews and
evidence presented at the Commission to tell the story of the striking miners
and events surrounding the massacre.

Miners Shot Down has reached a wide audience both locally and internationally.
By mid-2016 it had been screened 67 times internationally. On the African
continent, it had been screened in Nigeria, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Egypt
and Mozambique. It had also been shown on nine international broadcasting
stations including Al Jazeera English and North America and NHK Japan.
Local broadcasters who initially refused to air the documentary came under
public pressure from Amandla.mobi, an independent community advocacy
organisation, that initiated a campaign to have the film screened by the public
broadcaster, the SABC and free to air channel eTV.[49] The film was eventually

broadcast locally on the SABC, eTV, ENCA and DSTV.

The film has won numerous accolades including best documentary at the International Emmy Awards, held in New York as well as awards at the Durban International Film Festival, Encounters South African International Documentary Film Festival, the Movies That Matter Human Rights Film Festival, the Ugu Film Festival, the One World Human Rights Film Festival, the African Film Festival Cologne, and the Cinema for Peace Festival.[50]

While the film has been widely viewed and garnered a number of awards, it is the film's social justice focus and the way it comprises a particular form of archival activism that is of particular relevance to this Report. *The Miners Shot Down* outreach and audience engagement campaign, launched in August 2014, employed a number of measures to ensure that the film's message reached deep into South African communities. The film toured all nine provinces, usually with a lawyer or mineworker present to speak to the issues the film raised. A mobile cinema kit allowed the film to be screened in schools, universities, churches, independent film clubs and in people's living rooms. It was re-versioned into a number of local languages to make it more widely accessible.

The film was also screened at events such as the National Union of Mineworkers (Numsa) Special National Congress in December 2013 where it had a significant impact: Numsa passed a resolution calling for justice for the slain workers and demanding that charges against the arrested miners be dropped. As Irvin Jim, General Secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, explains:

> The detailed look at the Marikana Massacre provided by 'Miners Shot Down' has prompted Numsa to a take a revolutionary stand against such repression. We can never allow this to happen again.[51]

The film was offered as a teaching tool in university academic departments and institutes such as the Legal Resources Centre, Social and Economic Rights Institute and Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

Reflecting on the wide take-up of the film, Desai explains the power of 'call-to-action' documentaries in general and of *Miners Shot Down* in particular:

> In call-to-action documentaries the call can be very limited or it can be multi-layered. With Marikana it's multi-layered in the sense that it proved to work for different types of groups…. NGOS or those that label themselves as social justice groupings have found it useful as a spark for discussion, conversation about where our democracy is at … students have been using it. It's why it works, because it's a story in the truest sense and its focussed on a set of events which are accessible and simple to follow. But in the images, you will see the complexity; there is

a lot of questions you begin to ask yourself. It's not a didactic piece, it's more dialogic. And the conversation you are forced to have inside your head when you are watching it allows you to put all the dots together. Was this a plan or not, if it was a plan what does that say? … but the most important thing about call to action documentaries is using the strength of the genre to move people emotionally. That is the strength of film: to take people into the universe, to get them to empathise and see the universe from the perspective that the film is about. And in this sense, it was primarily the workers, the strikers.[52]

The film's influence extended further into the public domain when it intersected with the work of the Commission. It was referred to during cross-examination and used during a cross examination of ANC Deputy-Chairperson and Board member of Lonmin, Cyril Ramaphosa. It proved to be a useful tool for legal NGOs and the Marikana Support Campaign (MSC) in their bid to overturn a decision not to include the families of the slain miners in the Commission's proceedings. Also, while gathering archival material for the film, Desai uncovered footage that had not previously been submitted to the Commission showing that "far from the police being under attack, they had set an ambush for the strikers".[53] The release of this material to the Commission augmented the existing record, making "a significant dent in the official narrative".[54]

The National Film and Video Foundation funded the production of *Miners Shot Down*. Support was obtained from the Open Society Foundation for screenings. The Ford Foundation funded the preparation of the Impact Assessment which is cited extensively in this Chapter.

The Marikana Support Campaign

The release of the film, in 2014, greatly bolstered the work of the Marikana Support Campaign (MSC). This organisation, formed by activists, mineworkers and members of the Marikana community three weeks after the massacre, aimed to:

- Expose the truth about what happened at Marikana.
- Support the justice campaign for the families of the mineworkers that were killed on the 16th of August 2012 and defend the rights of the 270 miners who subsequently faced criminal charges for the murder of their colleagues. This included a demand that police are prosecuted.
- Provide a tool for community-based organisations and social movements for economic justice to support the work of public interest and legal non-governmental organisations.

The MSC operates from multiple media platforms including the *Marikana Support Campaign* website[55]; *Miners Shot Down* website[56]; *GivenGain*[57], a fundraising platform; *The Marikana Support Campaign* Facebook page[58]; *Justice*

Now for Marikana Strikers Face book page[59]; *Miners Shot Down* Facebook page[60]; and the *Miners Shot Down* Twitter account[61].

Desai, who sits on the organising committee, explains the MSC's media strategy:

> In the initial months, the priority was to release press statements and have a presence on key dates at the Commission of Inquiry. The idea was to create stories that would keep the massacre in the news, to maintain a constant pressure for justice to be served and to prevent the commission from becoming a 'whitewash'. [62]

The film played an important role in "keeping the flame burning for justice for the slain, injured and arrested".[63]

> We wanted to honour our commitment to provide the film as a tool for social change in the region, aware that the themes of the film, democracy, enduring inequality, police brutality, and exploitation of land and environment, stretch beyond the borders of South Africa and connect strongly with the concerns of social movements and the programme areas of many NGOs operating in the area.[64]

For Desai, it is difficult to distinguish between the work of the MSC and the film's outreach and audience engagement campaign. He believes that:

> They are twins that breathed life into each other. While producing the documentary the filmmakers were also shooting and editing short films of protests outside courtrooms, the women's march, key dramatic moments inside the Commission, and posting them on social media sites. This activity, by connecting people to the individuals directly affected by the massacre and giving access to the lawyers fighting in the commission, was gaining traction for the campaign.[65]

The film has also been used to raise funds for the Marikana Support Campaign, and for the Widow's Hardship Fund.[66]

Impact

Desai believes that

> To date, *Miners Shot Down* has demonstrated the potential of film to influence significant sections of public opinion, galvanise people into activism around the demands of a campaign, raise funding for campaign activities, strengthen local campaigns for social justice and bring together and fortify social movements that currently exist in isolation from each other … In the long term, the film remains an important testament for generations to come, in the short- to medium-

term, it exists as a tool for civil society activists to keep the flame burning for justice for the slain, injured and arrested. In a wider sense, it will remain a tool to lobby our government and police to become far more accountable and transparent.[67]

Miners Shot Down demonstrates archival activism in two particular ways. Firstly, the collection, or generation, of oral history interviews, which will be housed in an institution[68] where they will be publicly accessible, has expanded the archive of contemporary experience in South Africa at a critical time in the country's history. Secondly, the mobilisation of these interviews, together with other archival material and contemporary documentation through the medium of a documentary film, has had a significant effect on the campaign for justice, both direct, as evidenced in the way in which it fed into the workings of the Commission and indirect, as evidenced in the success it has achieved in "keeping the flame for justice burning"[69] across South Africa.

The Five Hundred-Year Archive

The Five Hundred Year Archive (FHYA) project addresses a problem of the inherited archive, namely that materials pertinent to the remote past have come, through a combination of politically charged processes and certain discipline-based academic interventions, to be treated as timeless, traditional and tribal materials. This has resulted in the eras before European colonialism appearing – falsely – to be without an archive.

The Archival Platform's 2015 Report, notes that South Africa's national archival system has its origins in the legislative and administrative mechanisms that regulated colonial rule, which saw extensive record generation and keeping both official and non-official, by, among others, British colonial officials, missionaries, travellers, public figures and scholars. At the same time as records of the activities of the aforesaid were being generated and preserved, a concept of archives as the place where the paper-based records of what European settlers did was taking root. Simultaneously, African people only entered the archive (or rather were entered into the archive in ways that positioned them as objects of investigation rather than agents in their own right) through commissioned ethnological and other surveys that were essential to establish authority over the land and its people, entrench difference, maintain control and reinforce a particular hierarchy of knowledge. They also entered the archive through other deliberate and inadvertent ways, such as court records and correspondence with officialdom. Even when Africans did enter the domain of the archive, their voices were framed in ways determined by the institutions. The hierarchy of knowledge established under colonialism relegated the forms of knowledge production practiced by Africans to ethnological museums whereas archives became the domain of a small elite.[70]

The 2015 Report drew attention to the need for institutions within the national archival system to deliver on their mandate to address previously neglected

aspects of the nation's experience, including information that has to do with the African past before European colonialism. While some of the institutions that make up the national archival system have taken up this challenge by implementing oral history projects that take in the deep past through clan histories, for example, most have chosen to focus more closely on the more recent past

The Five Hundred Year Archive project

The multi-institutional Five Hundred Year Archive (FHYA) project[71] was set up in 2013 by South African Research Chair in Archive and Public Culture, Professor Carolyn Hamilton, based at the University of Cape Town. It seeks to stimulate research into the eras of southern African history prior to European colonialism. This remains an under-researched aspect of the history of the region. There are several reasons for this neglect, of which two stand out. Firstly, while some of the relevant resources available are text-based, many exist in other forms these are not generally understood as 'archive'.[72] Secondly, many of the materials pertinent to the remote past have come, through a combination of politically-charged processes and certain discipline-based academic interventions, to be classified as 'tribal' and treated as essentially timeless. For the most part, this material is treated as cultural rather than historical and denied the formal status of archive.

The FYHA aims to address the issues detailed above by:

- identifying key challenges concerning the archive pertinent to the five-hundred-year period before the advent of European colonialism,
- developing strategies to meet those challenges;
- drawing academic and public attention to resources found both within and outside of formal archives;
- creating an accessible online archival exemplar which convenes, in a virtual format, material relevant to this period, and
- developing and promoting understandings of the archival possibilities of these materials.

The FHYA exemplar

The FYHA exemplar is a prototype for an online digital archival index which is capable of convening, in digital form, visual, physical, textual and sonic materials that were made in, date from, or relate to, eras before European colonial rule. Central to the framing of the FHYA exemplar is an understanding that much of the record concerning the southern African remote past is "misidentified, lost or dispersed in institutions across the world or held in settings that are largely inaccessible and/or not recognisably archival".[73] This includes: excavated items of material culture found in archaeological collections located in museums and university departments and subject to that particular discipline's protocols; objects of material culture

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found in ethnographic collections, trapped in ethnographic classificatory systems and denuded of contextual information; elements of landscape with historical significance, often effaced through colonial mapping or palimpsest naming activity; as well as recorded oral materials and contemporary cultural repertoires and accounts that reference the distant past. The exemplar seeks to liberate materials of this kind from discipline-specific categorisations that maroon them out of the time and space to which they belong, and to reposition them as archival items. It does this by recovering as much provenance[74] information as possible, i.e. information about both the contexts from which the items came, and the collection and preservation, or effacement, processes to which they have been subject across time. The FHYA exemplar does not just provide access to diverse items across a range of institutions but furthers an understanding of the ways in which disciplinary conventions and colonial and apartheid knowledge practices have shaped the materials concerned.

Not all of the materials pertinent to the five-hundred-year period exist in formal collections. Some exist, forgotten or neglected in the files of researchers who have long since changed their research foci. Others are the patrimony of families and clans, contained in praise poems, grave sites, unpublished manuscripts, published documents, recordings, musical and ritual performances, and so on. The FHYA exemplar provides an opportunity for their current custodians to enter them into or even simply to signal their existence into this new archival form, to frame them there in the ways their custodians deem appropriate, and for them to be the subject of ongoing public engagement, recorded in the exemplar in the form of public input.

As an *exemplar,* the FHYA is not an archive that will exist in perpetuity in its own right, but rather a prototype developed in order to solve the many problems associated with the creation of an archive for the past before European colonialism and to show that such an archive is possible. The problems include the geographically dispersed nature of the material, inhibiting institutional protocols, poor documentation, misidentifications and pernicious framing.

Institutional partnerships: opportunities and challenges

The FHYA has partnered with a number of institutions so as to make the exemplar responsive to a wide range of institutional concerns. These include: Wits University Historical Papers, the Johannesburg Art Gallery, the KwaZulu-Natal Museum, the Swaziland National Archives, the Killie Campbell Africana Library, the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the Bews Herbarium at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, the Cambridge University Library, AMAFA KwaZulu-Natal and the Voortrekker / Msunduzi Museum. It also incorporates materials provided by individuals. While the actual objects, and indeed most probably their digital surrogates, will be retained in their respective institutional or individual homes, the FHYA coordinates interaction

across institutional and individual barriers and it provides users with a way of finding these items and viewing them online.

Project management and funding

The FHYA has been funded by a three-year grant from the National Research Foundation (NRF), through its African Origins Platform, and by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. It also receives infrastructural, administrative and developmental support from the host institution, the University of Cape Town.

Impact

The FHYA exemplar is in the final stages of development and initial testing. Once it has been completed the FHYA team will present it to various stakeholders in order to promote its wider take-up. The system will be made available free of charge to interested institutions, organisations or groups so that they can develop their own customised archives or join a national initiative should one be launched as a result of this demonstration of its possibilities.

Freeing resources pertinent to the southern African past before European colonialism from tribal classifications and inherited institutional frames claims for them the long-denied status of archive. It positions them for entry into contemporary public life whether as sources for historians, other researchers, teachers, etc. or inspiration for future ideas for generations to come.

Archiving #Rhodesmustfall and #Feesmustfall

The student protests that swept South African university campuses in 2015 and 2016 ignited calls for radical change in the institutions. Calls by UCT students for the removal of a statue of Cecil John Rhodes and a campaign centred on the nature of the UCT art collection on display across the campus, were part of a wave of national action by students demanding free, education and decolonised curricula.

As the protest gained momentum, three interventions on the UCT campus came to the Archival Platform's notice. Firstly, the attempts by the UCT Special Collections Library to archive tweets marked #rhodesmustfall. Faced with the challenges of archiving these, UCT Librarians resorted to printing out tweets on a regular basis, but this process came to a halt amid concerns about who had the right to archive the protests.[75] Secondly, a photographic exhibition documenting the Rhodes Must Fall campaign, *Echoing Voices from Within*, was curated by Rhodes Must Fall activist, Wandile Kasibe, for the Centre for African Studies Gallery.[76] This exhibition was shut down after the opening function was disrupted by members of UCT's Trans Collective, a student-led organisation that prioritises the rights of transgender, gender non-conforming and intersex students, who smeared photographs with red paint and blocked the entrances to the Centre for African Studies Gallery

with their painted naked bodies. Sheets of paper plastered over some photographs included comments such as "We will not have our bodies, faces, names, and voices used as bait for public applause" and "RMF [Rhodes Must Fall] will not tokenise our presence as if they ever treasured us as part of their movement".[77] A third initiative, in 2016, came about through the widespread use of WhatsApp as a tool to communicate and mobilise support for student struggles. Concerned staff members monitoring student action and responses to this, used WhatsApp as a mechanism to share their observations with other monitors. When they realised that these observations could, at some point, be used as evidence about police and security staff's actions in legal proceedings, they decided to archive them. The challenge was to find an appropriate methodology for archiving complex cell phone communications, many of which included media such as still photographs and video footage as well as documents, in a way that did not compromise the integrity of the record and maintained high levels of privacy. No viable solutions have yet been found to this challenge.[78]

While insufficient information is available to analyse these interventions, the following observations may be pertinent to the directions archival activism may take as organisations or institutions with limited resources seek to preserve and make accessible the archive of a social movements that are fluid and evolving.

The immediacy and the ephemeral nature of digital communications require archivists to be pro-active in collecting the present to preserve history in the making and encourage a culture of self-archiving rather than simply to take custody of records no longer required by their creators. This requires a shift in archival practice, and a re-configuration of the role of archivists to take in new forms of interaction with the public – allowing them to participate in the processes once considered the sole preserve of archivists.

The nature of social movements and concerns around who controls the record, determine how these events and the people involved in them will be represented in the future. A consequence of this is that there is pressure on archives and archivists to open up the processes of records management. The challenges are how to share the decision-making powers that determine what should in included or excluded from the archive, facilitate mass participation in the creation of archives, and make the best use of new technologies and unconventional platforms that lie outside the traditional archival frame of practice. These challenges are both political and practical.

Social media have become crucial tools for political activists and protest movements providing channels for promoting their messages, sharing information and ideas, facilitating communication, coordinating participation and mobilising support. #rhodesmustfall and #feesmustfall show, as with similar protests elsewhere in the world, including the 'Arab Spring' (2010), the Occupy movement and Women's March that followed Presidents Trump's

inauguration, that that physical and virtual forms of protest are mutually constitutive and that "public space is symbolically constructed online".[79]

Online media like Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, etc., provide information to those actively involved in protests and those who cannot be physically present. This enables unprecedented kinds of engagement, participation and commentary on acts of social and political resistance and disruption. The archives these media create are an immediate record of the activity and the commentary on it in the public sphere. But they also provide materials for prosecutions, as well as opportunities for outside agents, informers and provocateurs to abuse individuals and collectives and to misrepresent their actions or views or the causes they support through the invidious circulation of 'fake news'. The assumption that the online space, unlike the physical space, is unconstrained has been challenged by credible information about the prevalence of online surveillance and government censorship.

Social media posts provide a record of activity – or an archive - that may be drawn on to keep issues in view over time. RMF activist Kasibe, who documented the movement's activities and shared his photographs on Facebook, regularly reposts images, on the anniversary of their occurrence under the hashtag #ArchivesMhlekhazi, with an injunction to his readers to remember the events. So, for example on May 6 2017, the post which includes video footage showing police manhandling elderly protestors reads:

> #ArchivesMhlekazi today marks the year since elders from the Eastern Cape and #FeesMustFall students got arrested at Parliament. This is the story that #RhodesMustFall Facebook admins refused to share of the RMF page. #ProgramHlekazi

In this way, the online environment echoes the way in which archives may be activated and reactivated for different purposes over time. In the case of Kasibe's Facebook posts, the initial motivation is to share information, garner support and keep a record. Subsequent posts serve as a sombre reminder of injustices perpetrated or celebrate actions taken and provide opportunities for reflection.

Conclusion

The case studies in this Chapter bring into view the entangled relationships between memory, records and archive. They also demonstrate ways in which the boundaries between these categories become porous over time. As the records of today become the archives of tomorrow some memories become concretised and made available to be mobilised in support of struggles for social justice, while others dissipate as they remain unspoken, unwritten, or unrecorded.

The case studies also suggest that new forms of struggles for social justice, new

technologies and a rethinking of archival practice presents opportunities and challenges for archival activists on many levels: ethical, political and practical. On the one hand, there is a real opportunity for archival activists to engage proactively in and with social movements to create and safeguard records in new ways. On the other there is the challenge of remaining technologically agile, to identify new forms of record-making or record-keeping and develop the technologies and protocols to safeguard these appropriately.

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26. Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2011, *Getting information to the people: The role of the Parliamentary Monitoring Group,* 2011, 6.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Established in 1955 to voice white women's opposition to the National Party government's intended changes to the constitution that removed people designated as "Coloured" from the

voters' roll, it recently celebrated its 60th anniversary. In the course of this history, the Black Sash has borne witness to human rights violations, provided psychosocial and financial support to people, lobbied government on issues of human rights abuses and rigorously documented its work. https://www.blacksash.org.za/index.php/public-service-monitoring.

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48. Director Rehad Desai is a Cape Town born filmmaker who returned to South Africa from exile in 1990 and now lives and works in Johannesburg. He began his career in print media in 1986 while living in India. Later he completed a history degree at the University of Zimbabwe, where he lived for three years. In 1996 Rehad entered the TV and film industry as a Producer and focused much of his energy on historical and socio-political productions. In 1997, he completed his Masters' Degree in Social History at the University of the Witwatersrand. In 2000, he completed a postgraduate degree in TV and film producing through AVEA Film School in Johannesburg. He

directed his first feature length film, *Dilemma,* in 2002. Rehad Desai is the CEO of production house Uhuru Productions (Pty) Ltd which is a wholly black-owned film and television production house based in Johannesburg. Founded and headed by Rehad, the company has produced over twenty high-quality documentaries for local and international audiences since its inception in 2003. Six of Desai's films are feature length documentaries, produced with significant international participation and receiving critical acclaim and wide festival screenings.

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63. Miners Shot Down Impact Study, November 2014, 20.

64. *Ibid*, 9.

65. *Ibid.*, 4.

66. Other groups have also reached out to women. The Khulumani Support Group for example produced a pamphlet presenting eight narratives of women who are family members of men killed in the Marikana Massacre. The stories came from a workshop with the women held by Khulumani Support Group in May 2013, while the women were in Rustenburg attending the Marikana Commission of Inquiry. See "Justice, redress and restitution: Voices of the Widows of the Marikana Massacre", produced by the Khulumani Support Group, March 2013.

67. Rehad Desai interview, Johannesburg, conducted by Jo-Anne Duggan and Katie Mooney, 12 November 2015.

68. This is still under discussion.

69. Miners Shot Down Impact Study, November 2014, 20.

70. Archival Platform, 2015, *State of the Archives: An analysis of South Africa's national archival system, 20*

71. Note: The abbreviation 'FHYA' has been used to denote the Five Hundred Year Archive project. The term 'FHYA exemplar' has been used to describe the online archival exemplar developed by the FHYA. The FHYA is an example of a contemporary form of archival activism that expands the historical focus to the colonial and pre-colonial periods, while also interrogating and redefining archival practice in the 21st century. This multi-institutional initiative is currently housed in the Archive and Public Culture Research Initiative at the University of Cape Town.

72. Serious scholars DO see this material as archival and where they need to they invest huge amounts of energy in getting the one or two items that they need for their particular study to act as archival items. The FHYA is doing this on a grand scale.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This report concludes that archives came to be recognised as a ground of political struggle in the late apartheid era. It further highlights the enormity of the demand on archive in the post-apartheid period: in the form of records as key tools in ensuring political accountability; in enabling post-apartheid redress in areas as diverse as acknowledgement of apartheid damage (repression, injustice, direct injury, and structural violence); in addressing dispossession; in countering apartheid historiography; and in grappling with weighty colonial- and apartheid-era inheritances.

The Report shows that changing state archival activity shaped activist initiatives and was in turn shaped by them. It considers the factors that enabled certain activist initiatives to sustain their activism over time, while others became moribund or assumed a passive custodial role. It draws attention to the extraordinarily diverse and dynamic forms of archival work that go on outside the national system, creating new archives and consecrating existing assemblages as archives. Of necessity, its survey is not complete, but rather indicative of the scope and scale of activity.[1] The Report further illuminates the role of such forms of archival activity in precipitating and facilitating public deliberation and engagement on a host of previously suppressed or newly emergent topics, responding to and giving shape to changing political discourses, cultural formations, intellectual formations and forms of subjectivity. The relationship between, on the one hand, engaged archival work and, on the other hand, the prompting of public debate and the shaping of political discourse, is indicated in the Report. It is an important relationship little recognised in the literature on either archive or public deliberation

SUMMING UP: FOUR DECADES OF ARCHIVAL ACTIVISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Activist interventions of the 1970s and 1980s were marked by defiance, opposition to the apartheid state and, in some places, almost unconditional support for the liberation movements. Activism occurred on a broad front: in religious, civil society and political organisations, unions, NGOs, and in schools and universities. In addition to acts of direct resistance and protest, this activism often took the form of collecting materials and documenting oppression – in the terms used in this Report, of *creating records* – and using them for a variety of political purposes including publications, reports, exhibitions, publicity, information provision, fund-raising, support mobilisation and awareness-raising. (See discussions in this Report on the Institute of Race Relations, Black Sash, IDAF, Afrapix, Mayibuye Centre, SAHA, GALA, HRMC and Sinomlando.) Dissemination, rather than recordkeeping, was the priority, though in certain instances, records were actively preserved. Where this occurred, preservation sometimes required covert caching in the face of repressive activity.

The 1980s also saw another form of activism – driven largely by academics and students – that led to the creation of records on which alternative histories capable of challenging the apartheid narrative could be based. A significant proportion of the academics and students involved, but by no means all, were themselves activists in settings beyond the universities – in the unions, boycott-organising committees, alternative education organisations and so on. The created records typically took the form of recorded oral histories that were used to introduce what was termed at the time "voices from below" into historical narratives. Here too the focus was on dissemination, not of the recordings, but of the histories that the recordings were used to construct, whether in scholarly publications, popular history materials or alternative education resources. The value of the recordings was recognised by those who made them but preservation was mostly *ad hoc*. Only in certain instances at that time were the recorded oral histories formally lodged in a repository or made available for consultation by people other than those who made the original recordings. (See discussions in this Report on the History Workshop, the Mayibuye Centre and the Centre for Popular Memory).

The 1990s were characterised by a spirit of optimism as archivists played an active role in shaping new directions for their profession and their institutions in keeping with the broader transformation endeavour of the time. Between 1990, when political organisations were unbanned and negotiations towards a democratic order began, and 1997 when the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage was published, the nature and role of the archival system, like all other government institutions and resources, came under intense scrutiny as a vision for a new order was crafted. National dialogues and consultative processes created an opportunity for practitioners and stakeholders to reassess and reimagine the significance and function of archives and records in a new dispensation, to attend to the issues of redress – on all fronts – and to develop the policy and legislative frameworks to support this. Discourse flourished as opportunities for engagement with the international archives community opened up debates and offered an injection of new thinking after years of enforced isolation; strong professional associations provided a platform for practitioners, giving them a voice in decision-making processes; and barriers crumbled as academic institutions, political movements and parties**,** civil society organisations and state structures came together with a shared vision to build a more just, inclusive and equitable society.[2]

The transition to democracy during this period created new demands for access to the records documenting oppression that had been created in the 1980s and earlier. These demands heightened the value of recordkeeping and archival preservation. On the one hand, processes like the TRC made use of the records of the previous era and generated further records about the past. The TRC both documented the systematic destruction of apartheid-era records that took place during the late apartheid era and secured accumulations of surviving records for analysis by researchers and investigators. On the other hand, the new government and also, at first separately, the ruling ANC,

valorised the record of the struggle against apartheid and sought to underwrite, and to control, its preservation. This led to the promotion of certain records about the liberation struggle and the transition period and the suppression of others in ways that suited government and the ruling party. (See discussions in this Report of the Mayibuye Centre, the National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre and the Robben Island Museum.)

Many of the activists who had resisted apartheid and who had produced and disseminated materials in the 1980s joined the 1994 democratic government eager to make contributions to the new post-apartheid order, some of them working directly in the national archival system, others spread across government. The movement of activists into government was typically driven by ideals and a passion to build a democratic state. This period was characterised by a relatively confident assumption that the newly elected government was responsible for the success of the democracy, rather than any ideas about citizens and passionate activists holding politicians accountable. Community consultation, often framed as 'public participation', was widely upheld as a necessary procedure, and was valorised as the mode of connection between government and the people. The South African Constitution is underpinned by principles of good governance and highlights the importance of public participation as an essential element of this.[3] For the most part, activists located outside government tried to work with government. However, where they opposed government, they were increasingly marginalised and depicted as undermining government.

A small scattering of activists stayed out of government and, increasingly as government began to lose its lustre as the champion of democracy, others moved out of government. Where the archival interventions of the 1990s were marked by energetic collaboration with the state in support of initiatives aimed at building a more just and equitable society, the post-Mandela period – from about the turn of the century – was a time of growing uncertainty. The confident vision of a better future faded and disillusion set in as government proved unequal to the challenge of implementing the transformative policies or programmes envisaged in the 1990s or of giving substance to legal instruments intended to encourage the free flow of information.

The national archival system that was designed to deliver the vision of the incoming ANC government was increasingly paralysed by new ideological currents in government, by changing practices in government record-keeping, a loss of political will to safeguard records, and the effects of a will to secrecy. These developments shaped the national system. They also shaped developments outside the system. For instance, where initially SAHA's collection of anti-apartheid materials offered an example for post-apartheid official institutions to emulate, the practices of secrecy in the post-apartheid national system prompted SAHA to reinvent itself as a freedom of information advocacy entity. And very quickly SAHA became part of a network of civil society structures working together to unlock the archive.

While the Report does not seek to be comprehensive, it nonetheless gives an indication of how thin the layer of activism was in the 1990s and even more so in the first decade of the twenty-first century. While a few organisations like the TAC were successful in putting pressure on government to work in the interests of its citizens, many smaller activist entities struggled, hampered by limited funding as international attention turned from South Africa to new areas of crisis. Many closed down. The Report also shows that this thin layer chalked up significant achievements at a time when activism was regarded as 'disloyal'.[4] The Report shows that a relatively robust activist agenda persisted in relation to the broad archival sector. The Report documents the work of a selection of the archive-oriented entities active at this time and the important role of Atlantic Philanthropies in supporting them.

The Report highlights the extraordinary work of SAHA, beginning in the 1990s, in challenging record suppressions, making sure that records that should be in the public domain are available, shaping relevant legislation and ensuring that it is given life by concomitant civil action. As less benign dimensions of state and governance emerged in the post-Mandela era and state-as-partner initiatives waned, SAHA reimagined itself as a freedom of information NGO with a broad human rights mandate. More specifically, as it became clear that the role of public archives services as auditors of state recordkeeping, mandated in legislation and recommended by the TRC, was not supported by political will, SAHA sought ways of auditing-from-outside. SAHA was joined in this endeavour by other organisations: the PMG from the late 1990s, the Nelson Mandela Foundation from 2004, and the Archival Platform from 2010.

The Report looks at the role of GALA, also beginning in the late 1990s, in using archive to give substance to the Constitutional provisions of equality for LGBTI citizens. It did this by building records capable of providing evidence to contest ongoing claims about LGBTI lives, such as the claim that homosexuality is unAfrican, and as a positive form of identity assertion in the face of persistent and violent forms of homophobia. In focussing on making an LGBTI archive, GALA took up the challenge that the Constitution cannot give effect to its own provisions, only action can. This is a highly successful example of that kind of action. The work of GALA was not confined to mechanical archiving: debate, discussion, joint projects and dissemination of material in the form of publication, exhibitions and so were all part of its initial modus operandi, and indeed, over time, became central to it. The Report notes how the archiving project not only became community enabling, but how it transformed into a site for the practice of active citizenship.

Indeed, a number of the initiatives identified in this Report may be broadly classified as 'community archives', that is archival material gathered by and controlled by communities to represent their own lived histories and experiences. These include, GALA, Sinomlando and The District Six Museum. The Report argues that the act of facilitating, promoting or

preserving community histories is in itself an archival activist intervention. As Hamilton contends "The presence of an archive in any one area confirms in public life the status of that area as having a history, and as having a history worth preserving, investigating and reinvestigating, in perpetuity"[5] and as Sellie (2015) suggests, "The use of the label archive among community archives carries symbolic weight. By calling their work an archive, a group conveys the historical value of the collection that they have assembled which they maintain with varying degrees of autonomy."[6] The point here is that archives enable and undergird community. But another point also emerges from the Report, the way in which the archive-enabled community can convene discussion communities and use archival resources as the basis for the discussion of pressing issues of the day for that community. In other words, the community is thus enabled to enter into local processes of deliberation that are important for that community. To the extent that the community archive builds partnerships, is engaged in wider networks, or involved in dissemination activities, the process extends beyond participation in localised deliberations to wider civic engagement.

Both the SAHA and GALA case studies focus attention on the challenges faced by activist archives more generally in maintaining their holdings for posterity. The task demands substantial institutional resources. As noted in the Archival Platform's *State of the Archives* analysis, the country's largest concentration of non-public records is held in university libraries. This includes a significant number of collections of the archives of activists, both individuals and organisations. More significant for the purposes of this Report is the way in which university libraries have supported activist archives in one way or another. In the case of SAHA and GALA, for example, the fledgling organisations were nurtured by Wits until they were self-sustaining entities. UCT, UKZN, UWC, Rhodes, UFH and UFS have all taken in archives of activists or activism that could not be safeguarded elsewhere. While these institutions, qua institutions, have been hospitable to the archives of activists, they have not themselves mobilised these archives in support of struggles for social justice. In fact, when SAHA and GALA were based at Wits, their outreach capacities were hobbled by their institutional positioning. That said, several universities have played an important role in promoting the intellectual project of rethinking archives with a view to transforming archival practice that redresses the legacies of the past and looks towards a more equitable future, a point discussed more fully below.

Another area that the Report draws attention to is the unfinished business of addressing the trauma of the apartheid-era, and of enabling reconciliation and restitution. The extent and the meaning of the truncation and subversion of the TRC process, notably in its post-hearings phase, remains an outstanding matter. Indeed, the post-1994 democratic government today stands manifestly indicted for failing to deliver key elements of restitution, not only in relation to the TRC process, but also in economic terms envisaged and enabled by the Constitution. These failures have been consistently pointed to by the

small, often marginalised, cohort of activists working at this time, not only on archives but also on land issues, education, health, and so on. The wound work projects discussed in this Report attempt to deal with some of the outstanding instances of community or individual trauma or outrage, as do the NMF's dialogue processes.

This period saw the emergence of a new master historical narrative, centred on the liberation struggle inflected with elements of African Renaissance thinking as manifest in the celebration of the eleventh-century trading kingdom of Mapungubwe and the archive at Timbuctu. The Report looks at the way in which the History Workshop's project of this period offered alternatives, focussing on local struggles and local histories, many of which challenged the idea of a seamless liberation struggle. These local histories highlighted local conflicts, and local forms of activism. They were rooted in communities and became occasions for communities to engage in processes of deliberation about the past and its meaning for the present. In certain instances, the local histories projects drew out local histories of activism, making them available for resources for thinking about activism and as potential galvanisers to action. Where History Workshop started life mostly producing histories and then popularising them, increasingly the production of history came to be viewed as a collaborative exercise, in which local communities got involved in the production process. This is evidenced in the production of local histories such as *Alexandra: A History* (2008), authored by Bonner and Nieftagodien, but arising from a community-driven process supported and directed by a local reference group, with research undertaken by a team that included young adult residents who were trained in basic historical research methods and worked together with History Workshop postgraduate researchers to conduct over a hundred oral history interviews and plough through archival records. Oral histories collected in preparation for that book, and others, have been preserved in collaboration with the Historical Papers Research Archive, where they are available to other researchers. Initiatives like this affirm the thinking that archives protect us from the dangers of a single story. An essential precondition for alternative narratives, they trigger deliberation and fuel debate.

While each of the organisations mentioned in the case studies has its own particular focus and methodology, a common strand that runs through their work is the way in which archives are activated and reactivated over time. Mutual shaping and reshaping of this kind is trackable throughout the Report. This does not occur in a binary way between the national system and the many developments outside it. Rather activist interventions are highly responsive to changing discourses and practices beyond government and the formal political sphere, as evidenced by the archive issues surfaced in the student protests of 2015 and 2016. Elsewhere, Hamilton has argued that archives shape political and public discourses and practices, as well as academic ones, and are in turn shaped by those discourses and practices, with this shaping and reshaping operating in a mutually constituting spiral across

time.[7] We see this dynamic at work in the period covered by this Report.

All of this took place against the background of the so-called archival turn, a development that happened across academic and archive practitioner settings, in South Africa and elsewhere. At the core of the 'turn' is the recognition that archives cannot be understood as neutral repositories but as shaped, and reshaped over time, often by political imperatives. But the 'turn' did something more: it cobbled that recognition together with a new understanding of archive as much more than a repository of sources (archives in the plural), but as facilitator and arbiter of what counts as knowledge, across multiple fields, well beyond that of the discipline of History.

The 'turn' had one of its earliest global manifestations in South Africa when, in 1998, academics and practitioners (including SAHA, GALA, the University of the Witwatersrand's Historical Papers and Research Archive, the Wits Graduate School and the National Archives) collaborated in a series of seminars and workshops. They resulted in two seminal publications, *South African Archives Journal* Special Issue (1998), and a book, *Refiguring the Archive* (2002). In this setting, the 'turn' facilitated a growing understanding of archive (including archives with an 's') *as a crucial ground of political struggle and hence a necessary site of political activism in its own right.*

What followed was a series of activist interventions centred on archive as precisely such a site of political activism in its own right. At the heart of this lay new forms of attention to what archives do in society. This happened on two fronts.

The first, anchored by the notion of archives for social justice, began to gain ground in the late 1990s, as alluded to above in relation to the work of SAHA and the Nelson Mandela Foundation. In interpreting the use of memory and archival resources in struggles against apartheid during the 1970s and 1980s, Verne Harris coined the phrase 'archive for justice'. The notion underlying it was honed in the 1990s processes outlined above, and was given conceptual underpinning by his sustained engagement with the corpus of Jacques Derrida (who participated in the 1998 seminar series at Wits and contributed a seminal reflection on archive and South Africa's TRC to the book *Refiguring the Archive*). 'The work of archive is justice' became the formulation informing the reimagined SAHA which emerged in 2001. It also informed the Nelson Mandela Foundation's 2007 embrace of a mandate to promote social justice through work in what it called 'the memory-dialogue nexus'. Using Nelson Mandela's personal archive as both reference point and motivating energy, the Foundation convenes what it calls spaces safe enough for the negotiating of sustainable solutions to intractable societal problems. And increasingly it weaves archive – both as concept and as material resource – into its dialogue methodology.

The second was the establishment of a field of research on archives, that is,

where archives become the *subject* of the enquiry rather than *sources* for historical research. While most of this work is based in the academy, its concerns are with the work that archives do in society, and more particularly with their political or power effects. The research initiative in Archive and Public Culture (APC), established in 2008, undertakes this kind of work. One of its projects is the Five Hundred Year Archive (FHYA)[8] which the challenges the idea that the eras before European colonialism are without archive.[9] The project counters the normative concept of archive as referring to textual records, whether documentary or recorded oral text. More specifically the FHYA responds to how this definition creates a situation in which the southern Africa past before European colonialism is seen to be without archive, even while it is recognised that there are available sources like excavated archaeological remains or oral materials in social circulation. The FHYA project locates materials in many places, numbers of which are not formal archives, invests them with all the necessary background information to act as archives and presents them in a digital format. It gains the status of archive for materials that colonial and apartheid knowledge practices did not accord archival status. In this way, it signals the existence of materials capable of supporting enquiry into the neglected past before European colonialism. It makes these materials available for academic research and for involvement in contemporary public life.

There have also been substantial efforts which have attempted to force government to face up to its own responsibilities in terms of the archival record. In 2007, the Nelson Mandela Foundation and the Constitution of Public Intellectual Life Research Project at the University of the Witwatersrand invited the National Archives to join them in hosting a conference on the state of the national archival system and the vitality of the broader archival sector. This resulted in the publication of *Archives at the Crossroads 2007, Open Report to the Minister of Arts and Culture.*

Flowing from this the NMF, with its focus on archives and social justice, and the APC research initiative, with its focus on the political effects of archives, collaborated in establishing an independent advocacy and information-sharing entity, the Archival Platform. The Platform was developed to facilitate a shift in understanding away from archives solely as storehouses of records to one of archives as sites of political activism in their own right. Between 2010 and 2017 the Archival Platform took on a catalytic role in enabling practitioners, researchers, activists and the general public to rethink the notion of archive. It did this through initiatives like the Ancestral Stories project which focussed on family histories and the diverse archive including oral testimony and praise poetry on which individuals and groups draw to access these. It also focussed strongly on the state of government record-keeping, and the need for active citizens to have access to these in order to be able to hold government to account for its actions. The Archival Platform drew attention to the perilous state of the national and provincial institutions comprising the national archival system through its ongoing engagement with stakeholders and the publication of a research report, *State of the Archives: An*

analysis of South Africa's national archival system, 2014. This analysis identified elements of the system that required rethinking, reimagining or restructuring and detailed key areas where strategic interventions were needed to enable the institutions to deliver more effectively on their legislated mandates. The analysis was undertaken with the intention of making a positive contribution to the growth of a national archival system that reflects the values embodied in the Constitution, embraces diverse pasts, arms the state and citizens to address the challenges in the present and opens up to a more just and equitable future.

Disenchantment with the state has intensified in the last five years or so as issues of service delivery failures, incompetency, corruption and the ominous shutdown of access to information coupled with student demands for radical change have put the state once more in the sights of activists, archival and other. As noted in Chapter Six, new forms of activism, new technologies, new forms of community and new struggles for social justice are catalysing new forms of archival activism. In some respects, the preceding decade of work by a residual and attenuated layer of archival activists has ensured that crucial resources are available for a new generation of activist work. They are not, however, always readily mobilised.

The current forms of activism, much of them emergent and embryonic across many sectors, are largely unaware of the kind of activism that have gone before and hence are unable to draw lessons from their success and/ or failures.[10] Some of the initiatives discussed in this Report relate to the 'archives of activists,' that is the archival collections of activist individuals or organisations (see discussions in Chapter One, Chapter Three and Chapter Six of this Report). The Report suggests that these archives need to be made available as resources to inform contemporary activists about the history and practice of activism. They are resources capable of galvanising and shaping activism and of indicating what works and what does not. The production of local histories can also provide a base, or a resource, on which activists can draw to inform their work in the present. Bonner and Nieftagodien, in the introductory chapters to *Alexandra: A History* (2008) argue that, "preserving the rich and diverse history of Alexandra was rightly perceived as foundational to any endeavour to address the ills of the past and to build a better future".[11] The book, which tells the story of how, under apartheid, successive generations of residents "struggled to liberate themselves from the shackles of oppression and deprivation" suggests that, in the case of Alexandra, a deeply entrenched culture of defiance has played a significant role in the new struggles and campaigns that have emerged in the community in response to poor service delivery in the present. This may not be the case in communities with a much shorter history.

While one aspect of the widespread student protests of 2015-7 is about fees, another important aspect speaks directly to matters of archive. At the heart of the call for a decolonial education is a challenge to the way in which what

counts as university knowledge, particularly knowledge of previously colonised peoples, has been shaped by colonial knowledge production processes. In the process, the inherited archive has come under scrutiny. This is another form of the treating of archive as a subject for investigation rather than a holder for sources. The nature of the challenge can be easily seen in relation to the history of the southern African region before European colonialism. The challenges involved here include asking: What materials are there to tell us about that past? How did some materials come to be preserved, and not others? How have those materials come to be conceptualised and interpreted in particular ways and not others? How was all of this affected by the processes of colonialism and apartheid, and their particular investments in ideas of primitive people, tribe and tradition? Why, in short, is the study of the long past so stalled? One answer is that ideas about tribe and traditions shaped what is available as archive for this period, resulting in an archive that attests to tribe and tradition as pre-colonial fact. The students' challenge is directed at these kinds of circular conundrums. Projects like the FHYA respond to this challenge.

The protests have lent urgency to projects in the universities for the paying of attention to new kinds of archives capable of supporting new kinds of histories. Black intellectual thought and histories are achieving a belated form of research prominence in the academy. Vernacular sources, historiographies, concepts and discourses are topics of active research. The new call on archives in relation to these topics is immense. A host of digital projects like the FHYA in seeking to make relevant archival materials readily available. These include projects for the on-line availability of vernacular newspapers and publications of all kinds.

Students and others want to self-archive. They understand that to control the archive is a form of political power. History Workshop and others have skills in this area of assisting others with self-archiving that they make available to community-based organisations from time to time. The Archival Platform, for example drew on the expertise of the History Workshop to assist the community of Vosloorus to record and archive their experiences of forced removals under the apartheid government.

The current decade is also marked by a dramatic rise in forms of community foment, notably in form of localised service delivery protest involving of barricades and forms of direct action. Underlying these protests are a host of outstanding matters of social justice. Many of them are rooted in the failure of government to fulfil its obligations in terms of the restitution and as demanded by the Constitution. Student and community protests have also involved expressions of outrage. Outrage makes analysis of why things are as they are difficult to pursue. It makes dialogue and discussion difficult. Increasingly, for instance, the work of the Nelson Mandela Foundation outlined above is confronted by a conviction that 'safe space' is a chimera and that dialogue is a liberal instrument of oppression.

Much of the student and community protest is disillusioned with the politics of the ballot box and uses disruption to gain government attention. The idea of holding government accountable through the use of the record is scarcely present. Where it is present, however, it has effect. This is most obvious when activist entities take government departments, or individuals, to court. In court, the record of what has been done, and how, is stacked up against the record of what should have been done. It is also evident when investigative journalists ferret out records and use them publicly to demand accountability. AmaBhungane[12], the independent investigative non-profit organisation and Scorpio[13], the *Daily Maverick's* investigative unit, have played an important role in this respect, as evidenced in the 2017 'Gupta Leaks'[14] which offer a detailed record of how state capture occurred. Information like this, together with parliamentary records, amongst other things, are crucial tools for citizens to use to hold politicians to account. While civic education tends to focus on the secret ballot every five years, this Report suggests that it should also promote an understanding of the critical role of records in democracy.

A number of examples discussed in the Report make reference to the connection between records and community, either in supporting the development of a community identity and in giving community status as worthy of having an archive, but also in the way that records are resources that facilitate the kind of informed deliberation that ordinary people need to undertake in order to vote in ways that help themselves. As Desai commented in relation to *Miners Shot Down*, his film about the Marikana massacre, the film became "a spark for discussion, for conversation about where our democracy is at".

All of this takes place at a time when, worldwide, democratic citizenship is being subjected to radical interrogation. It is now widely recognised that any limitation of the exertion of democratic citizenship to the politics of the ballot box has given political and economic elites control of society. Active exertion of citizenship is understood to be critical to reworked democracy or an alternative political system. Active exertion of citizenship is hampered by two things: lack of capacity to hold elected officials accountable, and a lack of public understanding of how to produce alternative understandings of how we have got where we are and how history shapes what is possible in the future. Recognition of both of these things, in turn, is responsible for an insistence on access to records. Ordinary citizens rely on activists in their communities to understand the power of records and to identify which ones are crucial; to facilitate access to records and to make sure they get used in asserting accountability. They depend on professional archivists and record keepers to set up good record making and keeping protocols designed to facilitate democracy, and to adhere to them; and to resist the secreting or destruction of records, by whistleblowing if necessary. And they need to take steps to fill in gaps in the archival record that they need filled.

A Report of this nature is, by definition, backward looking in an effort to assess what has been achieved and what has been left undone. But what of the

archival future? What have the last three decades of archival activism put in place that is helpful in dealing with a digital archival future, involving records on an almost unimaginable scale?

The single most important thing here is the centrality of the recognition in public life that archives are a site of political activism in their own right.

The creation of big data, largely in the control of a few corporates, the massive capture of biometric data by corporates and states, the range of forms of the securitisation of information, and its failures, the effects of algorithmic manipulations of data, all of these things affect the ordinary citizen in profound ways, both limiting freedoms, and making them available. While understanding in any detail how the new archives writ large work is beyond most individuals, the need for an understanding of their multiple effects is important. For this, activism in the form of the translation, and analysis, of sophisticated technical understandings into accessible public information is essential. Research, driven by activist agendas, into effects of how data is captured, organised and disseminated is vital. Capacity and opportunity for ordinary people to engage in discussion of what is happening to records that affect them is clearly critically important. While in relation to future archives the scale is enormous and the frame global, the issues about power are much the same as those highlighted in this Report.

Endnotes

1. For information about South African archival institutions and memory initiatives see the Archival Platform's online Registry. A number of South African archival collections have been entered into the UNESCO memory of the World Register. These include: the *Archives of CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) 1991–1992, Archives of the Multi-Party negotiating Process 1993, Criminal Court Case No. 253/1963 (State Versus N Mandela and Others)* all held by the NARSSA; the *Archives of the Dutch East India Company,* held in archival repositories in the Netherlands, Indonesia, Sri Lanka India, and in the Western Cape Archive Provincial Archives in South Africa and; the *Liberation Struggle Living Archive Collection* and the *Bleek Collection* held by UCT.

2. Amongst the initiatives that shaped a new vision for archives during this period were: the African National Congress's (ANC) Department of Arts and Culture's Commission on Museums, Monuments and Heraldry (CMMH), established in 1993 ; the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) appointed by Dr Ben Ngubane, Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology in November 1994 to make detailed recommendations on an arts and culture policy consistent with the country's new democratic constitution ; and, most notably, the Consultative Forum for Archival Management and Legislation (the Forum) which was initiated after a process of negotiation with the Minister, the Council of Culture Ministers and the Technical Committee on Culture, managed by the State Archival Service and mandated to negotiate the future management of public archives services, in accordance with the new Constitution and to draft new legislation[2]. The *National Archives of South Africa Act No 43 of 1996* came into effect on 1 January 1997, formalising the start of a new phase of public archive management and administration.

3. See, for example, Sections 56,59,69,70,115, 118 and 152 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No 108 of 1996 and the Public Participation Framework for the South African Legislative Sector, accessed July 2017, http://www.sals.gov.za/docs/pubs/ppf.pdf.

4. Speaking at a conference in Canada, the Treatment Action Campaign's national treasurer Mark Heywood said, "It's likely I'll be accused of being disloyal and unpatriotic, but AIDS in South Africa is not for the South African government alone – it is a matter for the global community... When this many people are dying, the world has to speak up." *Activists call for Leadership to*

combat HIV/AIDS, accessed July 2017, http://www.irinnews.org/news/2006/08/18/activists-call-leadership-combat-hivaids.

5. Unpublished transcript of the GALA Witness Seminar held on 14 September 2016, 27.

6. Alycia Sellie, Jesse Goldstein, Molly Fair, and Jennifer Hoyer, 2015. 'Interference Archive: a free space for social movement culture', *Archival Science*, 15(4) (2015), 455.

7. 2015 "Archives, Ancestors and the Contingencies of Time". In Alf Lüdtke u. Tobias Nanz (Hg.), *Laute, Bilder, Texte. Register des Archivs*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Unipress), Göttingen, 2015. 103-118.

8. Archive and Public Culture Research Initiative, *The Five Hundred Year Archive*, accessed May 2018, http://www.apc.uct.ac.za/apc/research/projects/five-hundred-year-archive

9. 2014, "The Five Hundred Year Archive On-line Project: A Preliminary Report" in *Papers From the Pre-Colonial Catalytic Project*, Vol. 1, Centre for African Studies, UCT. Ntsebeza, L. and Saunders, C. (eds.) 65-79.

10. A number of initiatives seek to develop activist skills. These include the Tshisimani Centre for Activist Education, which aims to nourish, replenish and sustain the power and capacity of activist movements, organisations and networks engaged in grassroots struggle to build a just society in South Africa and internationally, see http://tshisimani.org.za/about/ and the Activate! Leadership and Public Innovation programme aimed at building skills in public innovation and developing a cohort of participants with a common identity as activists for the public good. See http://dgmt.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/Activate.pdf.

11. Philip L. Bonner and Noor Nieftagodien, *Alexandra: A History*, (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2008), xii.

12. *amaBhungame Centre for Investigative Journalism*, accessed December 2017, http://amabhungane.co.za/.

13. *Scorpio: A new era for Daily Maverick*, accessed December 2017, https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-05-31-scorpio-a-new-era-for-daily-maverick/.

14. *#Gupta-Leaks: A collaborative investigation into state capture*, accessed January 2018, http://www.gupta-leaks.com.