STATE-PRIORITISED HERITAGE: GOVERNMENTALITY, HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AND THE PRIORITISATION OF LIBERATION HERITAGE IN POST-COLONIAL SOUTH AFRICA

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DEDICATION

To my beautiful wife Tshego and kids; Lesedi, Kitso, Bokamoso and Onalerona. Our parents and siblings. Thank you for all your support

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIA – Archaeological Impact Assessment
ACCU – Asia Pacific Centre for UNESCO
AHD – Authorised Heritage Discourse
ANC – African National Congress
ARJPO – The African Regional Intellectual Property Office
AWHF – Africa World Heritage Fund
CMP – Conservation Management Plan
CRL – Commission for Protection and Promotion of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities
DAC – Department of Arts and Culture
DEA – Department of Environmental Affairs
EIA – Environmental Impact Assessment
HIA – Heritage Impact Assessment
ICH – Intangible Cultural Heritage
ICOM – International Council on Museums
ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICCROM – International Centre for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
IK – Indigenous Knowledge
IKS – Indigenous Knowledge System
INCP – International Network on Cultural Policy
IP – Intellectual Property
IPR – Intellectual Property Rights
NDT – National Department of Tourism
NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation
NM Act – National Monuments Act of 1969
NMC – National Monuments Council
NHC – National Heritage Council
NHCA – National Heritage Council Act 1999

NHRA – National Heritage Resources Act 1999

PHRA – Provincial Heritage Resource Authority

SAHRA – South African Heritage Resources Agency

SAOTA – Southern African Oral Tradition Association

SIA – Social Impact Assessment

TRIPS – Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organisation

WTO – World Trade Organisation

WIPO – World Intellectual Property Organisation

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DEFINITION AND USE OF TERMINOLOGY

Since the subject matter of this study relates to governmentality and state intervention in heritage management, the terms used in this context are consistent with their popularity as defined and used in government and official circles of state governance and policy frameworks.

Heritage Resource

According to the National Heritage Resources Act (1999), the term refers to any place or object of cultural significance (NHRA). However, in broad terms, it refers to both intangible and tangible forms of heritage deemed to be of cultural significance.

Cultural Significance

According to the NHRA it means aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance. In broad terms cultural significance is synonymous with heritage significance and cultural heritage value. Its purpose is to help in identifying and assessing the attributes that make a place or object of value to us and to our society. Its definition may change as a result of the continuing history of the place, depending on the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and objects. Also, cultural significance may change as a result of new information. Acknowledging the term has a range of meanings and values for different communities and individuals. In terms of the South African policy on Indigenous Knowledge Systems (2004), the definition of cultural significance by indigenous groups or local communities, especially in Africa, may differ vastly from interpretations provided by other race or cultural groups in the Western or European context. Indigenous knowledge systems may be useful in providing a non-European or non-Western definition of cultural significance that represents the values and aspirations of indigenous communities in Africa.

Indigenous Knowledge System

According to the Indigenous Knowledge Systems Policy (2004), the Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) developed and maintained by South Africa's indigenous

peoples pervade the lives and the belief systems of a large proportion of the country's population. Such indigenous knowledge manifests itself in areas ranging from cultural and religious ceremonies to agricultural practices and health interventions. Indigenous knowledge (IK) is generally used synonymously with traditional and local knowledge, which is the knowledge developed by and within distinctive indigenous communities.

Living Heritage

According to the National Heritage Resources Act 1999, living heritage means the intangible aspects of inherited culture, and may include: cultural tradition; oral history; performance; ritual; popular memory; skills and techniques; indigenous knowledge systems; and the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships. Also in terms of the National Policy on South African Living Heritage (2015), living heritage means cultural expressions and practices that form a body of knowledge and provide for continuity, dynamism, and meaning of social life to generations of people as individuals, social groups, and communities. Living heritage allows for identity and a sense of belonging for people as well as an accumulation of intellectual capital for current and future generations in the context of mutual respect for human, social, and cultural rights.

Living heritage, sometimes referred to as “living culture”, “Amasiko” in Nguni or “Ditso” in seSotho languages, is a localised and indigenous form of what is universally known as intangible heritage or intangible cultural heritage. Broadly there are many possible definitions of living heritage; however, all seem to relate to intangible aspects or forms of heritage.

Intangible Cultural Heritage

The UNESCO definition on Intangible Cultural Heritage acknowledges language within the domain of oral traditions. In terms of the UNESCO Convention (2003) on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage, intangible forms of heritage are defined as the practice, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural space associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. Article 2.2 of the Convention presents five key domains in which intangible heritage is manifested: oral

traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and traditional craftsmanship.

Heritage Management

According to the NHRA, heritage management refers to the identification, protection, conservation, research, recording, documentation, dissemination, revitalisation, and promotion of heritage resources based on the best practices and world standards of management. The term will discussed further in details in Chapter Two.

Community

Community is a highly contested term especially in the literature surrounding heritage and legislation. Broadly, the term refers to all people, including those with special interests such as owners, managers, cultural groups, local and indigenous people, state government, technical heritage experts and professionals (e.g. architects, builders, developers, archaeologists, anthropologists and many others). The term local community is often used in heritage literature to refer to local population or indigenous people with bona fide claims to heritage. Sometimes the local community are people living in close proximity to heritage sites.

Conservation

Simply put, conservation refers to all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance (ICCROM and ICOMOS). The definition of the term is intensely contested. However, in this context, the term is popularly used to refer to the protection of heritage resources, especially in government and official context, in relation to heritage management in practice, according to the National Heritage Resources Act (1999). For purpose of this study, the term is used in relation to the governance of heritage in practice by state authorities.

Note:

Many of these terms remain problematic, but they will be used here in the sense in which they appear in the current literature on heritage management.

ABSTRACT

This study seeks to examine and trace the notion of state prioritisation of heritage in relation to state intervention through political, policy and governance regimes in heritage management in South Africa. The study covers key highlights in the evolution of heritage management and developments through specific periods and contexts, including colonial, apartheid and post-colonial South Africa. Drawing on notions such as “governmentality” and “authorised heritage discourse”, the study provides a perspective on the extent of state influence and dominance in the formalisation of heritage management through policy, legal instruments and governance processes.

Using the National Liberation Heritage Route project in South Africa as a case study, the research illustrates the notion of state prioritisation of heritage in relation to the deployment and mobilisation of state resources (policy, legal instruments and material resources) in heritage management to support a select past as the “official” heritage of the nation state. The politics of transforming the heritage landscape in post-1994 and post-colonial[1] South Africa involved the emergence of the idea of state prioritisation of liberation heritage as a site for restorative justice: specifically, as a way to honour and recognise the legacy of the political struggles for freedom against colonialism and apartheid. Conversely, the framing of liberation heritage also exposes the political uses of heritage at expedient moments to achieve political goals by the regime in power.

While normative approaches to heritage management tend to emphasise the disjuncture between the colonial and post-colonial periods, the results of this study confirm strong ties to colonial and European influences within these categories. The findings outline the complexity of state intervention and the inherent biases that inform the governance of heritage. In this light, the study contributes to ongoing research on the discourse of evaluating the global, local, and transnational dimensions of heritage management and

[1] In contextualising heritage management in South Africa, the post-colonial period marks the end of the colonial and apartheid political eras and signifies the new ‘democratic’ order post the 1994 general elections. In South Africa the term ‘post-apartheid’ and ‘democratic’ era are popularly used to refer to the ‘post-colonial’ era. Sometimes these terms are used interchangeably to refer to a period after colonial and apartheid eras.

practices, especially in relation to the problematic position of heritage as mainly a product of state authority and political power.

PREFACE

A Background Note: My Relationship to the Study

This background note outlines my motivation for pursuing this research project. The framing of this dissertation draws on my professional experience as a state official who has for over 10 years, in various capacities, been involved in government policy formulation and strategy development around heritage management and tourism development in South Africa. I was first appointed to serve as Living Heritage Manager at the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) in 2004. At SAHRA, I was assigned to develop a Draft Living Heritage Policy (2005) for the organisation. It is striking to note that, in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act (No. 25 of 1999),[2] the legislation under which SAHRA operates, the definition of "living heritage" is limited to tangible forms of heritage. In essence, the legislative mandate of SAHRA enables the protection of physical sites associated with living heritage, including sacred sites such as the graves and burial grounds of icons of the liberation struggle. These living-heritage sites form a central part of the present study.

As part of my work on policy instruments around living heritage, I had the opportunity to serve on international committees and participate in expert meetings that led to the drafting of operational directives for the implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.[3] In 2006, I also served on the secretariat of the Scientific Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage, which is part of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS).[4] My exposure to national and international policy fora and their complex operations, especially regarding the safeguarding of intangible heritage, helped to frame my Master's research project, which

[2] In terms of Section 3 of the National Heritage Resources Act No.25 of 1999, the management of living heritage is applied to places or objects to which oral traditions are attached, or which are associated with living heritage (www.sahra.org.za). Also refer to the work of Deacon et al. (2004) and Manetsi (2008) on the subject of policy and legal instruments for safeguarding living heritage in South Africa.
[3] Report on "Expert Meeting on Community Involvement in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards the Implementation of the 2003 Convention", 13 to 15 March 2006, Tokyo, Japan. Also www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00034-EN.pdf [Accessed on 09/04/2014]
[4] ICOMO Scientific Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage, www.international.icomos.org/centre_documentation/bib/2011_intangible-heritage_complete.pdf. [Accessed on 06/09/2015]

explored the work of legal instruments in relation to protecting living heritage in South Africa.[5] The question of safeguarding the dissipating memory and narratives of the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle through state intervention, in the form of policy and other legal instruments, remains relevant and unavoidable today. State policy and legal instruments have the authority to create an enabling legal environment for heritage management in a sovereign state. As a result of the statutes and powers of heritage legislation and policy, namely the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999, South Africa has been able to locate and repatriate liberation heritage belonging to the country from various foreign states.

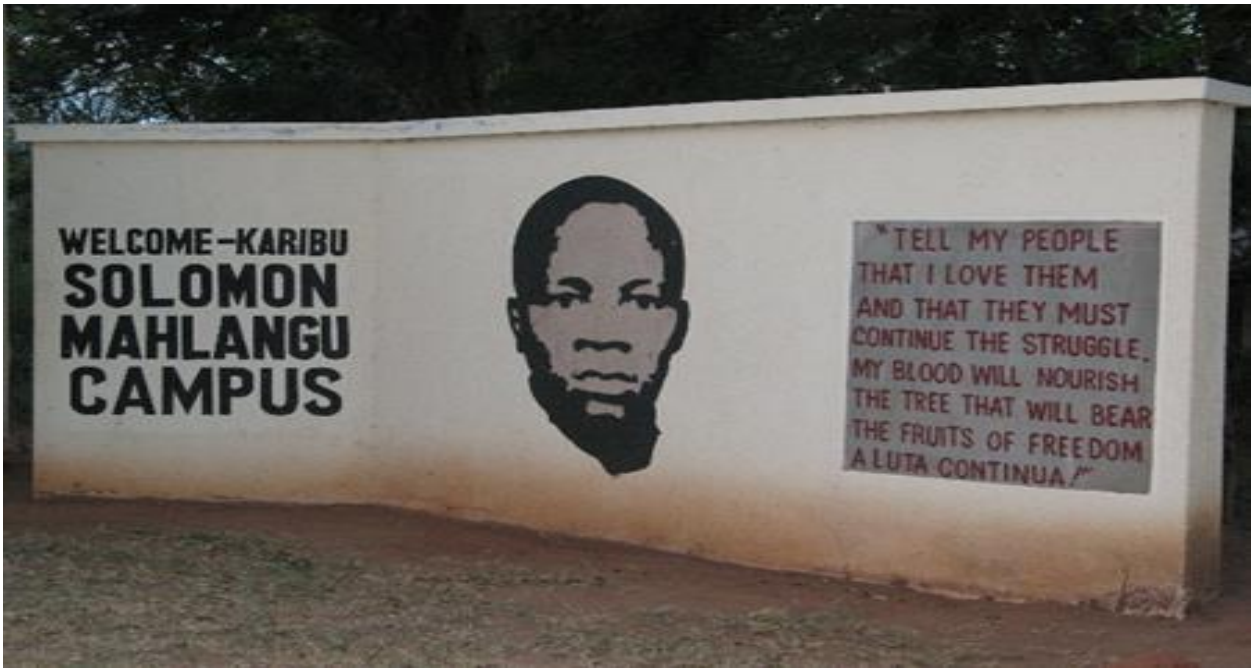

Figure 1 : The Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, in Mbuzini, is a training college which provided many South Africans leaving in exile in Tanzania with educataion and shelter. Source: Freedom Park Archives

[5] Manetsi, in "Can Intangibles be Tangible: Towards Policy Formulation for Safeguarding Living Heritage in South Africa", unpublished MA thesis, 2008.

Figure 2. A cemetery of graves of fallen heroes of the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC), the Mkhonto weSizwe (MK), at the Solonom Mahlangu Freedom College, in Mbuzini (Tanzania). Source: Freedom Park Archives**.**

I clearly recall participating in a state-sanctioned mission in September 2007 to restore and inventory the graves of fallen heroes and heroines who had died while in exile in Tanzania. The mission involved an audit of the graves of these fallen heroes and heroines of the liberation struggle. In line with the legislative mandate of SAHRA, the Tanzanian mission involved a labour-intensive process of identifying and demarcating the graves of cadres of the ANC, PAC and AZAPO, with the aim of creating a national inventory and restoring South African heritage resources in Tanzania. I remember the day-long inventory exercise, the site-mapping and restoration work, conducted under the scorching heat of the sun in three cemeteries that were far apart: namely, the Dar es Salaam War Cemetery, the Dakawa cemetery (between Morogoro and Handeni), and the cemetery at Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Morogoro. Not only was the experience physically challenging, but it was emotionally draining as well, especially when it came to imagining the harsh psychological effects of the isolation that the deceased had endured

in exile. A total of 150 headstones were installed at a cemetery for victims of conflict in Tanzania.[6]

The Tanzanian mission also coincided with a ritual process of repatriation for the human spirits of the deceased cadres, which was conducted by a delegation of priests, sangomas (traditional African healers) and officials from the Freedom Park Trust in South Africa, who were accompanied by family members of the deceased cadres. I vividly recall the sangomas' dramatic and exuberant ritual ceremonies at the grave sites, used to "call the spirits to return home". On our return to South Africa, the mission became a media spectacle, with a special ceremony organised at Freedom Park, where the repatriated remains and spirits were finally laid to rest.

There are two important issues to lift from the Tanzanian mission. First, one cannot overestimate the extent of state intervention and the commitment to repatriating this kind of prioritised "official heritage" from a foreign country. Second, in the face of startling evidence of human remains and graves of fallen heroes, the state confirmed the extent of its responsibility in handling highly sensitive heritage resources. A few questions arose after my experience in Tanzania. In particular, what are the implications for the contestation of claims to heritage by both the state and bona fide communities, given the state's role in handling heritage resources? How does the state objectively mediate, through its authoritarian role, over claims to heritage when, in fact, the state is also a claimant with a bona fide interest?

About three months after this important official mission to Tanzania, I joined the National Heritage Council (NHC), where I was exposed to the broad mandate of the NHC and participated in various policy initiatives and debates on the complexity of the governance of heritage resources in South Africa. The NHC's core mandate is broad but entails, briefly, the coordination, transformation and funding of heritage programmes and initiatives in South Africa.[7] Mainly, I was encouraged by the energetic spirit and bold

[6] South African Resources Agency (SAHRA), A report presented by SAHRA and the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) to the Portfolio Committee on Arts and Culture in 2011 and 2012, regarding progress on restoration of graves of victims of conflict including heroes and heroines of the liberation struggle, www.sahra.org,za and www.dac.gov.za.

[7] National Heritage Councils Act of 1999, www.nhc.org.za or www.polity.gov.za.

approach with which the NHC spearheaded the transformation agenda in the heritage sector, through programmes such as Ubuntu in Nation Building, Unsung Heroes and Heroines, the Heritage Transformation Charter, and the National Liberation Heritage Route project. At the NHC, I served as Senior Manager of Heritage Programmes. My key responsibilities were to initiate and implement heritage programmes approved by the board and executive of the NHC. I was involved in drafting the National Heritage Transformation Charter, as well as several highly contentious policy position documents, including Heritage Conservation and Sustainable Development, Repatriation of Heritage Resources, Public Access to Heritage Sites, and the National Liberation Heritage Route project. The latter project, with which I have been intimately involved, forms a case study for my doctoral research. Besides numerous technical sessions in which I participated, my first assignment on the project entailed organising its national launch in 2008 in the Chris Hani District Municipality. The event coincided with the anniversary of the death of the prominent struggle activist for whom the municipality is named.

Another important facet of my work on the National Liberation Heritage Route project was to register the intention of South Africa, as a state party to UNESCO, to have the project proclaimed a world heritage site, in terms of the prescripts of the 1972 UNESCO Convention for World Heritage Property. I served alongside international experts such as Dr Munjeri (UNESCO diplomat) in drafting the tentative list of criteria for having the project declared a world heritage site. The tentative list was submitted and accepted at the 35th session of the World Heritage Committee meeting in Canada in 2009.[8] However, the difficult task of putting together a nomination dossier to finalise the process has yet to take place.

After serving four years at the NHC, I joined the National Department of Tourism (NDT), which has since offered prospects for permanent employment and a sense of job security. At the NDT, I serve as Director of Heritage and Cultural Tourism. My first assignment at the NDT was to draft the National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy (2012),[9] in order to integrate issues of heritage into the ambit of tourism development. The development

[8] UNESCO 35th session of the World Heritage Committee meeting in Canada, in 2009, www.unesco.org.
[9] The National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy, March 2012, www.ndt.gov.za/doc.

of the strategy involved a rigorous research process, including consultation with stakeholders, before it eventually received Cabinet endorsement and ministerial approval. The National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy was launched by the former Minister of Tourism, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, on 16 March 2012.[10] The National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy (2012) makes specific reference to the development and promotion of heritage resources, including liberation heritage, in South Africa. Through a partnership agreement between the National Department of Tourism and the Department of Arts and Culture, which I authored in 2012,[11] I serve on both the technical and the steering committee for the implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. The key highlights of serving on these committees have been the commitment expressed by state departments and institutions to support the National Liberation Heritage Route project, which offers an alternative narrative to the dominant colonial and apartheid symbols in the heritage landscape.

It is precisely my experience and exposure within the areas of public policy and heritage management that prompted the pursuit of this doctoral research project. In particular, my interest concerns the need to document key policy discussions and to generate knowledge regarding heritage management. My commitment to this research topic stems from the deficient archival material on policy processes regarding state intervention in the governance of heritage resources in South Africa. My focus on the liberation heritage project as a case study is informed by these same issues. In short, then, this research project is framed as a deliberate attempt to document policy discussions pertaining to the management of the liberation heritage project in South Africa. Accordingly, it is the

[10] The launch of the National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy, 16 March 2012, by Minister of Tourism (South Africa) Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk at Lillies Leaf Farm Heritage Site, Johannesburg. www.southafrica.net/media/en/news/entry/news-media-and-stakeholder-national-heritage-and-cultural-tourism-strategy [Accessed on 05/04/2014].

[11] The Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the NDT and DAC (2012) serves as an official partnership agreement that outlines key areas of collaboration and mutual interest for implementation of joint initiatives, including the development and implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. As part of implementing the MOU, I have been duly assigned to serve in both the Technical Committee and Steering Committee to guide the implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. NDT Domestic Tourism Branch, Chief Directorate: Southern Region and Directorate Western Cape and Northern Cape Leading in Heritage. www.tourism.gov.za

primary objective of this study to present a close and critical appraisal of state prioritisation of the liberation heritage project in South Africa.

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

> "Heritage is a loaded discursive mark of our times, one of the 'keywords' that is now widely understood to define South African society, along with race, culture, gender, tradition, or truth and reconciliation."[12]

Introduction

I locate my work within the ongoing discourse surrounding the global, local and transnational problematics of heritage, with heritage viewed mainly as a product of state authority and political power. For the purpose of this study, I have used the term "state-prioritised heritage", or "state prioritisation of heritage", primarily in relation to state intervention through the political, policy and governance processes of heritage management. State-prioritised heritage, or state prioritisation of heritage, also refers to select heritage that has been endorsed and proclaimed "official heritage" or "prioritised heritage" by the state. In South Africa, government departments and state organisations often use the term or phrase "prioritisation" to express a commitment by the state to provide some sort of intervention or to address a problem or "challenge", in popular government language. The deliberate use of the term "state prioritisation of heritage", in this context, is meant to foreground the issue of governmentality and the state's approach to the governance of heritage in South Africa.

In retrospect, issues of politics, policy and authority in relation to the state have had a tremendous impact on the configurations of heritage management in post-colonial South Africa. This study will first analyse the deployment of state intervention through policy and legal instruments, integral aspects of state prioritisation within heritage management. Second, the study will trace the evolution of policy and legal instruments and their implications for the governance of heritage. In particular, the focus will be on tracing and exploring state intervention through the deployment and mobilisation of political authority and policy regimes in heritage management. Third, the study will illustrate the extent of

[12] Shepherd et al., "New South African Keywords", Ohio University Press USA, 2008, 116.

state prioritisation of heritage by citing examples of the types of heritage resources that have been privileged by the state at expedient moments and periods across the colonial, apartheid and post-colonial eras in South Africa. To this end, it is crucial to unpack the uses of heritage in politics, and policy implications in heritage management, in relation to state-prioritised heritage, or "official heritage".

As an integral part of post-colonial research on contemporary, new and future state-prioritised heritage, the National Liberation Heritage Route project is used as a case study for this investigation. The selected case study is especially helpful in examining the multi-layered discourse around state prioritisation of heritage as well as the various levels of state intervention and the mobilisation of state resources, i.e. political instrumentality, state policy, and strategy directives.

At this crucial stage, it is important to declare that it is neither the intention nor purpose of this study to rewrite or document the much-scripted and -articulated history of the liberation struggle in South Africa. Rather, it is the purpose of this study to examine the influence of politics and policies on the liberation heritage project in South Africa. It is worth noting that most of the research and writings on liberation history and heritage in South Africa have not engaged critically with the question of government authority and heritage, in particular liberation heritage. Ndoro has conceded that the liberation heritage project must be integrated into national policy frameworks to ensure state commitment to protecting the legacy of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.[13]

Broadly, this study serves as a critical reflection on the uses of heritage and state power in the governance of heritage in South Africa. Benavidez's analysis of heritage as a mode of state power argues that "the management of heritage discourses of identity is not simply a weapon of 'the strong' … heritage as a strategy of power by which to manage the past and to generate narratives of identity."[14]

[13] Ndoro, Report on the Africa Regional Workshop on the Liberation Heritage Project in Southern Africa, organised jointly by the Department of Arts and Culture, the Africa World Heritage Fund, and the National Heritage Council, August 2011, Pretoria.
[14] Benavides, in "Ethnographies and Archaeologies: Iterations of the Past", by Lena Mortensen and Julie Hollowell, University Press of Florida, 2009, 112.

Contextualising State-Prioritised Heritage Management

State-prioritised heritage management, including the conservation and promotion of state-sanctioned heritage, or "official heritage", is not a wholly new phenomenon, in South Africa or elsewhere. Each political regime introduces symbols and values that signify its authority.[15] Under both British and Dutch rule, colonial South Africa witnessed a flurry of state-prioritised heritage, such as Victorian and Dutch architecture and symbols, which signified the imposition of the dominant colonial powers and their heritage. Also, the deliberate ascription of colonial names to places became a common fixture on the dominant colonial landscape in South Africa. Historically, South Africa fast emerged as a British colony and a direct mirror of the British Empire in Africa. Most importantly, the colonial period marked the formalisation of "official heritage", through the promulgation of heritage policy and legislation that imprinted colonial powers and their interests on the evolving heritage landscape.

The promulgation of the Bushmen Relics Protection Act, No. 22 of 1911, marked the first piece of colonial heritage policy that served to protect and promote colonial interests in the management of heritage resources in South Africa. The Act provided a legal framework for the state prioritisation of "Bushmen relics", including rock art, since this heritage was believed to be under threat and in need of preservation. Ironically, however, the prioritisation of "Bushmen heritage" at the turn of the 20th century resulted in the inhumane treatment of the "Bushmen" through genocide, illicit trade in human remains, racial science, and exhibitions such as the infamous San Diorama at the natural history museum in Cape Town.[16] The proliferation of state-prioritised colonial heritage, especially at the turn of the 20th century, was part of the colonial enterprise to "institutionalise" elements of nature and culture in South Africa, and in Africa in general.

State prioritisation of heritage during the apartheid era, post-1948, mainly saw the emergence of the white Afrikaner nation state and the advancement of Afrikaner heritage,

[15] Lowenthal, "The Past is a Foreign Country", 1985, 129.
[16] Rassool et al., "Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African Museums and the Trade in Human Remains 1907 - 1917", 2001. Also Davidson, "Typecast: Representations of the Bushmen at the South African Museum," Public Archaeology, 2001. Also Skotnes, "Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen," Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 1996.

for example through sites such as the Voortrekker Monument and a cluster of statues of white male Afrikaner nationalist leaders (most notably the statues of Verwoerd, Vorster and Malan). Historians have observed that the Voortrekker Monument is “a poignant reminder of the liberation struggle of the Afrikaners against British colonial rule, and represents the myth that South Africa belongs to the Voortrekkers and their descendants”.[17] Apartheid marked the end of the struggle against British colonial rule for minority white Afrikaner people, but it also signified the re-emergence of a repressive regime for the majority of black South Africans. As a result, apartheid was declared a crime against humanity by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the United Nations (UN), and others. The politics of white domination and black subjugation were perpetuated as part of the colonial project through the apartheid policy of separate development, shaping “official heritage” in the apartheid-constructed cultural landscape. Therefore, “the emphasis on conserving European cultural heritage influenced the development of legislative frameworks that supported an ideology that promoted separation and fragmentation … the promotion of English colonial heritage and later Afrikaner cultural heritage, at the expense of indigenous heritage[,] indirectly resulted in the formulation of policies that marginalized the majority of the citizens.”[18]

The subsequent policy frameworks of the colonial and apartheid periods—namely, the Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923, the Natural and Historical Monuments, the Relics and Antiques Act of 1934, the Natural and Historical Monuments, the Relics and Antiques Ordinance of 1948, and the National Monument Council Act of 1969—were largely informed by the dominant colonial politics of the time. They served the interests of colonialism in heritage management in South Africa.[19] The promulgation of heritage legislation and policies under apartheid, such as the National Monument Council Act of 1969, further entrenched the authoritarian position and bias of the state around heritage management. By the end of the 20th century, the National Monuments Council (precursor

[17] Coombes, “Translating the Past: Apartheid Monuments in Post- Apartheid South Africa”, London, Routledge, 2000, 173-197.
[18] Sibayi D., “Addressing the Impact of The Structural Fragmentation on Aspects of the Management and Conservation of Cultural Heritage”, 2009, 4. MA Thesis – Masters of Public Management at Stellenbosch University.
[19] Rassool et al. in “Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African Museums and the Trade in Human Remains 1907 - 1917”, 2001.

to the current South African Heritage Resources Agency) had declared about 4,100 sites and buildings throughout the country national monuments, mainly pieces of British colonial and Cape-Dutch architecture, and sites associated with the Afrikaner struggle for self-determination.[20]

The historical imbalances in heritage management resulted in the "skewed allocation of financial resources, infrastructure and even skills development between whites and blacks".[21] Furthermore, "the effect of Apartheid policies on Arts, Culture and Heritage and the Cultural and Creative Industries is that the majority of the institutions operating within the Arts, Culture and Heritage value chain, were and continue to be, white dominated at ownership, management and operational levels".[22] Colonial and apartheid laws, such as the Natives Land Act of 1913 and the Group Areas Act of 1950, restricted black South Africans' access to heritage resources located in predominantly white areas in the city centre.

The politics of transforming the heritage landscape in post-1994 South Africa led to the emergence of a "common heritage", prioritised as a rallying force for national unity (social cohesion), national identity and national healing, in line with the Constitution and its principles of democracy. But I want to argue here that state prioritisation of heritage in post-colonial South Africa also meant recognising suppressed histories, responding to the legacy of the former repressive regimes, striving for restorative justice, and, in particular, honouring the political struggles against colonialism and apartheid.[23] The most prominent signifiers of liberation heritage in democratic South Africa include a plethora of memorials and monuments, such as Freedom Park, the Robben Island Museum, the Luthuli Museum, the Nelson Mandela Museum, Ncome, the Hector Petersen Memorial, and many others, including statues, graves and places named for struggle icons. The introduction of "legacy projects", including some of the aforementioned state projects, is an iconic fixture of the evolving cultural landscape, which serves to redress past

[20] South African Heritage Resources Agency, Archival material of the former National Monuments Council (1969). www.sahra.org.za
[21] In "Revised White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage", Version 2, 4 June 2013, 10. www.dac.gov.za
[22] Ibid.
[23] Draft Concept Document of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project, 2005. www.nhc.org.

inequities.[24] The liberation heritage project has also manifested through a spate of media-hyped national commemorative events and celebrations. In 2012, South Africans witnessed the prioritisation of liberation heritage through the much-profiled centenary celebrations of the ruling African National Congress (ANC), the oldest liberation movement in Africa. Also, as part of the celebration of 20 years of democracy in 2014, new sites of liberation history have been unveiled. Of paramount importance, the death of former president Nelson Mandela in December 2013 spurred the hasty unveiling of his towering statue at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, along with his bust at parliament in Cape Town.

All these forms of state prioritisation of heritage have far-reaching implications for heritage management, at political, policy and administrative levels in South Africa. The implications relate specifically to the deployment of state resources to advance the National Liberation Heritage Route, a flagship project of post-colonial South Africa.

Liberation Heritage as a State Priority Project

The liberation heritage project is a product of contemporary thinking on the conservation and promotion of the legacy of anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles. This post-colonial project is a direct response to the repressive regimes that ruled before 1994, and therefore it is an important initiative for the nation state. The liberation heritage project, as a national state initiative and a construction of political imagination, has manifested in various interesting ways in the public domain, including in the physical and psychic fabric of society.

[24] In 1997 the Cabinet adopted the National Legacy Project, developed by the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST). The Legacy Project comprises a selection of nine high-priority heritage developments spread throughout the country, namely 1. Commemoration of the Zulu warriors at the battlefield of Blood River/Ncome near Dundee in KZN, 2. Monument for the Women of South Africa at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, 3. the inclusive commemoration of the Centenary of the South African Anglo-Boer War, 4. Constitution Hill (the site of the Old Fort and the new Constitutional Court in Johannesburg), 5. the commemoration of Nelson Mandela's home and sites associated with his youth through the Qunu Museum in the Eastern Cape, 6. a memorial to former Mozambican president Samora Machel on the rural site where his plane crashed near the border town of Mbuzini, 7. the Albert Luthuli project, focused on the restoration of his home in Groutville, KZN, 8. a Khoe/San heritage route situated mostly in the Western Cape, and 9. the ambitious Freedom Park outside Pretoria. DAC Archives. www.dac.gov.za

The National Liberation Heritage Route is profiled as an important commemorative project in post-colonial South Africa—a poignant reminder of the struggles waged by many South Africans against the repressive colonial and apartheid regimes. State prioritisation of the liberation heritage project hinges, in the main, on mapping the future while not forgetting the past. The importance of remembering the country's struggle legacy is succinctly captured in the ruling ANC party's National Draft Cultural Policy (1994): "[O]ur liberation history and heritage must not be forgotten … it must be visibly inscribed in the landscape … [It is] also important for [the] education of youth[,] especially born-frees … to instil the struggle journey to freedom."[25] It is therefore a deliberate intention of the state to prioritise and mobilise resources, through political instrumentality, policy directives and administration, to support the establishment of the liberation heritage project.

According to the National Heritage Council of South Africa, the driving force behind the development and implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route, the project assumes the format of a route, since it is configured as a network of heritage sites, with some nodes having world heritage status, and others having national, provincial and local significance.[26] In a more elaborate description, the National Liberation Heritage Route project seeks "to identify, document, research, present and develop a series of liberation sites with localised, provincial and national significance ... the sites that will form a route [ ] present evidence of a common narrative, memory and experience associated with liberation history and struggle for emancipation against multiple expressive forms of oppression in the Republic of South Africa."[27]

Although the details of the National Liberation Heritage Route project will be discussed in subsequent chapters, the following questions are important to raise at this stage. What are suitable and sufficient forms or symbols for commemorating liberation history in the present? Whose story is narrated through the National Liberation Heritage Route project? These questions are raised in light of the contestations and violence expressed by aggrieved communities through vandalism and the destruction of state-installed statues

[25] ANC policy position, in "Draft National Cultural Policy (1994)", ANC Headquarters Luthuli House, Johannesburg, 1994. www.anc.org.za. archives.
[26] Presentation of the "National Liberation Heritage Route", 2009, 2, www.nhc.org.za.
[27] The National Liberation Heritage Route Project, Project Plan and Outline, 2011, www.nhc.org.za.

and memorials of the liberation struggle, such as the O R Tambo Memorial (Eastern Cape Province), the Duncan Village Massacre Memorial (Eastern Cape Province), the Sol Plaatjie Statue (Northern Cape Province), the Chief Makhado Statue (Limpopo Province), and many others.

Beyond physical memorial sites, the National Liberation Heritage Route project aspires to engender a culture of transmission for the memory of the liberation struggle, using existing platforms of education and teaching. The project is most significant for its educational potential (especially its integration into the school curriculum), where the history of the struggle experiences of the majority black South Africans can be presented alongside the often-domineering colonial account of Jan van Riebeeck and many other colonialists, as observed by Witz and Rassool.[28]

Research Problematique

As a departure point, this study sets out the argument that the conditions of practice and knowledge generation in heritage management are not immune to the influence of politics and policy on the part of the state. Furthermore, heritage management practices are a result of historical and contemporary contestations. As illustrated earlier, often the dominant discourse within politics has a direct bearing on the policies and administration that inform heritage management in South Africa. Even beyond the legal structural framework provided by policy and administrative systems, the politics of the regime in power tend to take precedence in the governance of heritage resources. Using the National Liberation Heritage Route project as a case study, this dissertation will explore the extent and implications of political authority, policy instruments and administrative directives.

The current dominant discourse of state politics, policies and strategies around heritage management has direct implications for embedded notions of governmentality and state prioritisation of heritage. Ashworth et al. have outlined “the central tenet of the dominant ideology thesis, namely that governments or ruling elites will project a message

[28] Witz, L. & Rassool, C. 2008. Making Histories, *Kronos*, 34:1.

legitimating their position".[29] In a similar manner, heritage has been constructed and used to validate certain political positions during colonial, apartheid and post-colonial South Africa. The use of heritage to affirm the authority of the regime in power is common practice.

Legitimising politically sanctioned forms of history has far-reaching implications for the practice of heritage management, as has been demonstrated in colonial, apartheid and post-colonial South Africa. In this context, the governance of heritage tends to be biased towards the promotion of a particular history, which the state imposes on its citizens as "official heritage". The use of the National Liberation Heritage Route as a case study illustrates the glaring contradiction inherent in state-prioritised heritage, in that the state uses heritage as a rallying point to foster "social cohesion", "nationhood" and "national identity" in the "rainbow nation", yet simultaneously the state privileges a dominant and selective historical past that might not necessarily serve the diverse cultural representation of the people of South Africa. As Abercrombie et al. have argued: "It is often assumed that the dominant ideologies are clear, coherent and effective … on the contrary they are fractured and even contradictory in most historical periods."[30]

A critical reading of the discourse around state-prioritised heritage provides a lens for critically engaging with the deep-seated and complex issues associated with heritage management. One of those complex issues is the deployment of political power in the governance of heritage resources. State prioritisation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project serves as a site of reflection on the recent shifts in the ideology, practice and experience of heritage management in South Africa. Most importantly, this thesis places emphasis on the state-centric approach to heritage management, generating a new body of knowledge on the governance of heritage resources in South Africa.

The primary objective of this study is therefore to produce a body of knowledge that will contribute to the improvement of state policy and strategy interventions around heritage management in the South African public sector.

[29] Ashworth et al, ' Dissonance and the Uses of Heritage', 1996, 48.
[30] Abercrombie et al., ' The Dominant Ideology Thesis', with reference in ' Dissonance and the Uses of Heritage', 1996

Research Question

The central research question of this study is: What instruments of state intervention govern liberation heritage in post-colonial South Africa, and how are these instruments mobilised and deployed?

Sub-Questions

The following set of sub-questions flow from the central question and attempt to unpack it in more detail:

- What are the political and policy instruments (state interventions) informing state prioritisation of heritage in South Africa?
- How are these state interventions mobilised and deployed, at expedient political moments, for the purpose of prioritising a certain state-sanctioned heritage, or "official heritage"?
- What is the impact of political and policy instruments on the uses of heritage and heritage management?
- What new meaning does state prioritisation of liberation heritage bring to the discourse on heritage management in post-colonial South Africa?
- What lessons can be learned from state prioritisation of heritage, in order to improve the policies and practices of heritage management?

The success of this research project relies on responding to the aforementioned fundamental questions. Most importantly, the study seeks to address the research objectives set out below.

Objectives and Rationale

This research project seeks to achieve the following set of objectives:

- To provide an analysis and informed understanding of the complexity of the state politics, policies and strategies that influence state-prioritised heritage in South Africa;

- To use state-prioritised heritage, such as the National Liberation Heritage Route project, as a case study that demonstrates the influence and complexity of the state politics, policies and strategies that affect heritage management in South Africa;
- To document the information gained and lessons learned, in order to produce a body of knowledge that will contribute towards the development and improvement of public policy and decision-making around heritage management in South Africa;
- To produce a body of work that will also contribute to the knowledge economy, scholarship and archival information on trends in heritage management in South Africa, especially given the deficiency of archival sources and institutional memory in heritage institutions.

It is the ultimate purpose of this study to contribute to the knowledge economy, with the aim of promoting better-informed and defined state policies and strategies in the heritage sector and its scholarship. Such a contribution is particularly important for addressing the glaring fragmentation between scholarship and state policy programmes in heritage management. Often there is a lack of alignment and synergy between programmes of the state and the related scholarship. Scholarly research could form the basis for the development of state policies, strategies and programmes, while lessons drawn from state programmes could be useful for advancing scholarship.

Methodology and Research Process

Heritage studies, as an interdisciplinary area that permeates traditional disciplines like archaeology, history, anthropology, palaeontology, psychology, politics, law, religion, environmental studies, literary studies, and cultural studies, has firmly established itself in academia in the past three decades, as part of the post-colonial project of the rationalisation of the past in the present. In South Africa, heritage as both an academic discipline and a fieldwork-based practice has in recent years attracted increased public interest, as part of the emerging social discourse on culture, identity, and history. In this context, critical theory embraces a multi-disciplinary approach to research that concerns

itself with tackling contemporary and social issues.[31] Critical theory, drawn especially from Foucault's theory of "governmentality and governance", allows for interpretations of the contemporary issues inherent in the discourse around heritage management.

This study uses an interdisciplinary research approach and methodology, which is consistent with the prescripts of the research process outlined by the Centre for African Studies at the University of Cape Town. The methodology and research process is based on library and archival sources, desktop research, as well as ethnographic and participatory research. Interviews were conducted, observations and analyses drawn, and field notes produced via numerous meetings with informants, who shared in-depth knowledge on the subject matter of this study. Since the study is concerned with the state-centric approach to the governance of heritage, it relies on the detailed information provided by technocrats or bureaucrats (mainly state officials) and political office bearers (mainly members of parliament and politicians in public office) who exercise power and play an active role in decision-making for issues of policy and heritage management.

Individuals with expertise and relevant knowledge were identified. Interviews were largely conducted with officials and experts from the following institutions: the South African Heritage Resources Agency, the National Heritage Council, the Department of Arts and Culture, the Department of Environmental Affairs, the National Department of Tourism, the Department of Military Veterans, the Africa World Heritage Fund, South African National Parks, the Robben Island Museum, the Nelson Mandela Museum, the National Heritage Monument, the Mapungubwe World Heritage Site, the Hector Pieterson Museum, the Apartheid Museum, the Chief Albert Luthuli Museum, the Iziko Museum, the McGregor Museum, the Ditsong Museums, Parliamentary Portfolio Committees (Arts and Culture, Tourism, and Environmental Affairs), the University of Cape Town, the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Fort Hare, the University of Pretoria, the University of the Western Cape, and Stanford University (in the USA). The aim of this part of the research was to acquire a nuanced understanding of the views of the interviewees regarding the extent of state intervention in heritage management in South Africa. Most

[31] Kellner, "Critical Theory, Marxism and Modernity", Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989, 10.

of the interviewees were selected because they were key role players or individuals who were in a position to afford insight and understanding into the subject matter of this study.

An integral part of the research process involves my professional experience as a state official working in the domain of public policy for heritage management and tourism development in South Africa. As I have discussed in the first part of this chapter, my work entails extensive involvement, on a daily basis, with heritage management. Heritage management includes stakeholder engagements (meetings, site visits, workshops and conferences), policy formulation, strategy development, drafting official documents (memoranda and reports), among other duties, and some of these duties provided crucial archival material for the purposes of this dissertation. In essence, my position in national government afforded me ease of access to archival sources, such as government memoranda and policy and strategy documents in heritage management, which constitute a rich portfolio of reference material for this study.

This study also integrates eclectic records of minutes and reports of meetings. The details of the archival sources used will be discussed in the following section. The archival material has provided insights into the intricacies of the notion of “pastness”, and the processes of state-centric heritage creation in the post-colonial setting, including the mobilisation and deployment of legal instruments and political authority.

Archival Sources

The research process undertaken for this dissertation largely draws on primary data in the form of official government records related to the National Liberation Heritage Route, such as documents from the National Heritage Council and the Department of Arts and Culture, memoranda, and extensive minutes of critical inter-department and steering committee meetings. Other substantial parts of my archive were records of the parliamentary proceedings of the Portfolio Committee on Arts and Culture, policy documents and legal instruments, state of the nation (SONA) addresses, state of the province (SOPA) addresses, a draft Cabinet memorandum for the ratification of the National Liberation Heritage Route project, annual performance plans, including strategy plans of several state departments with an interest in the liberation heritage project, and

reports of UNESCO proceedings, including the minutes and reports of the South African World Heritage Convention Committee (SAWHCC). All these sources have been duly utilised as a portfolio of evidence and reference for this dissertation. The privilege of being an official of the state enables easy and immediate access to these official documents, which are largely deemed unclassified for the purposes of public consumption.

Documents such as the SONA, SOPA and draft Cabinet memorandum have been cited extensively as primary evidence of the influence of political instrumentality in the endorsement and prioritisation of the liberation heritage project. These official transcripts, which are an integral part of political rhetoric, seek to legitimise the liberation heritage project as a state-sanctioned, high-profile initiative in the agenda of the current political regime. The SONA and SOPA not only underpin the usual political rhetoric, but also serve as statements of intent, committing the government to fulfilling certain priorities in the nation state within a pre-determined electoral term of office. Similarly, the draft Cabinet memorandum serves as empirical evidence of the intention by the political authority to obtain parliamentary endorsement for the formalisation of the liberation heritage project through a constitutional process. Unpacking the SONA, SOPA and draft Cabinet memorandum provides insight into both the rationality and the irrationality of the political and policy measures deployed to support the National Liberation Heritage Route project. The official sanctioning of the route clearly illustrates the intertwined nature of heritage and politics, and the far-reaching implications of the uses of heritage in the service of state politics and policies.

Departing from the use of the political documents listed above, the research process also draws from extensive policy documents, including legal transcripts of norms and standards in heritage management and policy position papers. In particular, this dissertation offers an extensive critique of the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996), the National Heritage Resources Act (1999), and the National Heritage Council Act (1999), as well as of colonial and apartheid-era policies, which confirm the implications of using legal instruments to manage heritage. These insights into policy provide a lens for interrogating regimes that tend to legitimise the nature and extent of state power in heritage management. For instance, within post-colonial discourse, the legitimisation of

liberation heritage as the "official heritage" of the nation state emphasises the extent to which state resources are deployed to support state-prioritised heritage at expedient moments.

Other official documents, such as the annual performance plans of state institutions (DAC, NDT, SAHRA and NHC), illustrate the government's priorities within a predetermined administrative period: namely the Medium-Term Strategic Framework, which is usually a five-year term, aligned with the electoral mandate of political office bearers. The liberation heritage project constitutes an important aspect of the signed performance agreement between President Jacob Zuma and Deputy Minister of Tourism, Ms Thokozile Xasa, for instance.[32] These strategy documents and annual performance plans outline specific performance targets for measuring the implementation of state-prioritised projects, including the liberation heritage project.

At the regional and international level, AU, SADC and UNESCO documentation and protocols in relation to heritage management, especially on the African continent, place emphasis on global instruments that set norms and standards for the governance of heritage resources at the nation-state level. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 3, state parties or countries, including South Africa, seem to be overly reliant on global instruments such as the UNESCO 1972 Convention on World Heritage Property. Often state parties to UNESCO need to conform to a set of conventional standards and prescripts that validate heritage of "outstanding universal value". It is the intention of South Africa as a state party to UNESCO to have the National Liberation Heritage Route project proclaimed a world heritage site under these terms. In the context of South Africa's attempt to attain world heritage status for the route, archival sources such as the tentative list of the National Liberation Heritage Route project (2009), the African Union documentation, and the Cabinet memorandum of the project are vital sources of empirical evidence.

[32] Memorandum dated, 24 July 2014, entitled "Improving the Effectiveness and Functionality of Government: Description of Areas of Responsibility Delegated to the Deputy Minister of Tourism", which outlines key areas of performance, including: "Working closely with the Department of Arts and Culture on heritage, liberation and cultural trails as it impacts on tourism outcomes." National Department of Tourism.

Primary sources like policy and strategy documents clearly demonstrate the legislative environment regulating heritage management, which has enabled the construction and privileging of “official heritage” by the state, as I will demonstrate in Chapters 2 and 3.

Ethnographic Research and Participation

The privilege of being an official of the state in this context is not so much about the authority to enforce state law and impose regulations on heritage management, but rather about having the benefit of extensive interaction with stakeholders (officials and experts in heritage management) in various spheres of government (national, provincial and local government). By virtue of serving on various government committees, such as the inter-governmental technical and steering committees of the National Liberation Heritage Route project, I have had the opportunity to interact with government officials, traditional leadership, and members of the public and of the private sector, whose inputs have greatly enriched this study. Due to my close involvement in the development and implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project, I have had the opportunity to organise and co-facilitate crucial fora, such as the National and Provincial Liberation Heritage Route Summits, which took place across all the nine provinces between 2008 and 2014. In November 2014, I facilitated a stakeholder workshop on the National Liberation Heritage Route project, hosted by the National Department of Tourism. The primary objective of this workshop was the promotion and conservation of the liberation heritage project. Invariably, the debate and discussion arising from the workshop were informed by the crucial sub-text of state power and state prioritisation of the liberation heritage project in South Africa. The workshop was the first time the Department had convened such an event.

Beyond these workshops and official meetings, I have had follow-up interactions and interviews with colleagues and key personalities, who are instrumental in heritage management in South Africa, including the National Liberation Heritage Route project. These include discussions with officials from the National Heritage Council (NHC), the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), the Robben Island Museum (RIM), the Africa World Heritage Fund (AWHF), Freedom Park, the Department of Arts and Culture, the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA), the National Department of

Tourism (NDT), the Department of Military Veterans (DMV), the South African Military Veterans' Association (SAMVA), the Nelson Mandela Museum, the Ditsong Museum, and the District Six Museum.

The rationale for primarily selecting participants and interviewees who are state officials and political office bearers (members of parliament) is consistent with the central theme of the study: to investigate state-centric approaches or state interventions in heritage management, especially the governance of "official heritage" such as the National Liberation Heritage Route project. Some interviewees requested to remain anonymous due to the sensitivity of their direct involvement with the National Liberation Heritage Route project. I also had discussions with a select few interviewees who are ordinary members of the public (with vested interests in liberation heritage) in order to draw on a diversity of opinions about the project. A particular focus was on public perceptions of state intervention in the National Liberation Heritage Route project.

The interview discussions covered issues such as the relevance of state intervention in heritage management, including conserving and promoting the liberation heritage project. Other topics included how the government should conserve and promote the liberation heritage project, and meaning the interviewees ascribed to the project. Some informants and interviewees supported the state's intervention in safeguarding the liberation heritage project, while others vehemently expressed their disappointment at the tendency of the project to exclude certain narratives. The arguments outlined in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 present a detailed discussion on the pertinent issue of selective amnesia and the politics of inclusion and exclusion within the framework of liberation heritage.

The interview guide and questions were semi-structured, with a focus on open-ended questions. Valenzuela has argued that "a general interview guide [should be] prepared which is intended to ensure that the same general areas of information are collected from each interviewee, provid[ing] more focus than the conversational approach, but still

allow[ing] a degree of freedom and adaptability in getting the information from the interviewee".[33]

Research Ethics

The research process of this study complied with the applicable ethical codes and standards prescribed by the rules and protocols of the University of Cape Town. Respect for classified and confidential information, in terms of the Promotion of Access to Information Act 2 of 2000, was duly accorded, especially since this study made use of official documents. Prior informed consent was secured for the use of official texts, including classified and confidential information.

Summary of Chapters

Chapter One: Introduction

This introductory chapter has provided an overview of the research project, including the background, research problematic (research questions and sub-questions), objectives, research process, and methodology.

Chapter Two: A Global Perspective on Heritage Management

This chapter is part of the literature review and provides a global perspective on heritage management and developments. In particular, this chapter maps and reflects on the global impact of the formalisation of heritage management. The discussion will cover key highlights of the global history and evolution of heritage management. Since the overarching objective of the study is to trace state prioritisation of heritage, much of the discussion will focus on a retrospective view of issues of governance and governmentality pertaining to political and policy regimes in heritage management.

[33] Valenzuela, "Interview as a Method for Qualitative Research", 2013, 4.

Chapter Three: Heritage Management in Colonial and Apartheid South Africa

This chapter unpacks the discourse on heritage governance and the history of heritage management in South Africa. The chapter seeks to review the evolution of heritage management in relation to the legislative imperatives and historical formulations of heritage through specific epochs and within the contexts of colonial and apartheid South Africa. As a departure point, the discussion will firstly reflect on the theory and problematics of heritage and heritage management.

Chapter Four: Heritage Management in Post-Colonial South Africa

Chapter 4 continues from the previous chapter, tracing the developments in heritage management in post-colonial South Africa. In this chapter, the focus is on the formalisation of heritage management through policy and legal instruments, as well as the transformation imperatives of post-colonial and democratic South Africa.

Chapter Five: Case Study: The National Liberation Heritage Route Project

In Chapter 5, I give a detailed account of the case study, the National Liberation Heritage Route project. In particular, the focus is on the conception, planning and implementation phases of the project. The discussion demonstrates how politics, policies and strategies have informed both heritage management and the state prioritisation of liberation heritage in South Africa.

Chapter Six: Discussion and Reflections on Post-Colonial Discourse and State Prioritisation of Liberation Heritage in South Africa

This chapter provides a critical discussion and set of reflections on the post-colonial discourse of heritage management and state prioritisation of liberation heritage in South Africa. In this chapter, I will illustrate and interrogate the political instrumentality informing the governance of heritage in relation to state prioritisation of liberation heritage. In particular, the discussion will focus on the extent to which politics and policies have influenced state prioritisation of the liberation heritage project in South Africa. The arguments presented in this chapter relate to the rationale and discursive formation of the

liberation heritage project as an enterprise of the state, supported through political instrumentality and the administrative processes that undergird governmentality.

Chapter Seven: Summary and Conclusions

This chapter presents a summary of the dissertation and concluding remarks.

CHAPTER TWO

A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE ON HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

> "Heritage can both stimulate and act as a symbol of political struggle, and ownership of heritage objects, places and practices might be considered to give their possessors political power."[34]

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a global perspective on heritage management. In particular, this chapter will trace and reflect on the global impact of the formalisation of heritage management. The discussion will cover key highlights of the global history and evolution of heritage management. Since the overarching theme of the study is to trace state prioritisation of heritage, much of the discussion will focus on a retrospective view of governance in heritage management. Within the context of this dissertation, the formalisation of heritage management through policy and legal instruments highlights the extent of "authorised heritage discourse". As a departure point, it is crucial to firstly reflect on the theory and problematics of heritage management.

Theorising Heritage Management

Over the past few decades, the field of heritage has evolved into an area of study (academic discipline) and practice (fieldwork) linked to more established disciplines, such as archaeology, history, anthropology, palaeontology, museology, geology, architecture, the built environment, and many others. Thus, heritage management is premised largely on an interdisciplinary approach comprising these varied disciplines, and is consequently not immune to the various scientific biases inherent to these established disciplinary codes, including their standards, taxonomy, and lexicon.[35] Established disciplinary codes tend to provide lenses through which information on heritage (definition, interpretation, presentation, taxonomy, value, and significance) is documented, assembled, analysed, and synthesised. The practice of heritage may be defined as the management and

[34] Rodney H, "Understanding the Politics of Heritage",2010, 154, Manchester University Press, Manchester, United Kingdom
[35] Hall M, "Archaeology Africa", 1996, 16, Cape Town, David Philip.

conservation protocols, and the techniques and procedures, that heritage managers, archaeologists, architects, museum curators and other experts employ.[36]

Over the past two decades, the governance of heritage resources[37] has been integrated into contemporary and popular fields, such as information and communications technology (ICT), tourism, urban planning, spatial planning and design, and infrastructure development. The Chartered Institute of Patent Attorneys (CIPA) has been pioneering the digitisation of heritage resources. Under the auspices of the European Union, CIPA aims to create inter-operable digital inventories and repositories, including interactive virtual platforms and databases, to promote and conserve heritage resources. In 2011, the South African Department of Arts and Culture commissioned a study for the development of policy and legal instruments aimed at digitising heritage resources, thus recognising the value of ICT in the conservation of heritage.[38] Also, in 2006, the South African Heritage Resources Agency introduced the South African Heritage Resources Information System (SAHRIS) project, which received initial grant funding of R28 million in the financial year 2006/2007 from the DAC, to set up a digital national inventory to document state-owned heritage resources (sites and objects).[39]

Similarly, in 2012, the National Department of Tourism published the National Strategy on Heritage and Cultural Tourism,[40] which serves as a framework for the integration of

[36] Smith L, "Uses of Heritage", 2006, 29, New York, Routledge. Also Lowenthal D, in " The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History", 1989, Cambridge University Press.
[37] "Heritage resources" generally refers to heritage as defined by the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 and it is popularly used within government departments and organisations involved in heritage management in South Africa. www.sahra.org.za and www.dac.gov.za.
[38] The Draft National Policy on Digitisation of Heritage Resources 2011. www.dac.gov.za. As an employee of the National Heritage Council, I was involved in peer reviewing the draft policy and made extensive commentary on behalf of the National Heritage Council, August 2010. Also www.ndt.gov.za at the registry of the National Department of Tourism, Pretoria, 2010.
[39] In 2006, the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) established the South African Heritage Resources Information System (SAHRIS), which serves as a digital inventory for documentation and archival of heritage resources in state-owned institutions. As an employee of the SAHRA, I was part of the team involved in the project set-up of the SAHRIS. In the same year of 2006, the project management team of SAHRIS (myself included), attended a European Union international conference on the digitisation of cultural heritage in Cyprus. This is where one gathered in-depth insights on global trends in the advancement of technology as a tool for the conservation of heritage resources. www.cipa.eu.
[40] In 2011, I was appointed in the designation of Heritage Specialist by the National Department of Tourism to develop the National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy (2012), which served as a national framework to guide the integration of issues of heritage into the ambit of tourism development. After an extensive process of research and stakeholder consultations, including consolidation of

heritage into tourism development. One of the objectives of the strategy has been to "unlock the tourism and economic value of heritage, as well as using tourism as an instrument/vehicle to raise awareness of the conservation needs of heritage".[41] As part of implementing the strategy, the National Department of Tourism has actively promoted the eight UNESCO-proclaimed world heritage sites in South Africa.

In line with these new developments and practices, critiques contend that "heritage scholarship divorced from any archaeological, ethnographic, or other particular disciplinary grounding is likely to remain intellectually thin, and it is debatable whether there currently exists a cohesive discipline of heritage studies in practice (though something approaching it may be emerging) … [W]ithout the methodological and intellectual commitments that disciplinary training affords, studies of heritage tend towards the descriptive and momentary, relying more on modes of representation rather than the results of long-standing fieldwork or analysis".[42] At the core of heritage management (practice) is a multifaceted approach encompassing identification, classification, preservation, conservation, interpretation, research, promotion, and education, mainly in relation to the physical fabric of heritage.[43] The multifaceted approach to heritage management has been a relatively orthodox practice, consistent with Western and European standards, which are commonly adopted by nation-state policy and multinational legal instruments.

Linked to the formalisation and institutionalisation of heritage by the state, heritage management discourse has been critiqued for "its tendency towards managerialism and … its narrow, rigid and technicist definitions of heritage".[44] However, scholars have also argued that heritage management should be taken to mean more than just the preservation of physical remains and its implications for development issues. It is also a multifaceted concept that takes into account the landscape in which both tangible and

comments and inputs, I had the opportunity and privilege to present the Draft National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy (2012) to Cabinet (Parliament and National Assembly) for ratification and ministerial approval by the Minister of Tourism, Hon. Mr Marthinus Van Schalkwyk (16 March 2012).

[41] National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy, 2012, 4. www.ndt.gov.za.

[42] Meskell L, "Global Heritage", 2015, 3, Wiley Backwell, UK.

[43] Ndoro W, "Your Monument Our Shrine: The Preservation of Great Zimbabwe" Doctoral Thesis in Archaeology at Uppsala University, 2001, 7-8.

[44] Shepherd N and Robin S, in "New South African Keywords", Ohio University Press, 2008, 122.

intangible cultural property exist, along with the interests of all concerned groups.[45] In addition, it involves upholding the values ascribed to heritage by all interested and affected parties.[46] In essence, the heritage management and conservation process is not simply about the management of the physical fabric. Rather, it engages with the regulation of cultural and social value, and with meaning making.[47]

Expanding further on the processes involved in heritage management, Smith introduced the term "authorised heritage discourse", as part of a critical analysis of the various regimes involved in heritage governance. She argues that heritage involves a cultural process of meaning making, mediation, selective amnesia (the politics of forgetting and remembering), expert influence and codification, and a naturalising effect. She elaborates further:

> [H]eritage places … create, legitimize and disseminate their own particular cultural and social meanings, and are thus themselves part of, and not separate from, the 'heritage process' of meaning making. As heritage sites are managed, the performance of what is chosen to be remembered and forgotten about the past is enacted, and its conservation and presentation to the public will affect "sense of place" and other experiences. However, this process is obscured and redefined as external to the process of heritage because of the way value is assumed as immutable and innate—management and conservation become things that are *done to* sites and places, but are not seen as organically part of the meaning-making process of heritage itself.[48]

Following Smith's approach, the governance of heritage through some form of agency is deeply entangled with what Meskell has described as the process of "mastering the past"[49] through mediation. Meskell articulates the notion of mastering the past in the

[45] Ndoro W, "Your Monument Our Shrine: The Preservation of Great Zimbabwe", Doctoral Thesis in Archaeology at Uppsala University, 2001, 2. Also Hodder I, in "Theory and Practice in Archaeology", 1992, London, Routledge.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Smith L, "Uses of Heritage", 2006, 88, New York, Routledge.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Meskell L, "The Nature of Heritage: The New South Africa", 2012, Oxford, Wiley Blackwell.

present by citing select case studies, such as the framing of archaeology at Thulamela and the Kruger National Park in South Africa, a process involving the mediation and regulation of conservation through the systematic deployment of expertise and state authority in heritage management. Meskell's argument illustrates the extent to which professional archaeologists and state authorities influence the governance of heritage resources at expedient political moments, especially in relation to archaeological expeditions in colonial and apartheid South Africa.[50] It appears that the agency exercised by the state or experts entrenches the dynamics of authority and control that are inherent in the governance of heritage resources.

Heritage management also draws heavily on the intensely contested and fluid definition of heritage itself. In general terms, heritage encompasses that which is constructed in the present from the remnants of the past.[51] The slippery, mercurial nature of heritage allows it to be endlessly reinterpreted for personal and political ends, especially since there is no unmediated past. Therefore, the constitution of heritage often suffers from an over-burden of meaning that resists containment in any particular location.[52] As a result, the definition of "heritage" is itself a site of contestation. The discursive construction of heritage is of paramount importance and forms part of the cultural and social processes that define heritage.

It is indisputable that heritage management is embedded in processes of mediation and regulation, including the institutionalisation of heritage and the deployment of state intervention. Michel Foucault (1979) has used the term "governmentality" to describe changes in the technologies of, and attitudes towards, governing that developed in Europe in the 18th century. The changes in government involved a greater emphasis on the state's ability to manage its resources (including its population) economically and efficiently, and a concomitant increase in state intervention in the lives of its citizens.[53] To govern a state "will mean therefore, to apply economy, to set up an economy at the level

[50] Ibid.
[51] Ashworth et al.,"Dissonance Heritage and the Uses of Heritage", 1996.
[52] Meskell L, "Global Heritage: A Reader", 2015, 2.
[53] Foucault M, On Governmentality, in "Ideology and Consciousness", 1979. 5-26. Also in "Understanding Foucault", by Geoff Danaher, Tony Schirato and Jen Webb, Sage Publications Ltd, London, 2000, 12 (xii), Also in Foucault M, "The Archaeology of Knowledge", 1987, Routledge, New York.

of the entire state, which means exercising towards its inhabitants, and the wealth and behaviour of each and all, a form of surveillance and control as attentive as that of the head of a family over his household and his goods."[54] This approach has far-reaching implications for the governance of state resources, including heritage, and the extent to which citizens become objects of social policy.

Webb et al. have elaborated on Foucault's argument, positing that there are two major consequences related to the idea of "governmentality" and its application. The first is that citizens are regulated both by the state and by its institutions and discourses, and educated to monitor and regulate their own behaviour.[55] The second, which derives from what Foucault calls the "liberal attitude", is the emergence of an understanding, on the part of citizens, of the need to negotiate the forces of "subject regulation" through a process of "self-governing".[56] However, whether the state governs the citizens or the citizens govern themselves, the state determines the conditions for regulatory forms of governance.

A critical reading of Foucault's "governmentality" thesis provides a useful lens to illustrate how state prioritisation of heritage relates to state intervention in the management of heritage resources, where the terms and conditions of the governance and regulation of heritage resources are determined and defined by the state. State intervention functions as a mode of state governmentality, i.e. via the deployment of state-centric approaches and apparatuses in the process of heritage management. In essence, the state regulates heritage resources by mobilising its knowledge of heritage management politically and through policy, including administrative processes. In effect, "the legal system concerning cultural heritage advances inside a perimeter marked by the state system: from the centralised concept, which places all initiatives and all new orientation under the close

[54] Foucault M, in "The Essential Foucault: Selection from the Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984" by Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, The New Press, 1994, 234. Also Foucault M, Governmentality, In "The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality", Burchell G, Gordon C, and Miller P (eds), Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991, 88-102.
[55] Foucault M, " Understanding Foucault", Geoff Danaher, Tony Schirato and Jen Webb, Sage Publications Ltd, London, 2000, 14 (xii). Also in Foucault M, "The Archaeology of Knowledge", 1987, Routledge, New York.
[56] Ibid.

supervision of Governmental authorities".[57] Put differently, governmentality, subjected to institutionalisation and legislative control, transforms heritage spaces into ideological tools that serve a hegemonic official heritage.

Critics have observed that "the administration of heritage in most English-speaking African countries is of two sorts: it is controlled by government departments and by semi-autonomous institutions with parastatal status such as museums".[58] Thus, state prioritisation of heritage reinforces the embedded notions of governmentality, institutionalisation, and monumentalisation, as well as authoritarian (ownership) claims by the state on heritage management. Furthermore, critics suggest that forms of governmentality are proliferating, as reflected in the increasing desire to map and inventory cultural properties, conferring legibility through new means of documentation, archiving, and access.[59] The question of governmentality can be understood as a way of explaining the establishment and exercising of political power, one in which the concept of government is broader than simple management by the state: it also involves the regulation of populations through multiple institutions and technologies.[60]

Political rationality and rhetoric often find meaning in public discourse, where the hegemonic tendency of the state is explicitly and implicitly articulated. The politics of hegemony are reflected in the state prioritisation and institutionalisation of heritage, the state-centric authorisation of heritage resources, and the constitution of "official heritage". The prioritisation of "official heritage" confirms Gramsci's view of hegemony as "the way in which state and state institutions work to win popular consent for their authority through a variety of processes which disguise their position of dominance".[61] In elaborating on Gramsci's notion of dominance, Crawford explains that the state rules through a process of coercion (e.g., force, or the threat of it), where the dominant ideological ideas are

[57] Negri V, "An Overview of Formal Legislation on Immovable Cultural Heritage in Africa", 2005, 5-6.
[58] Ibid, 7.
[59] Meskell L, "Global Heritage: A Reader", 2015, 7.
[60] Mitchell, " Neoliberal Governmentality in the European Union: Education, Training and Technologies of Citizenship", 2005, 1.
[61] Gramsci A, "Selections from the Prison Notebooks", International Publishers, New York. 1985.

promoted as “common sense”, neutral and natural.[62] Crawford further argues that the state rules through consent, but it is false consent, which the mass media promotes in contemporary society by resolving societal tensions and constructing a sense of shared identity and common interest.[63]

Similarly, in a publication entitled the “Dominant Ideology Thesis”, Abercrombie et al. (1980) suggest that heritage interpretation is endowed with messages that are deliberately conceived by an existing or aspirant power elite to legitimise the prevailing dominant regime.[64] A careful consideration of the constitution of heritage, especially “official heritage”, supports the dominant ideology thesis: as Abercrombie et al. explain, “heritage is used as a political resource in the creation or support of states at various spatial jurisdictional scales and the legitimation of their governments and governing ideologies.”[65] Often modes of domination are themselves highly rationalised, highly technicised, and highly sanitised.[66] Such technological domination is often deeply entrenched, and subsumed in the term “civil society”, which tends to be naturalised as a way of life. It is unavoidable that in the scheme of power relations and in the exercise of authority by the state, certain heritages will be privileged to the exclusion of others.

Another important point to consider here, especially in post-colonial approaches to heritage management, is the relationship between heritage and history. Heritage management is often based on the false assumption that heritage is a true reflection of history, or that history is a true expression of heritage in the present. More poignantly, when we manage heritage, are we dealing with history and the past as heritage? Or are we concerned with the management of both history and heritage? Or are we simply referring to the management of heritage?[67]

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[62] Crawford G, in “Culture and Difference: Critical Perspectives on the Bicultural Experience in the United States”, Critical Studies in Education and Cultural Series, Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc, The United States of America, 1995, 35-36.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Abercrombie et al., “Dominant Ideology Thesis”, 1980, London, George Allen and Unwin.
[65] Ashworth et al., “Dissonant heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict”, 1996, 34. London, Wiley.
[66] Comaroff et al., “Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism”, 2006/2001, 325.
[67] Smith L, “ Ideas of Heritage and Discourse of Heritage”,

Lowenthal has argued that both history and heritage tend to refer to the past, and thus that both rely on the historical past to claim their legitimacy in the present. He contends that even though both history and heritage use the past as a reference they are each distinct—and grounded within different epistemologies. Lowenthal explains that history and heritage are two poles apart. In his words, "history and heritage transmit different things to different audiences … history tells all who will listen what has happened and how things came to be as they are … [whereas] heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose … history is for all, heritage for (us) alone".[68] Lowenthal further distinguishes between history as premised on factual validity and heritage as premised on emotions, aspirations, inspiration, popular convictions (metaphysical). Heritage is also synonymous with the heritage celebrations that have become fashionable in many nation states. South Africa has officially proclaimed 24 September National Heritage Day, a public holiday dedicated to heritage celebrations, and based on the popular narrative and sentiments of shaping a national identity for the "rainbow nation".

While Lowenthal draws a distinction between history and heritage, Meskell contends that heritage is a supplement and an extension of history, in that it elaborates on what is missing from the past.[69] Meskell explains that "[i]t is commonly said that heritage is history with a point or history that matters … however, history as a discipline is the account that gets authorised after conflict rather than that which is bound up in the midst of things."[70] I want to argue here that what appears to be missing is an argument or critique that illustrates, in-depth, how history and heritage complement each other, i.e. how history validates heritage and, inversely, how heritage amplifies history. In recent years in South Africa, heritage has become the "popular version" of history, in the public domain and in scholarship, and has stimulated increased interest in historical studies. At the turn of the 21st century, universities reported dwindling history student enrolment, and suddenly, with the introduction of heritage studies, there seems to be renewed interest in studying

[68] Lowenthal D, "The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History", 1998, 128-129
[69] Meskell L, "The Nature of Heritage: The New South Africa", 2012, 2, Oxford, Wiley Blackwell.
[70] Ibid., 1.

the past and history.[71] Also, the popularity of heritage studies is partly due to the use of contemporary and technologically advanced platforms for the interpretation and presentation of the past: for example, in globally distinct projects like the Cradle of Humankind world heritage site, and many other contemporary interpretation centres. Overall, then, heritage has made the study of history and the past more interesting and exciting, at least in the popular imagination.

Globalisation of Heritage Management: Key Moments

The globalising effect of heritage management draws heavily on the European notion of protecting, monumentalising and memorialising the nostalgic past, which notion emerged after the rapid development of industry in Britain in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The Industrial Revolution was a period during which predominantly agrarian, rural societies in Europe and America became industrial and urban. During the late 18th century, Britain experienced changes in various aspects of life, including:

> scientific advances and technological innovations in agricultural and industrial production, introduction of machinery, use of steam power, growth of factories and the mass production of manufactured goods … economic expansion and changes in living conditions, while at the same time there was a new sense of national identity and civic pride … the most dramatic changes were witnessed in rural areas, where the provincial landscape often became urban and industrialised.[72]

Undoubtedly, the Industrial Revolution brought about a drastic transformation of the ancient physical fabric of this traditional, historic landscape, leading to massive urbanisation. As a result, people were alienated from their historic past and heritage. The Industrial Revolution saw the emergence of the working middle class, whose nostalgia

[71] Witz et al, 2000, Beyond Van Riebeeck, in *Senses of Culture: South African Culture Studies*, Oxford University Press Southern Africa, Cape Town.

[72] www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/the_industrial_revolution [Accessed on 12/05/2015]

for the past increased, hence the rise in memorialisation and monumentalisation.[73] On 18 August 1882, Britain published its first heritage legislation, the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882, which served as a legal instrument to formalise the conservation of heritage. The Act made specific reference to "the better protection of Ancient Monuments",[74] including the list of ancient monuments identified in the table below:

The SCHEDULE.

A.D. 18

LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS TO WHICH ACT APPLIES.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

	County.	Parish.
The tumulus and dolmen, Plas Newydd, Anglesea.	*Anglesea*	*Llandedwen.*
The tumulus known as Wayland Smith's Forge.	*Berkshire*	*Ashbury.*
Uffington Castle	,,	*Uffington.*
The stone circle known as Long Meg and her Daughters, near Penrith.	*Cumberland*	*Addingham.*
The stone circle on Castle Rigg, near Keswick.	,,	*Crosthwaite.*
The stone circles on Burn Moor	,,	*St. Bees.*
The stone circle known as The Nine Ladies, Stanton Moor.	*Derbyshire*	*Bakewell.*
The tumulus known as Arborlow	,,	,,
Hob Hurst's House and Hut, Bastow Moor.	,,	,,
Minning Low	,,	*Brassington.*
Arthur's Quoit, Gower	*Glamorganshire*	*Llanridian.*
The tumulus at Uley	*Gloucestershire*	*Uley.*
Kits Coty House	*Kent*	*Aylesford.*
Danes Camp	*Northamptonshire*	*Hardingstone.*
Castle Dykes	,,	*Farthingston.*
The Rollrich Stones	*Oxfordshire*	*Little Rollright.*
The Pentre Evan Cromlech	*Pembrokeshire*	*Nevern.*
The ancient stones at Stanton Drew	*Somersetshire*	*Stanton Drew.*
The chambered tumulus at Stoney Littleton, Wellow.	,,	*Wellow.*
Cadbury Castle	,,	*South Cadbury.*
Mayborough, near Penrith	*Westmoreland*	*Barton.*
Arthur's Round Table, Penrith	,,	,,
The group of stones known as Stonehenge	*Wiltshire*	*Amesbury.*
Old Sarum	,,	——
The vallum at Abury, the Sarcen stones within the same, those along the Kennet Road, and the group between Abury and Beckhampton.	,,	*Abury.*
The long barrow at West Kennet, near Marlborough.	,,	*West Kennet.*
Silbury Hill	,,	*Abury.*
The Dolmen (Devil's Den), near Marlborough.	,,	*Fyfield.*
Barbury Castle	,,	*Ogbourne, St. Andrews, and Swindon.*

Figure 3. An old register of a sample of British monuments and historical buildings protected under the Ancient Monuments Protection Act (1882) post the Industrial Revolution era. www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online [Accessed on 12/05/2015].

[73] www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/the_industrial_revolution [Accessed on 12/05/2015]

[74] The Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 188, Published on 18 August 1882, Britain.

Clearly, the identified sites symbolise the ancient and pre-industrial world that had to be saved from the rapid development of industry and the attendant urbanisation. The conservation and promotion of the nostalgic past, embedded in these traditional and ancient symbols, became central for the urban working class in Britain, and in Europe more broadly. The formalisation of conservation measures through policy and legal instruments spurred European-inspired heritage governance globally.

In the African continent and elsewhere, the European influences on heritage management are preceded and largely informed by the populist early European expeditions and encounters with the local indigenous communities. Historically, in Africa and southern Africa in particular, the deep-seated European fascination with travel and with the exploration of the "foreign" heritage of the "subjugated African other" can be traced back to the advent of colonisation. The colonial period spans generations of a particularly insidious obsession on the part of European explorers and travelers with discovering "exotic" cultures and simultaneously constructing colonial images of Africa and Africans in European and Western texts.

The distorted images of a "primitive" and "uncivilised" Africa were a dominant feature of the colonial imagination, and found meaning and context in the numerous volumes of fictional travel-writing by early European explorers, especially at the turn of the 19th century. The dominant image of Africa projected by these European writers was that of an untamed place of savagery, chaos and disease. "Africa was known as the 'Dark Continent', a land deprived of the light of Western civilization, education, culture, religion, industry, and progress ... the people of Africa were characterized by Westerners as lacking in morality and intelligence, being perpetually childlike, demonic, and practicing outlandish, barbaric customs."[75]

As a result of the overwhelmingly negative reports and portrayals of Africa and Africans, by late in the century most Westerners regarded the colonial project in African as their

[75] Whitaker, R 'Representations of Africa in Nineteenth-Century Literature – Introduction', 2005.

moral duty. It was the “White man's burden”, to use Rudyard Kipling's phrase, “to dominate Africans until they could be sufficiently civilized to take their place in the world.”[76] By 1900, almost ninety percent of Africa was under European control, and the myth of the “Dark Continent” and the image of the deprived and depraved African native had taken hold of the Western consciousness.

Prolific travel writing, journals and books, such as Olive Schreiner’s *The Story of an African Farm* (1883) and *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland* (1897), H Rider Haggard’s *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), David Livingstone’s *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857), Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* (1899), among others, were acclaimed publications that not only promulgate a distorted image of Africa but also reveal the misguided nature of the cultural processes underlying European encounters with indigenous African cultures in the 19th century. Bauman (1996) has observed that the “the traveler is a conscious and systematic seeker of experience of difference and novelty—as the joys of the familiar wear off and cease to allure … the traveler want to immerse in the strange and bizarre element.”[77] Against this backdrop, heritage practices have been framed and subsequently perpetuated through strong ties with the unprecedented early-19th-century European collection of, and illicit trade in, African cultural heritage, including human remains of perceived “original” and “authentic” native Africans, a point I will return to later.

The imposition of these dominant colonial practices translated into policy and the formalisation of heritage conservation in Africa, including the definition and categorisation of heritage, the tendency to privilege experts and often the white minority elite, and the institutionalisation of heritage in Africa. These forms of governmentality and “authorised heritage discourse” have had far-reaching implications for the governance of heritage.

The influence of Western and European standards permeates multinational and nation-state policies. In contemporary times, the globalisation and legitimisation of European norms and standards in heritage management have been further perpetuated through

[76] Whitaker, R ‘Representations of Africa in Nineteenth-Century Literature – Introduction’, 2005
[77] Bauman in ‘Tourism and Cultural Conflicts’, 1999, 21.

multinational treaties and organisations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), as well as professional bodies like the International Council of Museums (ICOM), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), among others.

The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, popularly known as the "Venice Charter", was adopted by the 2nd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments in 1964 in Venice, setting the benchmark for heritage management until the adoption of international treaties such as the UNESCO Convention for the Protection of World Heritage Sites in 1972. The Venice Charter was unanimously adopted by ICOMOS as its founding document.[78] The Venice Charter, like many other European-inspired legal instruments, including the colonial policies introduced in Africa, placed emphasis on the conservation of the physical fabric of a culture. However, the shortcomings of such legal instruments came to light when the Venice Charter was applied to a variety of different properties, from non-monumental or vernacular structures, to rural and urban settlements, to monuments in European colonies, including in Africa.[79] The Venice Charter influenced a plethora of other international charters, standards and conventions, such as the Australian Burra Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (1981).

Globally, UNESCO also widely published several conventions for the conservation of heritage, including the aforementioned 1972 UNESCO Convention for the Protection of World Heritage Sites, which has since been adopted by member-state countries worldwide.[80] Being a member state or state party to a multi-national organisation such as UNESCO has far-reaching implications for affiliated countries. In effect, UNESCO sets norms and standards for the management of world heritage sites, which are legally binding for state parties and require strict adherence. In particular, the World Heritage

[78]Jokilehto J, "The Context of the Venice Charter (1964), James and James (Science Publishers LTD), 1998
[79] Stovel H, "Monitoring World Cultural Heritage Sites", 1995, ICOMOS Canada Bulletin, Vol. 04, 1995.
[80] A State Party or Member State is a country or state that has ratified the UNESCO Convention and subscribes to UNESCO protocols in terms of heritage management.

Convention sets the criteria for the inscription of sites deemed to be of "outstanding universal value", and the convention tends to take precedence over any other legal instrument at the nation-state level. It is expected that each member state comply fully with the policy measures and instruments prescribed by UNESCO.

Inevitably, the disjuncture between international and national heritage management instruments has been a source of tension in several member-state countries, especially in Africa. Often the international legal instruments of UNESCO and other multinational organisations tend to be dominant, displacing local, nation-state policies. Fowler has observed that "governments, parliaments and communities are involved in the management of heritage, while at [the] global level, UNESCO, through the World Heritage Committee, is one of the great world bureaucracies which selectively inscribes sites as World Heritage."[81] Fowler further contends that "this places heritage management in an organisationally complex network thereby creating a challenge in its own right".[82] Similarly, global heritage "presents a set of politically inflected material practices, whether one is talking about a World Heritage site, for example, or its governance through a set of international legal framings, translated and enacted at national level and having devolved concrete effects for local residents".[83]

The European perception of heritage largely influenced the World Heritage Committee's allocation of properties to the World Heritage List. Monumental European buildings, churches and cathedrals were favoured, to the neglect of the non-monumental and intangible cultural properties characteristic of African culture.[84] The prejudice against intangible heritage was glaring, given the imbalance of the World Heritage List.[85] In 1994, the World Heritage Committee adopted a global strategy intended to make the list more balanced, by identifying categories of properties and regions that had to date been neglected. With that neglect in mind, an expert meeting was called by the World Heritage

[81] Fowler PJ, "The Past in Contemporary Society: Then, Now", 1992, 82, London and New York, Routledge.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Meskell L, "Global Heritage: A Reader", 2015, 2.
[84] Eboreime J, "Challenges of Heritage Management in Africa", 2008, 3. In 'Cultural Heritage and the Law Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa', www.iccrom.org.
[85] Ibid.

Centre in 1994 in Zimbabwe. After the meeting, “the experts stressed how completely interwoven culture and nature were in African societies and noted the importance of the links between the spiritual (intangible) and material heritage (tangible)”.[86]

The Sukur cultural landscape in Nigeria, the first from Africa in this category to be inscribed on the World Heritage List (1999), vividly illustrates the interface between spirit and matter, nature and culture, as well as the intangible dimension of immovable heritage.[87] Slave routes, pilgrimage routes, trade routes, and places of technical production bear unique testimony to the intangible heritage of Africa. This form of heritage includes practices, knowledge and skills that are now endangered by modern technological advancement. In recognition of these threats, the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage was adopted at the 32nd General Conference of UNESCO in 2003. According to the Convention, the following categories are associated with intangible heritage: oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and traditional craftsmanship.[88] Today, the 2003 UNESCO Convention is recognised and has been ratified by over 50 member states.

There is often a disjuncture between the 2003 UNESCO Convention and multi-national policies, including nation-state instruments aimed at the conservation of world heritage sites. In Japan, the Nara Document on Authenticity had to be published to mitigate the perceived tension between European and non-European standards of authenticity and integrity, which seemed to clash with the need for cultural diversity in the conservation of world heritage sites. The Nara Document on Authenticity was promoted by the government of Japan, which appealed to UNESCO to recognise and legitimise the country’s ancient tradition of periodic dismantling, rebuilding and repairing wooden heritage structures.[89] The Nara Document underscores the importance of “respect for

[86] Ibid., 4.
[87] Ibid., 3-4.
[88] The 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. www.unesco.org.
[89] Nara Document of Authenticity, http://whc.unesco.org/events/gt-zimbabwe/nara.htm. 1994

other cultures, other values, and tangible and intangible expressions that form part of the heritage of every culture". It argues:

> there are no fixed criteria to judge [the] value and authenticity of cultural property, rather it must be evaluated within the cultural context to which it belongs … responsibility for the care and management of heritage belongs primarily to the culture that produced it … the document calls for adherence to the principles and responsibilities imposed by international charters.[90]

Subsequently, an expert meeting held in Japan made certain key recommendations, with the overall conclusion being that "the integration of local and global values can inform the authenticity and significance of heritage and, in the case of World Heritage properties, the determination of outstanding universal value".[91]

Even though UNESCO advocates for a universal standard of heritage conservation, it remains problematic to present a generic model for conservation to be adopted by member states, especially given the wide variety of heritage models and cultural practices in each country. On the contrary, the 1972 UNESCO Convention recognises the need for national governments to formulate national policies that are relevant to their own territories, particularly when identifying and listing heritage sites. South Africa, as a state party to UNESCO, had to publish a localised version of the UNESCO Convention, namely the South African World Heritage Convention Act of 1999, in order to establish alignment and harmony between international and national heritage governance instruments. It has proven difficult for African states to fully adhere to UNESCO protocols, especially in view of the perceived tension between heritage conservation and development needs, such as mining and infrastructure development.

Despite the significant milestones achieved at UNESCO level by African member states, the African continent is still grossly under-represented on the list of UNESCO world heritage sites. Out of the 1,031 world heritage sites listed internationally, there are only

[90] Ibid.
[91] Himeji meeting, "heritage and societies, toward the 20th anniversary of the Nara document and beyond identified", Japan, 2013.

89 located in Africa.[92] The conspicuous under-representation of African world heritage sites reflects the influence of European standards on the listing criteria of UNESCO. Munjeri has observed that "the sites listed themselves tend to speak to grand narratives and European notions of aesthetics and national identity, with elitist architecture, including cathedrals, castles and palaces, being over-represented on the List".[93] Lowenthal has suggested that "Europeans rate their own national heritage as so superior it ought to be global",[94] while Smith contends that the "eurocentrism of the listing reflects the dominance of the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse', which frames and underpins the listing criteria … this affects the ability of certain cultures to have their sites perceived as world heritage".[95]

Also, it is worthy to note that many UNESCO-listed sites in Africa are on the endangered list, meaning that they are under threat, and consequently face delisting, due to perceived poor management practices. For this reason, the Africa World Heritage Fund was established on the continent, "to address the challenges faced by many African State Parties in the implementation of the UNESCO 1972 World Heritage Convention, specially: the underrepresentation of African sites on the World Heritage List and the perceived ineffective conservation and management of these sites".[96]

While issues of heritage in Africa often do not feature prominently at the UNESCO level, within the African continent heritage conservation is regularly prioritised and escalated to important fora, such as the Charter for African Cultural Renaissance and the African Union (AU) Agenda 2063. Both these policy documents of the African Union provide broad policy statements on culture and heritage in relation to the development agenda in Africa. The Charter for African Cultural Renaissance replaced the 1976 Cultural Charter for Africa, which was adopted by heads of states and governments affiliated to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The most recent charter makes specific reference to the need to "preserve and promote the African cultural heritage through preservation,

[92] The Africa World Heritage Fund, www.awhf.org
[93] Munjeri D, "Introduction to International Conventions and Charters on Immovable Cultural Heritage" 2001, 16. 'Cultural Heritage and the Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries', www.iccrom.org.
[94] Lowenthal D, "The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History", 1998, 239.
[95] Smith L, "Uses of Heritage", 2006, 22.
[96] The Africa World Heritage Fund, www.awhf.org.

restoration and rehabilitation".[97] The recently adopted AU Agenda 2063 builds on the legacy of the OAU's Pan-African approach to the continent's development. In the areas of culture and heritage, the AU Agenda 2063 outlines statements of intention and commitment in the form of seven "Aspirations for the Africa we want".[98] Aspiration 5 makes specific reference to "[a]n Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics", claiming further that "[c]ulture, heritage and a common identity and destiny will be the centre of all our strategies so as to facilitate a Pan-African approach and the African Renaissance."[99]

Both these strategies and policy documents articulate a post-colonial position on the part of African states regarding the conservation and promotion of culture and heritage, within the complexity of development strategies on the continent. Indeed, the use of culture and heritage to advance political ideals and address development challenges, such as human rights, education, economic emancipation and infrastructure development, has become prominent. It is interesting to note that these African strategies and policy documents are informed by European and Western globalising treaties, such as UNESCO and ICOMOS. For example, the preamble to the Charter for African Cultural Renaissance states that the Charter is guided by the 1972 UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage,[100] among other UNESCO conventions and treaties.

Another important global development has been the adoption of culture and heritage as part of the United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. A total of 17 sustainable development goals (SDGs) were adopted at the 70th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in September 2015, where issues around culture "were placed at the heart of development policies to constitute an essential investment in the world's future and a pre-condition to successful globalisation processes that take into account the principle of cultural diversity".[101] It was the first time that the international development

[97] The Charter for African Cultural Renaissance, African Union, Part1 Article 3(d), adopted by Heads of State and Government of the African Union meeting in the Sixth Ordinary Session in Khartoum, the Republic of The Sudan, from 23rd to 24th January 2006.
[98] Agenda 2063, African Union. http://agenda2063.au.int/.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Agenda 2063, African Union. http://agenda2063.au.int/.
[101] 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, United Nations. A total of 17 Sustainable Development Goals were adopted at the 70th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, in September 2015.

agenda referred to culture alongside other sustainable development goals like education, health and food security. The cultural programmes of UNESCO and other UN agencies will therefore be key to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Conclusion

Theoretically, and in practice, the discourse of heritage management, including the very fluid definition of heritage, is informed by the complexities and conditions inherent in the particular global context. Undoubtedly, the global formalisation and standardisation of heritage management have been strongly influenced by dominant European experiences and practices of heritage conservation. The popularity of the legal instruments provided by European charters and treaties not only gave impetus to the standardisation of norms for heritage management, but also acutely displaced pre-colonial, indigenous and traditional heritage conservation practices in many African states. The standardisation of European practices and experiences has invariably influenced the codification of heritage management, through disciplines such as archaeology, history, anthropology, palaeontology, museology, geology, architecture, and the built environment. Historically, the use of such disciplinary codes has been instrumental in advancing the colonial project, especially in former European colonies in Africa.

Drawing on colonial experiences, the following chapter will discuss the details of heritage management and development during colonial and apartheid South Africa. Globally, heritage management is not immune to the politics inherent in the nation states it serves. As we will see, the case in South Africa is no exception.

CHAPTER THREE

HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN COLONIAL AND APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

> "Heritage work has had a uniquely wide currency in Africa's politics … secure within the pages of books, encoded in legal statutes, encased in glass display cases and enacted in the panoply of court ritual, the artefacts produced by the heritage domain have become a resource for government administration, a library for traditionalists and a marketable source of value for cultural entrepreneurs."[102]

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to unpack the discourse of heritage management in South Africa. The chapter reviews the evolution of legislative imperatives and the historical formalisation of heritage conservation through the colonial and apartheid eras in South Africa. Since the overarching theme of the present study is state prioritisation of heritage, much of the discussion in this chapter involves a retrospective of state intervention in South African heritage management.

At this juncture, it is worth noting that the aim of the chapter is not to conduct an analysis of heritage policies, but rather to trace the uses of policy in protecting and promoting state-prioritised heritage. It is also the purpose here to illustrate the implications of using policy, at expedient political moments, to protect and promote state-prioritised heritage. This chapter frames a discussion of the underlying politics, policies, legal instruments and administrative processes that have shaped trends in the governance of heritage in South Africa.

State Intervention and Prioritised Heritage in Colonial South Africa

The 15th century marked the beginning of colonisation in Africa, with the arrival of Portuguese explorers, followed by the Dutch, the British, the French and the Germans, a process that led to the "scramble for Africa". Legislation is a critical component of the principles and practices of heritage management, and was greatly influenced by the arrival of colonialists in many countries in Africa.[103] To be sure, many African countries, including South Africa, have a history of heritage conservation that goes back to long

[102] Rassool et al., "The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures", Cambridge University Press, March 2015, 10.
[103] Wallerstein M, "After Liberalism", 1995. The New Press, New York.

before the advent of colonisation, as illustrated by the cases of the Kasubi Tombs (Uganda), Timbuktu (Mali), Aksum (Ethiopia), the Great Zimbabwe Ruins (Zimbabwe), Kilwa Kisiwani (Tanzania), Mapungubwe (South Africa), Tsodilo Hills (Botswana), and the Barotse cultural landscape (Zambia). However, during the colonial period, especially at the turn of the 20th century in southern Africa, there was increased interest in formalising the conservation of heritage through policy and legal instruments. Critics have observed that colonisation introduced formal heritage management systems throughout the African continent. According to Mumma, "these management systems are generally based on heritage legislation, enforced through formal legal process and administrative frameworks established by governments in Africa and they are generally premised on a philosophical orientation informed by science, technology and 'experts' with regards to management of immovable heritage".[104]

One of the far-reaching implications of these formal management systems was that heritage resources became state property and fell under the jurisdiction of state authority. Typically, local communities, and in particular indigenous populations, were excluded from power, authority and influence in decision-making and policy formulation in Africa, especially in the colonial period.[105] The formalisation of heritage conservation was a product of the broad colonial project, in other words.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the first piece of legislation to formalise heritage management in the Union of South Africa was the Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911. The Act was deliberately promulgated to formalise the protection of "Bushmen" relics under the authority of the colonial administration. However, archival records also show that, as early as 1905, a group of conservation activists and individuals were actively involved in preserving various aspects of South Africa's heritage. In particular, Marie Koopmans De Wet is considered to be the person who saved the Cape of Good Hope Castle from partial

[104] Mumma A, In "Cultural Heritage and the Law Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa", 2005.
[105] Cook et al., "From Colonial to Community Based Conservation: Environmental Justice and the National Parks of South Africa", 2000, 22-35, In "Society in Transition", DOI: 10.1080/21528586.2000.10419008.

demolition when plans were being made for a railway into Cape Town, and who prevented alterations being made to Groot Constantia.[106]

Figure 4: The Cape of Good Hope Castle is considered to be the first European building in South Africa. Source: www.sahistory.org.za

Figure 5: Groot Constantia, a colonial era homestead to Simon van der Stel (Commander of the Dutch East India Company - VOC) in Cape Town, built by slave labour force. Source: National Monument Council (NMC) archives, SAHRA

There are numerous others whose names do not feature prominently in any archival record, but who also played a pivotal role in protecting South Africa's heritage. The indigenous Khoisan were not only responsible for the production of numerous panels of rock art, but also meticulously maintained this precious heritage. The so-called Bantu people of southern Africa also developed highly sophisticated indigenous knowledge-

[106] Pistorius et al., "Forms of Protection provided by the National Monuments Act", In "Monuments and Sites in South Africa", ICOMOS, 1996, 2.

based systems to ensure the conservation and management of heritage at places such as the Mapungubwe heritage site, the Kaditshweni heritage site, the Thulamela heritage site, the Great Zimbabwean Ruins (Zimbabwe), Kilwa Kisiwani (Tanzania), Tsodilo Hills (Botswana), the Barotse cultural landscape (Zambia), and many other sites with evidence of traditional archaeological techniques.

Colonialism meant exploitation and dispossession, including forced removals and the displacement of native black people from their ancestral land. Heritage increasingly became a white-settler discipline, practised mostly in land alienated from natives, and in museums that were essentially European institutions designed to showcase ancient cultures and pasts in a highly static manner.[107] The indigenous people were only hired for their labour and knowledge of the local history.[108] Although their knowledge was invaluable in building European interpretations, the local informants were rarely acknowledged.[109] African archaeological and ethnographic objects were also appropriated in this manner, such that the production of knowledge of the past was firmly in the hands of the colonial minority.

In pre-colonial Africa, traditional religions and customary practices, and later Islam and Christianity, informed the way heritage was used and managed.[110] Abungu has pointed out that in many African societies and cultures heritage was managed either communally or through a group of elders or kingship. The advent of colonialism drastically altered this local management system.[111] Abungu further asserts that the colonial period in Africa saw the rise of museums, as a way to assume custodianship of African heritage.[112] Pre-colonial practices of heritage conservation and management were scarcely documented and became largely marginalised.

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[107] Ndoro W, "Legal Definitions of Heritage", 2008, 25. In "Cultural Heritage and the Law Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa". www.iccrom.org.
[108] Shepherd N, "When the Hand that Holds the Trowel is Black: Disciplinary Practices of Self-Representation and the Issue of 'Native' Labour in Archaeology", 2003, 334-352. In the "Journal of Social Archaeology", October 2003. Also Shepherd et al., "Undisciplining Archaeological Ethics", 2014, 11-25. In "After Ethics", Vol 3 of the series "Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice", 1 Oct 2014.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Mazrui A, "The Africans: A Triple Heritage", 1986. Boston, Mass: Little Brown and Co.
[111] Abungu G, "Heritage, Community and the State in the 90s: Experience from Africa", A paper presented at The Future of the Past Conference, 1996, 2.
[112] Ibid., 3.

Indeed, European approaches to heritage management in Africa grossly undermined and displaced traditional knowledge and customary practices. From a management point of view, the colonial-era system valued Western science and approaches at the expense of local customs, which were mostly regarded as superstitious and irrelevant to conservation and research.[113] The colonial period saw the redefinition of heritage from an African into a Western perspective, e.g. monumental, aesthetic, and, at times, modern. Many of the values that had provided the rationale for the protection of Africa's heritage in the past, particularly its intangible elements, often became objects of ridicule and were discarded.[114] Mumma has noted that "the relationship between the formal/official legal system and community-based traditional systems [has] been antagonistic because they essentially compete for legitimacy and influence … state-based systems have predominated and have succeeded in completely marginalising the community-based system".[115] Similarly, drawing from the Australian experience under British colonial rule, Smith has observed that there is a dominant Western discourse about heritage that is based on a range of assumptions about the nature and meaning of heritage. Smith refers to "authorised heritage discourse",[116] which brings to the fore the prejudice of the dominant Western and European norms and practices applied in heritage management, especially in the colonies. Galla has also highlighted the far-reaching implications of employing European methods to alter and distort indigenous cultural practices in Australia and the Asia/Pacific region.[117]

The competing claims to the past and to heritage, especially claims by local communities to "official heritage", tend to challenge the formal practices of heritage management

[113] Chirikure S, and Pitwi G, "Community Involvement in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Management: An Assessment from Case Studies in Southern Africa and Elsewhere", 2008. In 'Current Anthropology', Vol 49, No 03, June 2008
[114] Ndoro, In "Cultural Heritage and the Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa", ICCROM Conservation Studies, 2008, Pg06
[115] Mumma A, "Cultural Heritage and the Law Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa", 2005, Pg08
[116] Smith L, "Uses of Heritage", 2004
[117] Galla A, "International Journal of Intangible Cultural Heritage", 2011. International Journal on Intangible Cultural Heritage Vol. 6, 2011

imposed by the state. In this context, Mataga introduces the notion of counter-heritage practices, aligned to a “bottom-up” and “un-official” local community approach to heritage management, which seeks legitimacy and recognition in its own right. He further contends that:

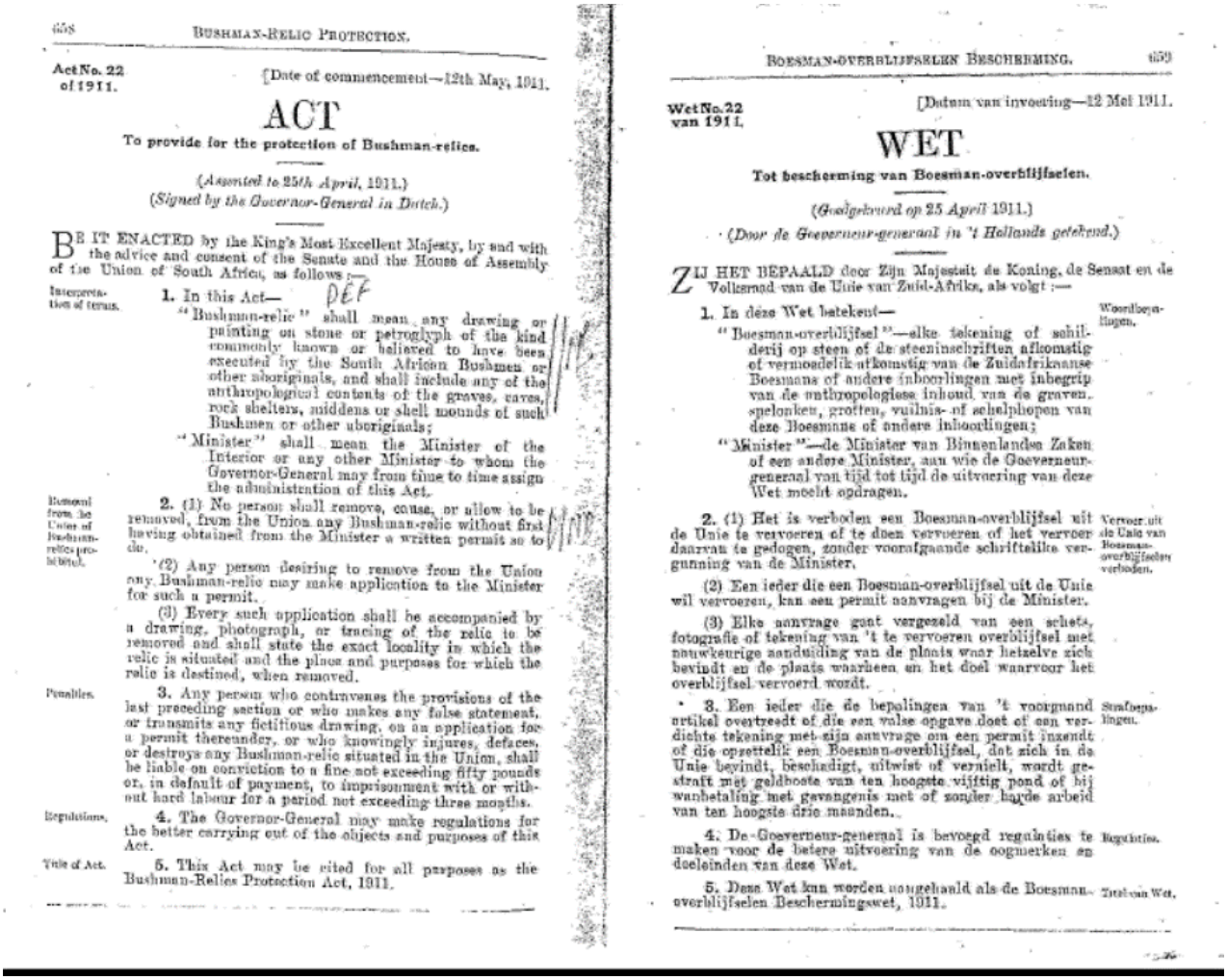
> in reality, counter-heritage practices normally operate in conflict with the official, materialist constructs of heritage … for instance, some of the sites that local communities have requested to be recognized as official heritage, have no materialistic values as required by the legal heritage preservation framework … thus, these counter-heritage practices challenge the focus on materiality and they defy confinement to strict physical or temporal demarcations by invoking orality and by appropriating.[118]

This observation points to the embedded dissonance and conflict between the values that the local community and the state attach to heritage and its conservation. It further reveals the extent of the marginalisation of the local community from meaningful participation and involvement in heritage management.

In 1905, the South African National Society (SANS) was established, during an era of accelerated colonial expansion and scientific enquiry that involved the legitimisation of colonialism in southern Africa, and in South Africa in particular. The SANS was dedicated to the conservation of colonial heritage in South Africa. Its primary objective was “to preserve from destruction all ancient monuments and specimens of old colonial architecture remaining in South Africa, to keep systematic records of such places … where they cannot be saved; to compile a register of old furniture and other objects still in the colony and to take all possible measures to discourage their removal from the

[118] Mataga J, “Practices of Pastness, Postwars of the Dead, and the Power of Heritage: Museums, Monuments and Sites in Colonial and Post-Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890 – 2010,” PHD Thesis, 2014, 220 - 221

country … to collect records, and endeavour to promote a conservative spirit towards the remains and traditions of old colonial life".[119]



658 BUSHMAN-RELIC PROTECTION.

Act No. 22 of 1911. [Date of commencement—12th May, 1911.

ACT

To provide for the protection of Bushman-relics.

(Assented to 25th April, 1911.)
(Signed by the Governor-General in Dutch.)

BE IT ENACTED by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows:—

Interpretation of terms.

1. In this Act—

"Bushman-relic" shall mean any drawing or painting on stone or petroglyph of the kind commonly known or believed to have been executed by the South African Bushmen or other aboriginals, and shall include any of the anthropological contents of the graves, caves, rock shelters, middens or shell mounds of such Bushmen or other aboriginals;

"Minister" shall mean the Minister of the Interior or any other Minister to whom the Governor-General may from time to time assign the administration of this Act.

Removal from the Union of Bushman-relics prohibited.

2. (1) No person shall remove, cause, or allow to be removed, from the Union any Bushman-relic without first having obtained from the Minister a written permit so to do.

(2) Any person desiring to remove from the Union any Bushman-relic may make application to the Minister for such a permit.

(3) Every such application shall be accompanied by a drawing, photograph, or tracing of the relic to be removed and shall state the exact locality in which the relic is situated and the place and purposes for which the relic is destined, when removed.

Penalties.

3. Any person who contravenes the provisions of the last preceding section or who makes any false statement, or transmits any fictitious drawing, on an application for a permit thereunder, or who knowingly injures, defaces, or destroys any Bushman-relic situated in the Union, shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds or, in default of payment, to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months.

Regulations.

4. The Governor-General may make regulations for the better carrying out of the objects and purposes of this Act.

Title of Act.

5. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Bushman-Relics Protection Act, 1911.

BOESMAN-OVERBLIJFSELEN BESCHERMING. 659

Wet No. 22 van 1911. [Datum van invoering—12 Mei 1911.

WET

Tot bescherming van Boesman-overblijfselen.

(Goedgekeurd op 25 April 1911.)
(Door de Gouverneur-generaal in 't Hollands getekend.)

ZIJ HET BEPAALD door Zijn Majesteit de Koning, de Senaat en de Volksraad van de Unie van Zuid-Afrika, als volgt:—

Woordbepalingen.

1. In deze Wet beteken—

"Boesman-overblijfsel"—elke tekening of schilderij op steen of de steeninschriften afkomstig of vermoedelijk afkomstig van de Zuidafrikaanse Boesmans of andere inboorlingen met inbegrip van de anthropologiese inhoud van de graven, spelonken, grotten, vuilnis- of schelphopen van deze Boesmans of andere inboorlingen;

"Minister"—de Minister van Binnenlandse Zaken of een andere Minister, aan wie de Goevermeur-generaal van tijd tot tijd de uitvoering van deze Wet moelt opdragen.

Vervoer uit de Unie van Boesman-overblijfselen verboden.

2. (1) Het is verboden een Boesman-overblijfsel uit de Unie te vervoeren of te doen vervoeren of het vervoer daarvan te gedogen, zonder voorafgaande schriftelike vergunning van de Minister.

(2) Een ieder die een Boesman-overblijfsel uit de Unie wil vervoeren, kan een permit aanvragen bij de Minister.

(3) Elke aanvrage gaat vergezeld van een schets, fotografie of tekening van 't te vervoeren overblijfsel met nauwkeurige aanduiding van de plaats waar hetzelve zich bevindt en de plaats waarheen en het doel waarvoor het overblijfsel vervoerd wordt.

Strafbepalingen.

3. Een ieder die de bepalingen van 't voorgaand artikel overtreedt of die een valse opgave doet of een verdichte tekening met zijn aanvrage om een permit inzendt of die opzettelik een Boesman-overblijfsel, dat zich in de Unie bevindt, beschadigt, uitwist of vernielt, wordt gestraft met geldboete van ten hoogste vijftig pond of bij wanbetaling met gevangenis met of zonder harde arbeid van ten hoogste drie maanden.

Regulaties.

4. De Goeverneur-generaal is bevoegd regulaties te maken voor de betere uitvoering van de oogmerken en doeleinden van deze Wet.

Titel van Wet.

5. Deze Wet kan worden aangehaald als de Boesman-overblijfselen Beschermingswet, 1911.

Figure 6: Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911. Source: SAHRA www.sahra.org.za

Most notably, the colonial period epitomised the state's prioritisation and privileging of colonial heritage. Colonial conquest was expressed through a flurry of permanent monuments, place names, memorials and statues that celebrated British, Dutch and Afrikaner icons and events that had been pivotal in entrenching colonial identity in South Africa. Colonial images and histories of European conquest over the "natives" of Africa fast emerged as common heritage fixtures and landmarks, celebrating colonial

[119] The South African National Society (SANS), Being the Society for the Preservation of Place of Natural Beauty and Historic Interest in South Africa, Year Book, Rhodes Buildings, Cape Town, 1906, 3.

achievement in the European colonies. Reflecting on travel writing and European expansion, Pratt has referred to the "western habit" of representing other parts of the world as having no history, arguing that there is no excuse for this "dehumanizing habit", which constitutes an "extraordinary act of denial".[120] Pratt's analysis speaks to a central theme of this study: namely, the privileging of European colonial practices and the systematic marginalisation and suppression of indigenous experiences in heritage management. The selective conservation of European cultural heritage influenced the development of legislative frameworks that promoted separation and fragmentation in heritage management.[121]

The introduction of heritage legislation marked the historical beginnings of a biased approach to heritage management in Africa, and South Africa particular, which was consistent with the popular and dominant colonial narrative that history and civilisation in South Africa began in 1652, with the arrival of the first European settlers. In part, the disregard for Africa's pre-colonial history was "the result of the suppression of the history of South Africa's marginalised people which pervaded the public history of the colonial and apartheid eras".[122] The work of the SANS is considered to have influenced the promulgation of the Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911, after a campaign to protect rock art and archaeological sites. The SANS annual report of 1911 states that members of the public expressed extreme satisfaction at the fact that the bill dealing with the protection of Bushmen paintings had been brought to parliament.[123]

Under the Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911, "Bushmen" relics are defined as "any drawing or painting on stone or petroglyph of the kind commonly known or believed to have been executed by the South African Bushmen or other aboriginals, and shall include any of the anthropological contents of graves, caves, rock, shelters, middens or shell

[120] Pratt M. L., "Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation", Second edition, 1992, 27, London and New York, Routledge.
[121] Sibayi D, " Addressing the Impact of The Structural Fragmentation on Aspects of the Management and Conservation of Cultural Heritage", 2009, 4, Master's Thesis – Master of Public Management at Stellenbosch University, 2009.
[122] Worden et al., "Commemorating, Suppressing and Invoking Cape Slavery", In "Negotiating the Past: Making of Memory in South Africa", 1998, 201, Oxford University Press.
[123] The South African National Society (SANS), Being the Society for the Preservation of Place of Natural Beauty and Historic Interest in South Africa, Year Book, Rhodes Buildings, Cape Town, 1911, 17.

mounds of such Bushmen or other aboriginals".[124] The Act was promulgated due to mounting concern for damage and loss of rock art through exports. As a result, the Act made it an offence to damage rock art and archaeological sites and relics. But critics have noted that no mechanisms were created to administer the law.[125] In other words, it appears that there was no legislated statutory organisation responsible for implementing the Act. Both Legassick and Rassool have stated that the Act "was also directed against the foreign trade in skeletons, and was introduced as a direct consequence of what even officials regarded as a ghastly business, of unwholesome and reprehensible trafficking in human remains".[126] However, the authors also contend that the Bushmen Relics Protection Act could not have prevented the increase in the illicit trafficking of human remains, which both museums and professional scientists participated in.

The deficiencies of the Bushmen Relics Protection Act are clearly summed up in the correspondence (letter dated 6 October 1917) between John Orr and Robert Broom. Orr makes a specific objection to the trade of cultural heritage resources out of the country by his compatriot Broom, stating that "the fossils of the country should not be regarded as a source of revenue to anyone".[127] In a previous letter, dated 12 September 1917, Broom had strongly contended that:

> the collection which I sold to New York, South Africa could have had for a ten pound note but deliberately rejected my offer … I had resolved that having rejected my offer it was not going to be repeated and that wherever my collection went it was not going to remain in South Africa … the question remained to decide between London and New York and for many reasons

[124] Bushmen Relics Protection Act No. 22 of 1911, 1.
[125] Deacon J, Pistorius P, "Introduction and Historical Background to the Conservation of Monuments and Sites in South Africa", 1996, 4. In 'Monuments and Sites in South Africa', edited by Jeanette Deacon, Sri Lanka, ICOMOS.
[126] Rassool et al, "Skeletons in the Cupboard: Illicit Trade in Human Remains", 2000, 1.
[127] Letter/correspondence, dated 6 October 1917. In a deposit of registered letters and correspondence in the registry of the former National Monuments Council and now part of the official archival material of SAHRA, www.sahra.org.za.

> it was best that New York—the leading palaeontological centre of the world—should have a good South African collection.[128]

In this particular case, the law could not do much to prevent even renowned scientists from participating in the illicit trade in human remains, and other cultural objects associated with the "Bushmen". In fact, the Broom case highlights the lack of professional ethics exercised by scientists in the early 20th century in South Africa. Critics have observed that "early archaeological work in Africa has to be understood against this background in European studies … colonial collectors saw themselves as representatives of their home countries, rather than their colonies, and often sent specimens back to Europe for study … Africa, however remote, had become an extension of the Victorian drawing room, rather than a place in its own right."[129]

The growing interest in the study of "Bushmen" and their "relics", including their genetic make-up and physique, was also propelled by the 1905 British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) conference. It is at this particular meeting that the president of the BAAS, A C Haddon, urged scientists in South Africa to "make an accurate account of natives of South Africa … for scientific use, and as a historical record … before the advance of civilisation began to obscure and even obliterate all the true traditions, customs and habits of the South African people."[130] Rassool et al. have described what followed from the conference as the ghastly business of the illicit trade in human remains. As a result of deficient legal instruments, little could be done to prevent these activities, which were conducted in the name of "science" and knowledge production.[131] The irony, as clearly illustrated here, was that the state at the time appeared to prioritise the protection of "Bushmen" relics, including the scientific study of "Bushmen" remains. However, the state did little to protect their human remains from illegal trade and trafficking.

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[128] Letter/correspondence dated 12 September 1917. In a deposit of registered letters and correspondence in the registry of the former National Monuments Council and now it is part of the official archival material of the SAHRA, www.sahra.org.za.
[129] Hall M, "Archaeology Africa", 1996, 22-23, Cape Town, David Philip.
[130] Rassool et al., "Skeletons in the Cupboard: Illicit Trade in Human Remains", 2000, 5.
[131] Ibid.

Patricia Davison, of the South African Museum, has conceded that the South African Museum (Cape Town) and the McGregor Museum (Kimberley) have had to acknowledge the unscrupulous methods used in the early decades of the 20th century to obtain the skeletons of Khoisan people for their collections. She asserts that "this regrettable chapter in museum history involved the violation of graves in the name of science, and the exhumation of recently buried bodies with the complicity of state authorities. The underlying assumption was that 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentots' were living examples of a primitive and dying race that should be studied before it became extinct."[132] The skeletons that were amassed in museums during this period remain a testimony to the theories that informed physical anthropology in the early 20th century. But, more significantly in terms of social history, they also tell of colonial power relations and the abuse of Khoisan communities.[133] As part of the invasive scientific enquiry into "Bushmen" skeleton remains, it has been recorded that between 1906 and 1917 the South African Museum collected at least 788 specimens, the National Museum (Bloemfontein) 403, the Department of Anatomy at the University of the Witwatersrand 365, the Department of Anatomy at the University of Cape Town 239, the Albany Museum (Grahamstown) 168, and the McGregor Museum (Kimberley) 150.[134] Museums in Europe also housed similar remains.

In 1996, artist and curator Pippa Skotnes launched an exhibition that marked a significant intervention in both the academic and public domain, and that was designed to expose the irregularities and injustices that exist in scientific research. In the exhibition, entitled *Miscast: Negotiating Khoisan History and Material Culture*, Skotnes attempted to "return the gaze" or "reverse the gaze", through the re-interpretation of Khoisan material culture from the colonial era. She elaborated on her project as follows:

> This exhibition looks at the various relationships that were established when European strangers arrived in southern Africa … that those relationships

[132] Davison P, A Foreword In "Skeleton in the Cupboard: Illicit Trade in Human Remains", 2000, 3. Edited by Rassool C and Legasick M, 2000.
[133] Ibid.
[134] SAHRA Archival records and inventory on heritage objects drawn from the archives of the National Historical Monuments Commission (1923), the National Monuments Council (1969), Iziko Museums (former Northern Flagship Museums), www.sahra.org.

> were severely imbalanced in terms of power is witnessed by the extreme objectification of individuals in, for example, the anthropometric photographs of the late nineteenth century … that these relationships resulted in loss of life, in multiple deaths and cultural genocide is evidence in the images of trophy heads, hangings, prison victims and starvation.[135]

Skotnes uses pieces of original colonial apparatus, such as scientific measuring tools and plaster moulds used to cast life-size "Bushmen" people, and re-assembles them in new ways to expose and confront the colonial scientific project responsible for the discursive formation of a popularised negative "Bushmen" identity. Her use of visual material in such a rhetorical and controversial manner not only stirred public debate, but also provided new modes of interpreting the material culture used to construct popular "Bushmen" identity. While Skotnes's work was created with the hope of dispelling or debunking misconceptions around the "Bushmen" people, misconceptions and distortions of this group persist in post-colonial South Africa.

At the time of the promulgation of the Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911, architecture and the environment had not yet been recognised as worthy of conservation, and were consequently not included in the Act.[136] The omission of architecture and the environment occurred despite earlier conservation efforts under the SANS, mainly at Cape Town sites such as the Castle and certain grand Cape Dutch homesteads.

The discipline of archaeology gained momentum in the early 1900s, becoming a source of authority in heritage resources management in South Africa. It is noteworthy that, as a result of the SANS's campaign, the first heritage legislation in South Africa (i.e. Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911) was concerned not with monuments but with the country's archaeological heritage. Indeed, the field of archaeology was instrumental in the making of history and heritage in the colonial and apartheid eras. Critics strongly contend that despite efforts by some archaeologists to maintain academic freedom and independence

[135] Skotnes P, "Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen", 1996. University of Cape Town Press.
[136] Viney R, "Document on Heritage Legislation, South African Heritage Resources Agency", 2004, 1, Cape Town.

the discipline of archaeology cannot be divorced from the colonial and apartheid project.[137] Disciplinary codes tend to provide lenses through which information concerning heritage (definition, interpretation, presentation, taxonomy, value and significance) is documented, assembled, analysed, and synthesised. In several publications, including "Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in South Africa: The Theory, Practice and Politics of Archaeology after Apartheid" (1998), Shepherd has outlined the role of archaeologists in framing history and heritage in colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. Shepherd makes specific reference to the relationship between archaeology and politics in 1923 and 1948—a relationship personified by early archaeologists like Van Riet Lowe, Goodwin, Malan, and supported by the political and financial support provided by General Jan Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. As Shepherd writes:

> Malan begins by recalling the early history of archaeological research in South Africa, drawing on Goodwin's two papers on the subject … when he comes to discuss the Archaeological Survey his theme becomes the importance of the political patronage of General Jan Smuts in the early establishment and institutionalisation of archaeology in South Africa."[138]

In essence, this relationship between archaeology and politics had a huge impact not only on the development of archaeology but also, as I will show later, on the official approach to heritage management in South Africa. Archaeologists were in many respects at the forefront of policy-making around national heritage in this period.[139]

In broader terms, the authority and power wielded by experts in the governance of heritage cannot be overstated. Defining "authorised heritage discourse", Smith argues that "the conservation of heritage is … [the] preserve of a few elites, often 'experts' who are self-proclaimed, as the only ones with rights to access heritage resources".[140] Similarly, in countries like Kenya, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe, where there was

[137] Deacon H. J., "What Future has Archaeology in South Africa?", 1988, 3-4. SAAB (editorial).
[138]Shepherd N., "'Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in South Africa: The Theory, Practice and Politics of Archaeology after Apartheid", 1998, 129.
[139] Shepherd N., "Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in South Africa: The Theory, Practice and Politics of Archaeology after Apartheid", 1998, 165.
[140] Smith L, "Uses of Heritage", 2006, London and New York, Routledge.

a large European settler population, heritage management developed as the preserve of a small white elite, and as a result it was seen as a highly academic subject that was never meant for popular consumption.

In 1923, a new piece of policy replaced the Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911. The Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923 became the first legal instrument to protect monuments in South Africa, covering "areas of land having distinctive or beautiful scenery, areas with a distinctive, beautiful or interesting content of flora and fauna, and objects (whether natural or constructed by human agency) of aesthetic, historical or scientific value … and also specifically … waterfalls, caves, Bushmen paintings, avenues of trees and old buildings".[141] In contrast to the Bushmen Relics Protection Act, the 1923 Act was responsible for a wide range of sites, including historical buildings and monuments.

Technically, the Act displayed a strong bias towards the conservation of the tangible aspects of heritage. In particular, it placed a high premium on notions of monumentalism and aesthetics, which are dominant aspects of Western and European standards of heritage conservation. As discussed, "the European colonial community imposed the typologies of heritage to be protected and definitions adopted from the mother countries".[142] In particular, legal definitions tended to reflect the perception that heritage had to be old or ancient to be valued.[143] Furthermore, a perception was created that heritage had to be aesthetically appealing, authentic and pristine, with these qualities defined according to European standards. During a conversation with Jeannette Deacon (former NMC and SAHRA employee), she asserted that "the question of values and attributes attached to heritage resources, especially archaeology, often has been informed by the subjective, and to a large degree, outdated legislated European colonial categories that define cultural significance of heritage resources … not every heritage resource must be aesthetically appealing to be considered and declared a heritage

[141] The Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923 (NHMA).
[142] Ndoro W, "Legal Definitions of Heritage", 2008, 25. In "Cultural Heritage and the Law Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa", www.iccrom.org.
[143] Ibid.

resource … aesthetic guidelines are difficult to define as concepts of beauty are subjective."[144]

The above approaches to conservation have set a precedent for heritage management in Africa, and in South Africa in particular. In many African countries, heritage legislation tends to favour the conventional notion of monumentalism, to the neglect of other types of heritage, such as intangible cultures, cultural landscapes and routes, itineraries, vernacular architecture and underwater heritage, taking very little or no cognisance of the associated intangible and spiritual values.[145] Traditional systems and forms of heritage protection are dynamic and tend to incorporate the development needs of local communities, unlike the static European approach to conservation. For example, sustainable land-use management at the Richtersveld Cultural Landscape, a world heritage site, not only protected cultural heritage but also "resulted in the conservation of the natural environment and a balance between nature and culture … there was a deep sense of community ownership as different sections of communities took part in conserving different sections of the heritage."[146] Despite a few small scholarly contributions, little or no effort was made to contextualise local or indigenous heritage management within the region, again reflecting the disparity and tension between formal legal systems and community-based traditional systems.[147]

The Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923 resulted in the establishment of the first statutory body responsible for heritage management: the Commission for the Preservation of the Natural and Historical Monuments of the Union, popularly known as the Historical Monuments Commission. The Commission had the task of compiling a register of the monuments in the Union of South Africa, and could pass by-laws to protect these monuments. The Commission could also enter into agreements with any public body or private individual that owned a monument, to ensure that it was preserved. According to Andrew Hall (former NMC and SAHRA employee), "the flaws with the law

[144] Interview with Jeannette Deacon, 13 September 2014.
[145] Eboreime J, "Challenges of Heritage Management in Africa": In Cultural Heritage and the Law – Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, 2008, 2.
[146] Wijesuriya et al, In "Global Heritage: A Reader", 2015, 135
[147] Munjeri D," Legal Frameworks for the Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage in Africa", 2005, 18.

and the Commission [National Monuments Commission] [have been the failure to] address effectively the thorny issue of ownership of monuments from the outset … monuments and heritage in private ownership are part of the national estate and the state is the custodian of heritage resources but certainly not individuals … and this is a recurring challenge that even the postcolonial legislation and institutions have been unable to address and resolve."[148] This statement illustrates some of the limitations of the state institutions responsible for heritage management, limitations that date back to the inception of heritage legislation and policies.

The Commission was at liberty to accept donations and subscriptions, and, depending on the level of funding it received, it could purchase any monument. However, as critics have noted, after seven years in operation the Commission could not report much progress in conserving sites. The Commission's work was hobbled by its heavy reliance on the voluntary cooperation of private owners of historically significant sites that had belonged to the Department of Public Works.[149] As a statutory body representing the Union of South Africa, the Commission also acted as a trustee of any monument bequeathed to the country. During this period, the Commission initiated the practice of fixing its distinctive bronze badge on buildings that had been declared monuments.

Considering the fact that heritage legislation focused solely on tangible heritage, the Commission became involved in the repair, restoration and conservation of many historical buildings and sites, mostly those associated with colonial history, including the Groot Constantia homestead (damaged by fire in 1925), the Hout Bay Battery, the first house built in Grahamstown, and the Old Raadsaal in Bloemfontein.[150] It has been observed that "during the colonial period Groot Constantia's architecture and its gable [were] a device used for white identity creation and nation-building; to create a prideful past on which to build a sense of nationhood; and its heritage of slavery was not allowed

[148] Interview with Andrew Hall, 27 October 2015.
[149] Viney R, Report on Analysis of Heritage Legislation, South African Heritage Resources Agency, 2004, 1.
[150] Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act, 4 of 1934, Section 8a.

to impinge on its architectural heritage".[151] Buildings like Groot Constantia are typical white-settler symbols that accentuate state prioritisation of colonial heritage.

After 11 years, the Historical Monuments Commission was given increased powers to manage South Africa's heritage resources via the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act of 1934. This piece of legislation replaced the Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911 and the Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923. Under the new Act, the Historical Monuments Commission was entrusted with the power to recommend to the relevant minister that a place or object be officially proclaimed a national monument by a notice in the government gazette and, in the case of a property, by the endorsement of the title deed. National monument status is the highest form of recognition given to a heritage site in South Africa. The Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act 4 of 1934 stipulates that:

> the Minister may from time to time, on the recommendations of the commission, by notice in the gazette proclaim to be—a monument, any area of land having a distinctive or beautiful scenery or geological formation, any area of land containing a rare or distinctive or beautiful flora or fauna, any area of land containing objects of archaeological interest, any waterfall, cave, grotto, avenue of trees, old tree or old building and any other object (whether natural or constructed by man) of aesthetic, historical, archaeological or scientific value or interest.[152]

The new Act provided no protection whatsoever to any site or object not proclaimed a monument, relic or antique. This legislative oversight was quickly recognised and led to the amendment of the Act four years later (Act no. 9 of 1937). The amended 1937 Act was also consistent with the orthodox European standard of conservation, in that it prioritised the aesthetic and monumental qualities of heritage.

The idea that a monument is a "witness" to history and tradition anthropomorphises material culture and creates a sense that memory is somehow locked or embedded in the

[151] Liebman Y, "The Actions of the State in the Production of Cultural Heritage: The Treatment of Cultural Icon as Bearer of Values, Identity and Meaning at Groot Constantia in Cape Town", 2012, 4.
[152] Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act.

fabric of the monument or site. The anthropomorphising of monuments and buildings is a common form of legitimisation in the conservation movement, and is a discursive device that helps to naturalise and cement the values and meanings a place is thought to possess. The consequences of this discursive move will be discussed in Chapter 4.[153]

The year 1934 also marked the founding of the Bureau of Archaeology, which was directed by Piet Van Riet Lowe. The Bureau was charged with responsibility over archaeology in the Union, as well as over national monuments and heritage sites.[154] Van Riet Lowe served both as director of the Bureau and as secretary of the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiquities (Historical Monuments Commission). After Van Riet Lowe retired in 1955, B D Malan succeeded him as the director of the Bureau of Archaeology and secretary of the Historical Monuments Commission. A J B Humphries was appointed in 1977 to serve as an archaeologist at the National Monuments Council (NMC), which succeeded the Historical Monuments Commission. When Humphries resigned in 1979, he was replaced by Jalmar Rudmar, who was an architect with a keen interest in archaeology. With professional archaeologists at the helm of the NMC, a growing number of pre-colonial sites were declared national monuments.[155]

The selection of pre-colonial archaeological sites illustrates the extent to which selective amnesia occurs during the selection of national monuments—a selection process that is steeped in personal biases. This process is also a reflection of "authorised heritage discourse" at work, with certain personalities in positions of authority and influence able to sway decisions in line with their interests and backgrounds. Finally, the selection process speaks to the privileging of archaeology as the only discipline central in heritage management. The naturalising factor entangled in the notion of the professional "expert" and in the credentials of an academic discipline—all of which informs Smith's concept of "authorised heritage discourse"—finds expression in this wedding of heritage and

[153] Smith L, "Uses of Heritage", 2006, 90.
[154] Shepherd N, "Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in South Africa: The Theory, Practice and Politics of Archaeology after Apartheid", PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1998, 162.
[155] Deacon J, "The Cinderella Metaphor: The Maturing of Archaeology as a Profession in South Africa", 1993, 77-81.

archaeology. Both the “expert” and the discipline (archaeology) take precedence, framing the paradigm of heritage management.[156]

Colonial heritage management systems appear to have acquired a strong ally in global institutions. The globalisation of heritage through multi-national organisations like UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, and IUCN began five decades ago, and has meant that heritage conservation can only be conceived as a technical, standardised, and non-flexible system, with very little room for local entities to contribute.[157]

Heritage Management in Apartheid South Africa

The year 1948 saw the rise of Afrikaner nationalist power in the Republic of South Africa, where political conditions spurred the consolidation of the Nationalist Party and the construction of Afrikaner identity. In apartheid South Africa, the promotion and conservation of colonial-era heritage remained intact. In addition, a new dominant heritage narrative that deliberately promoted white Afrikaner conquest and achievements also emerged. Kros has suggested that the Voortrekker Monument is a stable fixture on the South African historical landscape. Kros argues that the monument justifies Afrikaner victories and yet simultaneously underscores ethnic and gender inequalities, and presents Afrikaners as victims of British imperialism, having suffered in concentration camps during the South African War.[158]

[156] Smith L, “Uses of Heritage”, 2006.
[157] Waterton E, “Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain”, 2010. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
[158] Kros C, “Public History/Heritage: Translation, Transgression or More of the Same?”, 2010, 63-77, African Studies.

Figure7: The Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria. Source: www.sahistory.org.za

Heritage is not immune from party politics and serves as a political resource from which national identities and forms of power are constructed. Heritage also serves to justify and celebrate privilege.[159] Similarly, Ashworth et al. have argued that "heritage interpretation is endowed with messages which are deliberately framed by an existing or aspirant power elite to legitimise the existing dominant regime".[160] To illustrate this point, Herwitz writes that "the inauguration of the Voortrekker Monument [served] to celebrate Afrikaner identity and heritage the year that the apartheid state was formed and the National Party came to power … this monument established the Voortrekker identity as separate from that of the British, indigenous Africans, and other immigrant groups.[161]

Heritage in South Africa was practised under the repressive and separatist policies of apartheid until 1994. The impact of apartheid on arts, culture and heritage was aptly captured in the Draft National Cultural Policy of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994. The document states that:

[159] Lumley S, "Rewriting the Museums Fictions: Taxonomies, Stories and Readers", 1988, 2, Cultural Studies, Routledge.
[160] Ashworth et al., "Dissonant heritage: The management of the past as a resource in conflict", 1996, 47. London, Wiley.
[161]Herwitz D, "Monument, Ruin, and Redress in South African Heritage", "Heritage, Culture, and Politics in the Postcolony", 2012, 80-134, New York: Columbia University Press.

> colonialism and apartheid neglected, distorted and suppressed the culture of the majority of South Africans. The freedom of expression was destroyed and systematic efforts were made at stifling creativity. Communities were denied resources and facilities to develop their own cultural expressions, unless they coincided with the aims of the colonial masters. The absence of an effective educational system, high rates of illiteracy and extreme poverty compounded the cultural deprivation of the majority.[162]

The promulgation of apartheid laws did not change the dominant approach towards conservation, but instead entrenched the status quo of the colonial legacy. Much focus was placed on the built environment or architectural heritage, and this approach set a precedent for the conservation of heritage resources. As Shepherd explains, "the emphasis on architecture … has meant that the notion of national heritage, as well as the National Monuments Council (NMC) itself, has been inextricably bound with that icon of colonial privilege and oppression, the white Cape Dutch gable."[163] During discussions at SAHRA, Ron Viney and Ashley Lilly (former SAHRA employees) noted that "the state of heritage conservation under apartheid laws place[s] much emphasis on the protection of Dutch and Victorian architecture and built environment, much to the exclusion of the vernacular and local indigenous architecture".[164]

In the 40 years following the establishment of the Historical Monuments Commission, about 300 sites were proclaimed national monuments. Among these were the Castle, Table Mountain, Dingane's Kraal, Cetshwayo's Kraal, Mpande's Kraal, the Ganesha Temple, the Makapan's Caves, the Valley of Desolation, rock paintings and engravings, and archaeological deposits. Also included were glaciated rocks and cretaceous deposits, palaeontological remains, several trees of scientific or historical interest, the Dias Cross, forts and battlefields, historical houses, the Verdun ruins, the first locomotive of the NZASM, and the first gold-crushing and gold power plants. In the publicity material of the National Monuments Council in 1969, the abovementioned monuments were singled out

[162]African National Congress (ANC) Draft National Cultural Policy, 1994. www.anc.org.za.
[163]Shepherd N, "Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in South Africa: The Theory, Practice and Politics of Archaeology after Apartheid", PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1998, 166
[164] Recorded Minutes of Meeting of the Built Environment Committee (SAHRA), 22 May 2013.

as a reflection of the diversity of the cultural and natural heritage of South Africa.[165] The destruction, alteration, removal or export of a proclaimed monument was deemed illegal, unless approved by the Historical Monuments Commission (later the National Monuments Council). Any person who illegally exported an antique or proclaimed monument could be fined up to 75% of the market value of the object. Any person who owned a potential monument and objected to a proposed proclamation could appeal to the minister. These efforts to regulate heritage resources again illustrate Foucault's analysis of governmentality.

For the most part, the core function of the Historical Monuments Commission involved the research, identification, and recording of heritage resources by tiny teams made up of administrative and professional staff. From then onwards, the problem of understaffing in the heritage sector began to take root, remaining an unresolved challenge to this day. In addition, the notion of public participation in heritage management processes remained largely ignored by the Commission.

The 1960s marked a phase of emerging public interest in cultural heritage, but only a few privileged and well-resourced individuals and organisations could influence the management of heritage resources. During this period, public interest in heritage management was partly stimulated by an increase in modern development.[166] Several influential conservation organisations were established, for example. These organisations included the Simon Van Der Stel Foundation, the Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa, and Historical Homes of South Africa Limited. As a direct result of the power and influence of these organisations, the National Monuments Act of 1969 came into being.

[165] National Monuments Council of 1969.
[166] Viney R, Report on Analysis of Heritage Legislation, South African Heritage Resources Agency, 2004, 3.

Short title.—This Act shall be called the National Monuments Act, 1969.
[S. 22 substituted by s. 16 of Act No. 13 of 1981 and by s. 12 of Act No. 11 of 1986.]

Schedule

LAWS REPEALED

NO. AND YEAR OF LAW	SHORT TITLE
Act No. 4 of 1934 . . .	Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act, 1934
Act No. 9 of 1937 . . .	Natural Monuments Amendment Act, 1937
Act No. 13 of 1967 . . .	Monuments Amendment Act, 1967
Ordinance No. 13 of 1948 of the territory . . .	Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Ordinance, 1948
Proclamation No. 45 of 1950 of the territory .	Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Amendment Proclamation, 1950
Ordinance No. 12 of 1960 of the territory . . .	Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Amendment Ordinance, 1960
Ordinance No. 19 of 1962 of the territory . . .	Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Amendment Ordinance, 1962

Figure 8: A list of colonial heritage legislation and acts promulgated during the Colonial and Apartheid eras. Source: www.polity.gov.za

The promulgation of heritage legislation and policies during apartheid, such as the National Monuments Council Act of 1969, further entrenched the authoritarian position and bias of the state regarding heritage management. The National Monuments Council Act of 1969 made provision for the "repair, maintenance and general care of certain burial grounds and graves, the establishment of gardens of remembrance in respect of certain persons, the erection of memorials for certain persons and the preservation of certain immovable or movable property as national monuments".[167] Most importantly, state prioritisation of heritage under the 1969 Act made specific provision for the preservation of "'Voortrekker Graves", which belonged to those who had taken part in the Great Trek and who had died between 1835 and 1854.[168]

[167] National Monuments Act of 1969, 1.
[168] Ibid., 12.

Figure 9: Statue of Paul Kruger in Pretoria Church Square (left) and monument in Kruger National Park (right): Source: www.sahistory.org.za

Furthermore, Section 10 (1) of the Act states that "the Minister considers it to be in the national interest that any immovable or movable property of aesthetic, historical or scientific interest be preserved, protected and maintained".[169] Munjeri has strongly contended that national and world heritage sites in Africa often "tend to speak to grand narratives and European notions of aesthetic and national identity, with elitist architecture, including cathedrals, castles and palaces, being over-represented on the [World Heritage] List".[170] These observations are consistent with those made by Jeanette Deacon. Under the National Monuments Act of 1969, the previous Historical Monuments Commission was replaced by a statutory body, the National Monuments Council (NMC), which fell under the Minister of National Education. The NMC was given additional power to protect monuments, now known as "declared national monuments", and other aspects of South Africa's heritage. The introduction in the 1969 document of a provisional declaration of national monuments marks a significant legislative development, since it enabled the NMC to protect immovable property for a maximum period of five years, while it investigated the desirability of a permanent declaration. The first provisional declaration provided protection to 24 houses that were severely affected by a powerful earthquake in September 1969. These houses, in Church Street, Pretoria, were restored to their mid-19th century appearance, and permanently declared national monuments.

[169] National Monuments Act of 1969, 7, Section 10, covers the "Declaration of National Monuments by the Minister" in the National Monuments Act of 1969.
[170] Munjeri D, "Legislation and Practices: Implications and the Way Forward", 2004, 16.

Another significant highlight, spurred by the separate development policy of apartheid, was the promulgation of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 (Act No 68 of 1951), which heralded the formation of tribal, regional and territorial authorities. These authorities operated in “Reserves”, which were demarcated according to tribal groups such as AmaXhosa, AmaZulu, VhaVenda, Bapedi, BaSotho, BaTswana and xiTsonga as permanent residential areas for Africans. In the homelands, heritage was defined along ethic lines.

The term that was used consistently was “White South Africa”, as the Government aimed to move every Black person to his or her respective ethnic homeland in order to place South Africa completely in the hands of the White population. Blacks were given homelands according to their designated “culture”. For example, if a Black man or woman was of Zulu origin, he or she was ordered to go to KwaZulu, the Bantustan designated for Zulus. In total, ten homelands were created in South Africa. These were the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Venda, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa, and QwaQwa. The homelands were designed for specific ethnic groups. For example, two homelands of Ciskei and Transkei were created only for the Xhosa people, while Bophuthatswana was created only for the Tswana people, KwaZulu was only for Zulu people, Lebowa for the Pedi and Northern Ndebele, Venda only for Vendas, Gazankulu was for Shangaan and Tsonga people, and Qwa Qwa was for Basothos.

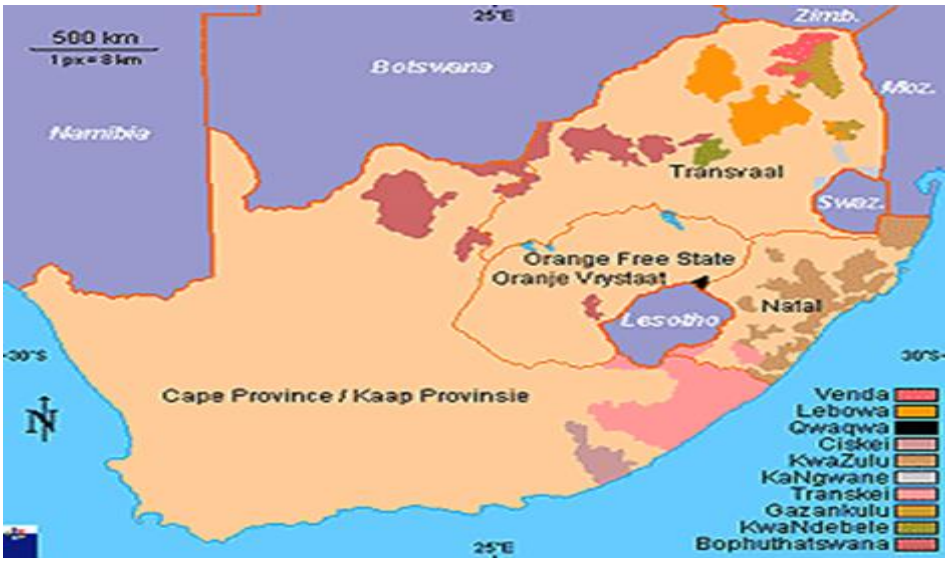

Figure 10: Pre-1994 Map of South Africa showing Bantustans and Homeland States.

Source: www.sahistory.org.za

State prioritisation of heritage tends to follow the same categories and definitions that colonial legislation ascribed to heritage resources. For instance, the following laws enacted in African countries, as recently as 2001, explicitly illustrate the influence of European heritage standards:

- The Antiquities Act of 1952 (Sudan);
- The Monuments Act of 1965 (Malawi);
- The Historical Monuments Act of 1967 (Uganda);
- The Historical Monuments, Relics, Fauna and Flora Act of 1967 (Lesotho);
- The National Monuments Act of 1969 (South Africa)
- The National Museums and Monuments Act of 1972 (Zimbabwe);
- The Monuments and Relics Act of 1974 (Gambia);
- The Monuments and Relics Act of 2001 (Botswana).

In essence these acts all stipulate that heritage resources are to be conserved in the form of “monuments”, “relics”, “museums”, and “antiquities”.

Since before the 1960s, the state has been allocating financial resources towards the conservation of heritage in South Africa. In the same year of its inception, for example, the National Monuments Council received additional funding from the state to pay grants to the owners of monuments. The funding was in addition to the administrative budget allocated to the National Monuments Council. This financial support enabled the National Monuments Council to contribute to the repair and restoration of national monuments. However, neither the financial nor the legal instruments for conservation have been sufficient to address the challenges associated with sustaining the management of heritage resources.

The National Monuments Act was amended several times in order to expand the powers of the National Monuments Council to cover the conservation of cultural heritage. The architectural underpinnings of the Act remained intact, however. Deacon has noted that “the architectural focus of the [Council] staff was emphasised anew with the amendment

to the [Monuments] Act in 1996 which required that plans for alterations to any buildings older than 50 years had to be approved by the National Monuments Council … this amendment substantially altered the work load of the National Monuments Council's staff members and effectively pushed archaeology even further from the list of priorities."[171] As a result, much of the conservation approach of the National Monuments Council remained focused on the built environment and on colonial and apartheid-era architecture that celebrated the culture of the white minority, to the exclusion of the cultural heritage of the majority black population.

In 1979, the National Monuments Council was entrusted with the power to protect historical shipwrecks and to control underwater salvage operations. The identification, repair and maintenance of historical war graves also fell within the jurisdiction of the Council. These developments inspired new categories in the conservation and management of heritage resources, including the protection of war graves, with explicit prioritisation of state military forces, such as white Afrikaners and British soldiers. The purview of the National Monuments Council was also amended to include the responsibility of compiling a register of all conservation-worthy properties throughout South Africa. The register was compiled after the conservation-worthy aspects of the environment had been identified through a survey of local areas, and was published in the government gazette.

Since tangible aspects of heritage were prioritised in conservation management, the National Monuments Council could designate any area of land of historical, aesthetic or scientific interest a conservation area. The new categories of heritage protection also made provision for consultation and cooperation between the National Monuments Council and local authorities in compiling the register and managing designated conservation areas. However, both consultation and cooperation in this regard were limited to experts and did not include broad public participation

Further protection of heritage resources came via the Environmental Conservation Act of 1989, which minimised the possibility of proclaimed heritage sites being destroyed in the

[171] Deacon J, "South Africa's New Heritage Legislation", 1997, 3-4.

course of development. Despite the 1989 Act being passed, heritage legislation remained largely silent on the protection of heritage resources in the context of development, a situation that was addressed by the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999.

The introduction of a protected areas management system (1978) attempted the fraught task of demarcating heritage by establishing nature reserves (i.e. national and provincial parks). As a result of this effort, heritage resources in protected areas became increasingly inaccessible to members of the public, especially local communities residing adjacent to heritage sites, with only a privileged few elites able to gain access. The protected areas management system has been critiqued for "preserving heritage to ensure that only a few could enjoy and understand it … the justification given for this was that the natives did not understand their own heritage and that it would be either contaminated or destroyed if left to them."[172]

Initially, the protected areas management system was introduced in nature reserves and wildlife conservation. Later, the system was extended to the domain of cultural heritage. Ndoro et al. have argued that "the protected areas management system in Africa, which has been applied mostly to natural heritage places, might not be suitable for cultural sites and landscapes given the fact that it removes the cultural practitioners from the area".[173] The authors have further contended that this situation "creates fossilised areas that are the preserve of only the scientific communities, in the same way that colonial governments created protected areas for the amusement and enjoyment of the settler population."[174]

The creation of South African national parks like the Kruger National Park and the Mapungubwe National Park, amongst others, attests to the tragic forced removals of local communities for the purposes of "heritage management". The black population in particular was systematically displaced from its ancestral land to make way for the construction of national and provincial parks. South African property laws also allowed

[172] Ndoro et al., "Heritage Management and Conservation: From Colonization to Globalization", "Global Heritage", 2015, 137.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid., 140.

individuals to “own” cultural sites. As a result, the traditional custodians of the land lost both their land and their cultural heritage.[175] It can be argued that settler land-ownership patterns left their mark on the way heritage has been managed, and that the protected areas system, despite its obvious weaknesses, continues to define heritage practice in Africa.[176]

Often park officials in designated protected areas saw their relationship with neighbours (mainly local and black communities) as being predominantly one of policing and maintaining fences.[177] Local communities were excluded from power, authority and influence in decision-making and policy formulation in Africa .[178] The relationship between authorities and local communities is still overwhelmingly based on a colonial “authoritarian conservation perspective”,[179] even in the postcolonial era.

Conclusion

There is a general perception that heritage management in Africa started with the European colonisation of the continent. However, the fact that the Europeans found so many archaeological sites intact means that these sites had survived thanks to some form of management.[180] The formalisation of heritage management through the introduction of colonial heritage legislation displaced pre-colonial indigenous and traditional forms of protection, and legitimised and privileged European conservation practices in Africa instead.

More specifically, the function of policy and legal instruments is to set norms and standards for heritage management. However, it is in the nature of policy and legal instruments to codify and objectify the conservation of heritage resources, and to assign

[175] Ndoro W, “Your Monument, Our Shrine”, 2001, 9-10, PhD Thesis.

[176] Ndoro et al., “Heritage Management and Conservation: From Colonization to Globalization”, In ‘Global Heritage’, 2015, 137.
[177] Cook,J. “From Colonial to Community Based Conservation: Environmental Justice and the National Parks of South Africa,” 2001,56
[178] Chirikure et al. “Unfulfilled promises? Heritage Management and Community Participation at Some of Africa's Cultural Heritage Sites”, 2010, 89
[179] Cook, J. & Koch, E. (eds), “Going Green: People, Politics and the Environment in South Africa”, 1991. Cape Town, Oxford University Press.
[180] Ndoro W, “Your Monument Our Shrine”, 2001, 18, PhD Thesis.

authority to the governance of heritage. Smith has argued that "authorised heritage discourse relies on policy regimes to legitimize the technical process of heritage management and that authorised heritage discourse is itself a cultural process that creates value and meaning".[181] Effectively, Smith argues that, in the case of authorised heritage discourse, the state controls the governance of heritage resources. Heritage management policy and legal instruments prompt a particular way of thinking, centred on a discourse of formalisation and regulation and on the production of legislative knowledge on heritage conservation. The idea of "regulation tends to build on the power/knowledge dyad and its embodiment of the role of information, expertise, policies and strategies, by its deployment of specific knowledges encapsulated in legal interventions".[182]

From the Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911 to the National Monuments Act of 1969, heritage policy and management in South Africa has centred on the conservation of tangible forms of heritage, with an emphasis on the protection and promotion of colonial and apartheid heritage. In the same breath, it has been observed that this pioneering protective legislation did not protect the diverse cultural heritage of Africa, and of South Africa in particular, but rather protected a few sites that served the interests of colonialism. The result was a glaringly skewed representation of heritage resources that represented the minority white population.

It is only after the transition to democracy and the post-colonial era that serious political interventions began to make way for the recognition of diverse cultural heritage and broad public participation in heritage management in South Africa. More than two decades into the democratic era, more needs to be done to increase public participation and diverse representation in heritage management. However, it is against a background of colonial- and apartheid-era legislation that state prioritisation of heritage has been constituted and framed in post-colonial South Africa. The next chapter will discuss and unpack the discourse around heritage management and developments in post-colonial South Africa.

[181] Smith L, "Uses of Heritage", 2006.
[182] Smith L, in "Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage", 2004, 76.

CHAPTER FOUR

HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN POST- COLONIAL SOUTH AFRICA

> "Nevertheless, the view of heritage in any given society will inevitably reflect that of the dominant political, social, religious or ethnic groups ... leading to authorized heritage discourse."[183]

Introduction

This chapter picks up where the previous chapter left off. It seeks to trace the developments in heritage management in post-colonial South Africa. In this chapter, I focus not only on the formalisation of heritage management through policy and legal instruments, but also on the transformation imperatives of post-colonial and newly democratic South Africa. Heritage management in the postcolonial era is chiefly characterised by the discourse of nation building and the construction of a national identity premised on democratic principles.

Issues of heritage are part of a social and public discourse designed to advance a sense of inclusiveness by recognising previously suppressed histories and claims to the past. Accordingly, the introduction of new policies signified important shifts in heritage management in democratic South Africa. These new policies included the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996), the National Heritage Resources Act (1999), and the National Heritage Councils Act (1999). It is crucial to highlight the extent of governmentality and "authorised heritage discourse" in the governance of post-colonial heritage in South Africa.

[183]Graham et al., 2000, In Smith "Authorised heritage discourse", 2006, 40.

Towards the Democratisation of Heritage: Transformation Imperatives

In 1994, South Africa accomplished a fundamental political, social and cultural transformation. The country witnessed the end of apartheid and the inauguration of democracy. The change from the National Party (NP) government to the Africa National Congress (ANC) government led to a huge policy-review process, which saw the redrafting of heritage legislation, in line with the democratic principles of the new South Africa.

As part of the democratic dispensation, heritage management has become a constitutional imperative. In terms of Schedule 4, Part A, of the Constitution of South Africa (1996), heritage is a shared competency across the three spheres of government (i.e. national, provincial and local).[184] The democratisation of heritage gave impetus to the formulation of new legislation and policies, starting with a review of outdated colonial and apartheid-era heritage policies.

The post-1994 policy-review and -formulation process was marked by the appointment of a special task team, namely the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG), to drive transformation in the arts, culture and heritage sectors. The former Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr Ben Ngubane, recognised the need for a democratic arts and culture policy, and appointed the task group on 4 November 1994.[185] The appointments were drawn from a list of over 300 nominations received from the public and the arts community. To maintain diversity, the task group represented a range of arts, cultures, races, gender orientations, and religions. The Minister appointed a panel of 23 eminent persons. Wandile Kuse was appointed to lead in the area of “Amasiko/Living Heritage”, and Jeanette Deacon was assigned the responsibility of monuments. Both experts were in charge of the heritage sub-committee, which developed minimum

[184] The Constitution of South Africa (1996), Schedule 4, Part A. www.polity.gov.za.
[185] The Department of Arts and Culture, A report of the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG), 1995. On the 04th November 1994, former Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Mr Ben Ngubane established the ACTAG, consisting of a panel of experts, to drive policy reforms and alignment with democratic objectives and goals of the new South Africa. www.dac.gov.za.

standards as the basis for a new heritage policy.[186] During a conversation with both these experts, they seemed to agree that "policy reform is a step in the right direction towards making important changes in heritage law in South Africa … especially towards creating an inclusive and participatory policy environment."[187] Furthermore, Kuse stressed "the importance of the majority black South Africans, who have been oppressed, to be more educated about their own African heritage in order to take pride promoting and protecting their own indigenous cultures."[188] A comprehensive report was published on the outcomes of the ACTAG process.

The ACTAG report acknowledged that legislation was in urgent need of revision, both because of changes in political ideology, including government structure, and because of changes in policy and ethos.[189] The Arts and Culture Task Group called for a policy that was committed to conserving the full diversity of South African heritage and tradition.[190] The executive officer of the South African Heritage Resources Agency reflected on the fragmentation of heritage resources management and the need for an inclusive and integrated approach as follows:

> [I]t is against this background that heritage must be managed in a manner that promotes and strengthens cultural diversity which is a tool for nation-building … heritage legislative frameworks must augment this principle and avoid fragmented systems if such systems have a potential to undermine nation-building.[191]

However, the ACTAG report also underlined the difficulty associated with policy reforms:

> We realise transformation will be a long process, but we have no South African precedents for redress to work from. Whereas the Nationalist

[186] Ibid.
[187] Personal communication with both Dr Deacon and Prof Kuse during the White Paper policy review process of the White Paper on Arts and Culture, Department of Arts and Culture, 11th October 2012.
[188] The Department of Arts and Culture, A report of the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG), 1995, 10
[189] The Department of Arts and Culture, A report of the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG), 1995, 6.
[190] Ibid., 9.
[191] Sibayi D, "Addressing the Impact of The Structural Fragmentation on Aspects of the Management and Conservation of Cultural Heritage", 2009, 5. Master's Thesis, Master's of Public Management, Stellenbosch University.

> government in the 1940's sought redress through promotion of the Afrikaner culture, we are seeking redress through national reconciliation in which all South Africans should have an equal share … the cornerstones are a structure that allows for local participation in decision-making on the one hand, a strong outreach for affirmative action training and public education in the centre, and government commitment to funding for the process of nation-building through reconstruction and development on the other hand."[192]

ACTAG was part of an effort to integrate arts, culture and heritage activities with the national objectives of the new democratic dispensation. The task group therefore had a clear mandate, which was based on the guiding principles set out in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

Some of these principles were:

- To affirm and promote the rich and diverse expression of South African culture so that all South Africans are guaranteed the right to practice their culture, language, beliefs and customs, as well as enjoy freedom of expression and creativity, free from interference;
- To ensure that resources and facilities for both the production and appreciation of the arts and culture are made available and accessible to all (priority must be given to those people and communities previously denied access to these resources); and
- To conserve, promote and revitalise our national cultural heritage so that it is accessible to all communities. Historical and cultural collections, resources and sites must fully reflect the many components of our people's culture [and] must be conserved.[193]

For the first time in the history of South Africa, the country had outlined principles that set the tone for transformation, and deliberate attempts were taken by the state to entrench

[192] ACTAG, 1995, 55.
[193] Ibid., 53.

a culture of inclusiveness and diversity, including the participation of the previously marginalised black majority in the heritage management process.

Figure11: Nelson Mandela Statue at Union Buildings Pretoria. Source: www.southafrica.net

The first 12 years of the post-colonial era saw significant changes in the use of heritage to negotiate and formulate a new national identity under popular slogans such as “nation building”, “nationhood”, and “social cohesion”, spurred by political ideals like unity, reconciliation, reconstruction, development, and “African Renaissance”. In a speech marking the celebration of Heritage Day on 24 September 1996, President Nelson Mandela stated:

> [W]hen our first democratically-elected government decided to make Heritage Day one of our national days, we did so because we knew that our rich and varied cultural heritage has a profound power to help build our new nation. We did so knowing that the struggles against the injustices and inequities of the past are part of our national identity, they are part of our

> culture … we knew that, if indeed our nation has to rise like a proverbial phoenix from ashes of division and conflict, we had to acknowledge those whose selfless efforts and talents were dedicated to this goal of non-racial democracy.[194]

Mandela's speech set the scene for the democratisation of heritage management in South Africa. Mandela and the ANC government stressed diversity and inclusiveness as pivotal aspects of heritage management, thereby recognising the ability of heritage to evoke feelings of empowerment, a shared past, and a uniform identity. According to Marschall, heritage is often used within a state to "fulfil the social needs of the electorate, while simultaneously fostering the political goals of nation building".[195] Whereas both the colonial and apartheid regimes used heritage to forge a national identity exclusively for the white minority, the post-colonial South African government of national unity, under the ANC, sought to frame a national identity that recognised the diversity of cultures in the "rainbow nation".

Similarly, in several other African countries, there has been a keen interest since decolonisation in forging new national identities. In some cases, heritage has become a convenient vehicle for a reconstituted national identity.[196] At independence, many countries in Africa realised the value of the past for the project of nation building. National governments keenly supported heritage conservation legislation by amending aspects of colonial legislation to reflect the new political realities.[197] At the regional level, legal instruments have been developed to support the management of cultural heritage, such as the Charter for African Cultural Renaissance, which was adopted by the African Union in Khartoum, Sudan, in 2006. The preamble of the Charter states that "people have the inalienable right to organize their cultural life in full harmony with their political, economic,

[194] The former Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST). A speech delivered by President Nelson Mandela during Heritage Day Celebrations on 24 September 1996.
[195] Marschall S, "Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South", 2009, 11-12.
[196] Ndoro et al., "Heritage Management and Conservation: From Colonialisation to Globalisation", In "Global Heritage: A Reader ", 2015, 139.
[197] Negri, "Introduction to Heritage Law in Africa, in "Cultural Heritage and the Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa", ICCROM Conservation Studies, 2008, 9.

social, philosophical and spiritual ideas".[198] The Charter also acknowledges that "cultural diversity and unity are a factor of equilibrium and strength in African economic development, conflict resolution and reducing inequality".[199] It further points out that "African culture is meaningless unless it plays a full part in the political, economic and social liberation struggle, and in the rehabilitation and unification efforts and that there is no limit to the cultural development of a people."[200]

Notwithstanding the gains achieved through policy reforms thus far, it is still important to note the continued impact of colonial heritage policies and systems on contemporary and post-colonial heritage management, even more than 50 years after the independence of many African states. At the 3rd Session of the African Union Conference of Ministers of Culture (25 to 29 October 2010), the meeting conceded that:

> African legal systems in place today are mostly inherited from the colonial powers … the total renunciation of the colonial law was not conceivable, due to the public structures and administrative bodies that the colonial powers had developed on African territories and thus traditional rules were abandoned … there is need to review the existing legislation in individual countries which, in many cases and as stated above, is very much inspired from European laws and is not always adapted to the present African realities … it is important to bear in mind that certain basic provisions are indispensable for the successful protection of Africa's cultural property, having regard to present administrative inadequacies, the related problems of looting of archaeological sites, and stealing and smuggling of cultural objects.[201]

The post-colonial transition period has not been a smooth process, due to the continued influence of colonial-era policies on heritage management. During a conversation with

[198] Charter for African Cultural Renaissance. Adopted by the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly, held in Khartoum, Sudan, 24 January 2006.
[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid.
[201] The 3rd Session of the African Union Conference of Ministers of Culture 25–29 October 2010, Abuja, Nigeria CAMC/EXP/8(III), Theme*: Sustainable Financing of the Cultural Development Sector in Africa,* 2nd Pan-African Cultural Congress Report 25-26 October 2010, 10. www.africa-union.org.

Phumla Mdiba, the former chief executive officer of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (2000–2004), she noted that "there has been resistance and reluctance to totally obliterate the colonial and apartheid past both in policy and practice … however, the transition period has introduced a new public debate and dialogue on negotiating the past in the present with a view of attaining diverse representation in terms of government policy."[202] Indeed, democratic South Africa has witnessed contestations around the representation of the country's colonial and apartheid history, including the future of outdated symbols of the past. These contestations have often sparked violent confrontations. The debate has centred on whether colonial and apartheid symbols should be retained in order to serve as edifying reminders of the past, or whether these symbols should be demolished. The ANC has been adamant that most of these symbols should remain, including the Voortrekker Monument.[203] In 2015, South Africa witnessed the unprecedented destruction of colonial and apartheid-era statues and memorials, following the popular #RhodesMustFall campaign at the University of Cape Town—of which more later.

Even though the outcomes of the ACTAG process paved the way for an inclusive arts, culture and heritage policy environment, the future of colonial and apartheid symbols remains a sensitive matter. Cultural activist and former chief executive officer of the Iziko Museums (Cape Town) Jatty Bredenkampt has contended that "the future of colonial and apartheid past is in a museum but with certain conditions on how they should be displayed … these outdated symbols are a reminder of a hurtful past and need to be up-rooted in public spaces and placed in museums or archives as they are offensive in the public domain … colonial and apartheid heritage are good as a reference point of where we come from."[204] On the contrary, former chief director at Heritage Western Cape Hannetjie Du Preez argued that "there should be no obliteration nor distortion of the past and its authenticity in the present as this will eliminate the facts of history, of what really

[202] Interview with Ms Phumla Madiba, former CEO of SAHRA, 28th July 2014, Pretoria
[203] Coombes A, "Symbolic Restitution", 2003, 20.
[204] Official record of minutes of meeting of the CEO's forum organised by the National Heritage Council, 18 August 2010, Durban (KZN).

happened in the past".[205] Both positions and opinions are compelling, and together they represent the ongoing debate and dialogue regarding the future of the past in the present.

Based on the recommendations of ACTAG, the White Paper on Arts and Culture was enacted and promulgated in 1996. The White Paper formed the basis of the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 and the National Heritage Councils Act of 1999, among other policies guiding heritage management.

White Paper on Arts and Culture

In broad terms, the White Paper on Arts and Culture is informed by the democratic principles that constitute the vision for the arts, culture and heritage in the new South Africa. A distinct feature of the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996), which sets it apart from colonial and apartheid policies, is the strong emphasis on the constitutional principle of public consultation. According to the White Paper, "access to … and enjoyment of the arts, cultural expression, and the preservation of one's heritage are basic human rights, they are not luxuries, nor are they privileges as we have generally been led to believe."[206]

The move to a people-centred conservation approach has been praised by stakeholder organisations like the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (CRL Commission), the National House of Traditional Leaders, and the National Khoisan Consultative Conference.

According to Pikirayi, "to acknowledge that local communities play an important role in identifying and safeguarding heritage resources is a fundamental principle in heritage management … these communities participate in the identification of heritage values and the heritage management process".[207] Pikirayi has further argued that there are certain prescribed conditions that determine the participation of communities:

[205] Official record of minutes of the South African World Heritage Convention Committee meeting organised by the Department of Environmental Affairs, 11 April 2013, Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Site (Krugersdorp, Gauteng).
[206] The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), The White Paper Arts and Culture, 1996.
[207] Pikirayi I, "The Cultural Landscape of the Shashe-Limpopo Confluence Zone: Threats and Challenges of Preserving a World Heritage Setting", 2008, 4.

> [O]ne view is that they [communities] have to be educated and trained so as to participate and contribute to heritage management decisions … an alternative view sees them as practitioners of heritage management in their own right, particularly from a traditional viewpoint as they have a better knowledge of the landscape, its values, and how it has contributed to their livelihood.[208]

The Charter for African Cultural Renaissance (2006) echoes this call for communities to be recognised in heritage management:

> [E]lders and traditional leaders are cultural stakeholders in their own right own right … their role and importance deserve official recognition in order for them to be integrated in modern mechanisms of conflict resolution and inter-cultural dialogue.[209]

South Africa's former Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture Dr Joe Phaahla has championed the Charter for empowering AU member states to promote pan-Africanism, cultural renewal and identity, as well as for strengthening their national policies and other cultural instruments.[210] As I will illustrate in the latter part of this chapter, one of the major highlights of contemporary heritage management has been the recognition of the intangible elements and values associated with heritage.

Even though the policy reforms in the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996) specify the urgent requirement for public participation in heritage management, in reality, the state often defines the conditions and terms of such participation—a point I will return to later. The overall policy position of the White Paper is consistent with Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations (UN), which states: "Everyone has the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy

[208] The Department of Arts and Culture, A report of the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG), 1995, 53.
[209] Charter for African Cultural Renaissance adopted by the African Union at its session held in Khartoum (Sudan) in 2006 (Part III: Article 14).
[210] The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), Foreword by Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture Dr Joe Phaahla, Charter for African Cultural Renaissance, Department of Arts and Culture, Pretoria, South Africa, 2012, 4.

the arts and to share in the scientific advancement and its benefits."[211] The abovementioned right is also guaranteed in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, under Section 31: "[E]very person shall have the right to use the language and participate in the cultural life of his or her choice."[212]

Issues of heritage are broadly addressed by the White Paper on Arts and Culture under Section 8, which makes reference to the importance of the conservation and promotion of the heritage of all South Africans. Crucially, the White Paper, as an overarching policy intervention by the state, makes specific reference to the National Heritage Resources Act (1999) and the National Heritage Council Act (1999), which prioritise the governance of heritage. Another important innovation of the White Paper, appearing in Section 8, is the explicit stipulation that living or intangible heritage be safeguarded and recognised as a priority. These sections of the White Paper are an expression of the deliberate intention by the state to set measures for heritage management, especially the recognition of those aspects of heritage that were previously marginalised.

During the first 10 years of democracy, the Department of Arts and Culture embarked on several initiatives to transform government-subsidised heritage institutions. The major initiative prioritised by the state under the White Paper on Arts and Culture has been the introduction of "Legacy Projects". These initiatives are a cluster of projects that commemorate and honour a largely neglected part of South Africa's heritage.[213] According to the Department of Arts and Culture, the Legacy Projects "clearly outline the heritage of the majority is markedly under-represented … gaps exist particularly in the areas of pre-colonial history, in oral culture, in indigenous interpretations of land struggles during the colonial era; and in the struggle for liberation … preference will be given to projects that address these disparities … in many instances, new research will be needed to remedy the imbalances and omissions of past interpretations."[214]

[211]The United Nations Human Rights Convention, Article 27,1998
[212]The South African Constitution 1996, 15, www.polity.gov.za.
[213] The African National Congress (ANC), in Draft Cultural Policy on Arts and Culture', Arts and Culture Report, 2003–2004, 112.
[214] Department of Arts and Culture, Discussion Document and Principles of the Legacy Projects, 1997, 4.

The following projects, under the rubric of the National Legacy Project, fulfil the mandate for the symbolic reparation and "remaking of cultural and art forms; symbols and monuments of the freedom struggle."[215]

Site	Province	Legacy Project	National Liberation Heritage Route
1. Women's Monument	Gauteng	Yes	
2. Chief Albert Luthuli's House	Kwa-Zulu Natal	Yes	Yes
3. Battle of Blood River/Ncome Project	Kwa-Zulu Natal	Yes	
4. Samora Machel Memorial Project	Mpumalanga	Yes	Yes
5. Nelson Mandela Museum	Western Cape	Yes	Yes
6. Constitutional Hill Project	Gauteng	Yes	Yes
7. The Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance	Eastern Cape	Yes	
8. The Sarah Baartman Human Rights Memorial	Western Cape	Yes	
9. The Freedom Park	Gauteng	Yes	Yes
10. The Khoisan Heritage and Culture Institution	Eastern Cape	Yes	
11. The Dulcie September Legacy Project	Western Cape	Yes	
12. The 2010 FIFA World Cup™ Legacy projects	National	Yes	
13. 1981 Matola Raid Memorial	Mozambique	Yes	
14. Lock Street Women's Prison in East London	Eastern Cape	Yes	
15. Vlakplaas Farm		Yes	Yes
16. OR Tambo Memorial Project	Eastern Cape	Yes	Yes

Table 1: Summary of identified official National Legacy Projects: Source: Department of Arts and Culture, www.dac.gov.za

[215] Ibid., 2.

Based on the above list, the legacy projects that have been initiated so far are: the Women's Monument, the Chief Albert Luthuli Museum, the Battle of the Blood River and Ncome Museum, the Samora Machel Museum, the Nelson Mandela Museum, Constitution Hill, the Khoisan Project, and the Freedom Park Project. These legacy projects are among the initial state-prioritised efforts to advance the interests of the regime in power. In November 2015, Cabinet's approval of the National Liberation Heritage Route, the Matola Raid Interpretive Centre (Mozambique) and the National Heritage Monument added to the list of state-prioritised heritage in post-colonial South Africa. An official at the Department of Arts and Culture who wanted to remain anonymous told me that "the legacy projects are all political in nature … they are meant to share and present the political history of the struggle for freedom against white colonialism and apartheid … they are deliberately political initiatives with a political agenda of healing and nation building."[216]

To further illustrate the operations of governmentality and the endorsement of state-prioritised heritage in the postcolonial era, I want to draw attention to both the Freedom Park and the National Heritage Monument (NHM), among the legacy projects prioritised by the state. Both these state-funded flagship projects are conceptualised and framed to promote and conserve the memory and legacy of liberation history in South Africa. Unlike the National Liberation Heritage Route project, which is modelled as a heritage route and trail composed of a network of struggle sites, the Freedom Park Trust and the National Heritage Monument are commemorative sites narrating the history of the liberation struggle.

The National Heritage Monument project is "a heritage and cultural tourism project initiated by the National Heritage Project Non-Profit Company (NHPC)" designed to "serve as a distinct destination and authentic attraction promoting the liberation history and heritage of South Africa". It is "a proposed iconic attraction that celebrates South Africa's struggle for freedom and democracy."[217] The project involves the composition of

[216] Personal communication with an official from the Department of Arts and Culture, who wished to remain anonymous due to the sensitivity of her close proximity to the Legacy Projects and her position in government, 22 December 2016, Department of Arts and Culture (Pretoria).
[217] The National Heritage Project Company, 2015, 4.

a long procession of life-size bronze-casted sculptures of prominent freedom fighters symbolically marching for freedom through periods of repressive (colonial and apartheid) regimes and into the new dispensation of the post-colonial and democratic state.

According to the concept note, the National Heritage Monument will be a visual presentation of the following attractions:

- The Long March to Freedom: A monumental parade of more than 400 life-size bronze sculptures of individuals across all social spectrums who contributed to South Africa's struggle for liberation and democracy;
- Heroes Acre: Consisting of the four pillars of the Struggle Monument. Each pillar will stand approximately 25 meters in height and will have a themed mini-museum inside related to the themes of mass mobilisation, the international campaign, the armed struggle and the underground struggle;
- Memorial Garden of Remembrance: vignette gardens, outdoor interpretive points and sculptural artwork, commemorating people, organisations and governments outside of South Africa who aided the struggle for democracy;

The site will also feature a visitor and heritage centre with an auditorium, an exhibition space, public amenities, public walkways, outdoor entertainment, administrative and operational offices, an African-themed waterpark attraction, a formal African market, eateries and retail, a bronze-casting foundry, a hotel and conferencing centre, and ecotourism in the nearby Groenkloof Nature Reserve.

The Department of Arts and Culture leads the development of this extensive project, and has established a steering committee composed of local, provincial and national government department members. Even though the Department of Arts and Culture is the custodian of the project and plays a lead role, legally the project is owned and implemented by the National Heritage Project Company, a private company owned by Dali Tambo, son of African National Congress stalwart Oliver Tambo. In personal communication with Dali Tambo, he shared his vision for the project:

> It has always been my father's wishes to narrate and present the totality of our collective struggle for freedom where we all can share and reflect on the

> journey travelled by the brave men and women across the broad spectrum of society to attain freedom and liberation against colonial and apartheid regimes … this is what the National Heritage Monument seeks to achieve and with the help of government and the private sector we'll be able to put a permanent memorial and monument site that South Africans will be proud of and feel patriotic.[218]

Thus far, about 65 of the bronze sculptures have been completed, and are currently installed in the Groenkloof Nature Reserve in Pretoria. The National Heritage Monument project was officially launched by Minister of Arts and Culture Nathi Mthethwa on 15 September 2015, during heritage month.

Freedom Park, which is in close physical proximity to the National Heritage Monument, is another state-of-the-art official heritage site. According to the project documents:

> The concept of Freedom Park is to create a place of pilgrimage and worship, comprising [sic] a large area of land with parks, facilities for open-air cultural activities, art works, plaques and memorials for those who died in combat, exile, detention or crossfire … it would cover the liberation movement's desires for recognition of their sacrifices and struggles, as well as respond to the call for more generic monuments … it would also celebrate our new democracy … the vision behind the Freedom Park is to express South Africa's developing national consciousness and identity in a visible, experiential and interactive manner… in this way, Freedom Park will acknowledge the heritage of all.[219]

Furthermore, in keeping with the outcome of the TRC process, Freedom Park seeks to be a site of nation-building, social cohesion, reconciliation and healing.

Freedom Park is centred on the following key principles: Remembrance, Isivivane (spiritual resting place for those fallen during the struggle), //Hapo (narrative and visual

[218] Interview and personal communication with Dali Tambo, 12 May 2015, National Heritage Project Company offices, Parktown (Johannesburg).
[219] Concept Document, "Freedom Park Memorial and Heritage Site", 2001,04

histories of the country), and Sikhumbuto (memorial). The external features of Freedom Park include a Wall of Names (where the names of people who fell during various conflict-events in South Africa are inscribed), an amphitheatre (with seating for up to 2 000 visitors), and a sculpture of ascending reeds that light up the night sky, symbolising the "spirit of the nation moving into the future". The inside features of Freedom Park include an Eternal Flame (to honour the unknown people who contributed to the struggle for humanity and freedom), a Gallery of Leaders (to portray nominated leaders who have been identified through a national consultative process), a Sanctuary (where visitors can ponder and contemplate), a Phahla (a place to communicate with the ancestors), and a host of other facilities and services. Freedom Park was declared a "cultural institution" on 1 April 2009 by former Minister of Arts and Culture Pallo Jordan.

These two state initiatives have been met with general popularity and appeal in the public domain. Critically, though, both projects are grappling with contestations around promoting diversity and inclusivity in the representation of the past in the present. Broadly, these state-funded initiatives, which have been endorsed through a Cabinet Memorandum, conform to governmentality and an "authorised heritage discourse" at the service of "official" heritage.

It is arguable that these legacy projects transcend the notion of promoting inclusiveness, seeking instead to advance an alternative narrative of the histories and cultures that were suppressed under colonialism and apartheid. As noted in the draft cultural policy of the ANC:

> [T]he culture of the majority of South Africans became one of resistance to colonialism and apartheid, which became a major instrument in the achievement of political democracy in our country … the priorities of nation building and development determine that the energies of the culture of resistance be re-channeled, in order to promote and sustain a culture of

> democracy, development and human rights, based on the fulfilment of the entire range of socio-economic aspirations of the country's people.[220]

Most importantly, these post-apartheid symbols and monuments represent the country's redefined national heritage, propagate new value systems, and contribute to new national and community identities.[221]

South Africa's legacy projects are still heavily reliant on state subsidies, and as such function more as extensions of government. Even though it was initially the intention of the state to have these projects operate according to a sustainable, tourism-driven business model, these state-prioritised projects have not yet attained self-sustainability. Funding and capacity restraints are often cited as the key challenges confronting the legacy projects.

In all these developments, discussions around national identity, cohesion, and the diverse representation of heritage resources from the colonial, apartheid and post-colonial periods have been central. As part of a post-colonial discourse, Ashworth and Tunbridge have highlighted the importance of recognising "pluralising pasts",[222] and the contestations inherent in the presentation of diverse heritages. In line with this notion of "plural pasts", in 2011 the former Minister of Arts and Culture, Mr Paul Mashatile, officially unveiled a road linking the Voortrekker Monument and Freedom Park, as a symbolic gesture of reconciling the past and present, and fostering social cohesion, inclusiveness and diversity.[223] Similarly, during Heritage Day celebrations in September 2014, Minister Nathi Mthethwa unveiled a bridge linking the Voortrekker Monument and the Ncome Museum at the site of the Battle of Blood River (KwaZulu-Natal).[224]

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[220] The African National Congress (ANC), in Draft Cultural Policy on Arts and Culture, Arts and Culture Report, 2003–2004. Also in Revised White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, 2013, 11.
[221] Marschall S, "Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South Africa", 2009, 1.
[222] Ashworth et al., "Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies", 2007, 44-45.
[223]The Department of Arts and Culture 2013/2014 Budget vote speech by the Minister Paul Mashatile at the National Assembly, 16 May 2013. www.dac.gov.za.
[224]The Department of Arts and Culture, A Speech delivered by the Minister of Arts and Culture Mr Nathi Mthethwa, on the occasion of National Reconciliation Day, 16 December 2014, Ncome Museum (KwaZulu-Natal) www.dac.gov.za.

However, in a separate conversation with a senior official at the Department of Arts and Culture, who wished to remain anonymous, it was explained that "the black community [seems] prepared to embrace reconciliation and social cohesion around Ncome but the white community are not open to reconciliation … therefore there's no real social cohesion if the other party does not embrace the concept."[225] Similarly, disappointment was expressed by Members of Parliament during an official oversight visit (in September 2015) to the site of the Battle of the Blood River, which I was part of: the entrance gate to the Voortrekker Monument was locked to restrict public access, whereas the Ncome museum on the other side of the river was open to the public.[226] The officials at Ncome told us, "There are prevailing attitudes of resistance and reluctance to social cohesion and reconciliation by [our] white Afrikaaner counterpart who hold the keys to the Voortrekker Monument … on several occasion we've asked them to open the gate by to no avail … this matter in now in the media."[227] Indeed, the *Pressreader* daily newspaper in KZN reported that "a day after the official opening of the bridge, the Voortrekker side was padlocked and had been ever since."[228] There are many other state initiatives that are intended to fulfil certain "noble", reconciliatory political goals but that in reality fail to do so.

Most importantly, these initiatives underpin the notion of co-presence through their deliberate juxtaposition of old colonial and apartheid symbols with new post-colonial symbols. The goal of this juxtaposition is to achieve a past–present alignment. According to critics, the state provides a major impetus for the attempt at a past–present alignment in the public–historical sphere. The state assigns a set of associations between selected monuments in order to fix a national narrative.[229] This potential of the state to create a national narrative has been referred to as "curating the nation".[230] The state's curating function entails deciding which of the nation's monuments, statues, memorials and

[225] Personal communication with a senior official from the Department of Arts and Culture, who wished to remain anonymous, 22 December 2016, Department of Arts and Culture (Pretoria).
[226] Report on the Parliamentary Oversight Visit to KwaZulu Natal, 14-18 September 2015, Portfolio Committee on Tourism. www.pmg.gov.za.
[227] Ibid.
[228] *Pressreader*, Daily News, 16 December 2015. https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/daily-news/20161216, [Accessed on 18/06/2016].
[229] Witz L., "Apartheid's Festival Contesting South Africa's National Pasts", 2003, 11.
[230] Ibid.

museums to display, and how. The primary methods by which state authorities are given the power to intervene in the management of heritage resources are the institution of protective measures—i.e. taking control of property, usually by means of acquiring title thereto—or the institution of punitive measures.[231]

The other significant dimension that comes with the notion of co-presence in post-colonial South Africa is the unavoidable issue of "oppositional discourse", or "counter narrative", which involves a process of re-examining key persons and events in the fragmented history of the country with the intention of "completing the record": that is, counteracting some of the older, ideologically biased historical accounts propagated during the apartheid period.[232] As I will demonstrate in Chapter 6, the unprecedented public denunciation of the old colonial and apartheid heritage and the enunciation of post-colonial heritage clearly illustrated the work of "oppositional discourse", or "counter narrative."

Other significant developments in heritage management over the first 10 years of democracy include South Africa becoming a signatory to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). In particular, South Africa ratified the 1972 UNESCO Convention on World Heritage Property and became a state party on 10 July 1997. To date, South Africa has eight world heritage sites proclaimed and listed under the UNESCO Convention on World Heritage Property as sites of "outstanding universal value".[233] Often the UNESCO Convention and governance protocols tend to take precedence over policies and instruments in member-state countries for the management of heritage sites that have been proclaimed world heritage property of "'outstanding universal value". Thus, there is sometimes a disjuncture between the UNESCO Convention and nation-state instruments for the protection of these world heritage sites. South Africa, as a state party to UNESCO, had to publish a localised

[231] Hall A, "Power and Obligations in Heritage Legislation", 2009, 65.
[232] Marschall S, "Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South", 2009, 1.
[233] Most notably, the UNESCO-proclaimed world heritage sites in South Africa post-1994 are: Robben Island, Cradle of Humankind, Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape, the Cape Floral Regional Protected Areas, Greater St Lucia Wetland Park (renamed iSimangaliso Wetland Park), Ukhahlamba Drakensberg (renamed Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Park), Richtersveld Cultural Landscape, and the Vredefort Dome.

version of the UNESCO Convention, namely the South African World Heritage Convention Act (Act No.49 of 1999), in order to establish alignment between international and national instruments. This Act seeks to harmonise international and national instruments, so as to facilitate the implementation of the 1972 UNESCO Convention on World Heritage Property. Some experts in Africa believe it is crucial to align international treaties with national instruments, including indigenous and traditional systems of protection, in order to manage heritage sites most effectively. Sands, for example, has argued:

> [I]n this way communities will not only be contributing to national strategies but will fill a huge gap in operationalising international law at local and national levels … the standard-setting role of international treaties will thus be in synchronism with the operational role of international organs, the State and the local community.[234]

UNESCO recently issued operational directives that stress the importance of community participation in matters related to world heritage sites. Following the UNESCO World Heritage Committee Decision (35COM/12D), which sought to encourage State Parties to develop, support and implement activities to promote the 40th Anniversary of the World Heritage Convention (2012) under the theme "World Heritage and Sustainable Development: the Role of Local Communities", the Government of South Africa in cooperation with UNESCO and the Africa World Heritage Fund (AWHF) organised an international Conference on "Living with World Heritage in Africa" in September 2012 in Johannesburg. The conference attracted more than 300 participants, including government officials, heritage professionals, academics, members of the private sector and the extractive (mining) sector, and local community representatives living in and around world heritage properties. The conference produced an "Africa position paper", with recommendations addressed to the extractive industry, which is one of the main stakeholders impacting heritage sites, sustainable development, local communities and sustainable tourism.[235] The recommendations were further adopted by the 37th World

[234] Sands P, In "Cultural Heritage and the Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries", 2001, 18. www.iccrom.org.
[235] Africa World Heritage Fund, www.awhf.net

Heritage Committee meeting in 2013 in Phnom Penh (Cambodia). The Africa World Heritage Fund is in the process of implementing these recommendations, in partnership with African states in the continent.

Globally, there has been an increasing recognition among politicians, academics and policy-makers of the important contribution of culture (of which heritage forms a part) to sustainable development (e.g. UN Resolution 65/166 on Culture and Development in 2010). Although the text of the World Heritage Convention, adopted in 1972, does not make any specific mention of the term "sustainable development", the World Heritage Committee has recognised the relationship between World Heritage and sustainable development.[236] The notion of sustainability, though narrowly defined, entered the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention in 1994, with reference to the "sustainable land-use" of cultural landscapes.[237] Since 2005, following the Budapest Declaration on World Heritage (2002), which called on all interested parties to "ensure the effective and sustainable conservation of World Heritage properties",[238] a broad notion of sustainable development has been taken into account in the subsequent revised versions of the Operational Guidelines.[239] These amendments to the Operational Guidelines are aimed at ensuring that any use of World Heritage properties should be sustainable in terms of maintaining their outstanding universal value, and they reiterate the idea that the management systems of World Heritage properties should integrate sustainable development principles. [240]

Another important development in post-colonial South Africa was the establishment of the South African Geographical Names Commission in 1993, through legislation of the same name. The establishment of the South African Geographical Names Commission was an integral part of implementing the 1996 White Paper on Arts and Culture. The

[236] UNESCO 1994, 2005, 2011.
[237] UNESCO 1994, paragraph 38. See also Labadi, 2013.
[238] Budapest Declaration on World Heritage, 2002, 5.
[239] The 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines notes "the protection and conservation of the natural and cultural heritage are a significant contribution to sustainable development" (Paragraph 6). The Operational Guidelines further recognize (paragraph 119) that World Heritage properties "may support a variety of ongoing and proposed uses that are ecologically and culturally sustainable". Finally, in 2011 a number of additions were made to the Operational Guidelines which refer to sustainable development, notably in paragraphs 112, 119, 132, as well as in Annex 5, points 4.b and 5.e (UNESCO 2005, 2011).
[240] UNESCO/IPHAN,2012,09

Commission's primary objective over the past 22 years has been to administer place-name changes. The Commission has been overwhelmed with the governance process of renaming and naming places, often after struggle icons of major political parties like the African National Congress (ANC) who fought against colonialism and apartheid. In principle, the Commission's work has been welcomed as a noble approach towards redress and the transformation of the country's political and heritage landscape. However, several opposition political parties, such as the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), perceive the process of renaming and naming places to be open to abuse and manipulation by the ruling ANC.[241] A proposal to rename a highway that honours IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for example, sparked significant political tension. An IFP official warned that there would be blood, "and a lot of it", following a proposal to instead rename the highway after ANC activist Griffiths Mxenge.[242] Many similar cases have been reported across South Africa.

It has also been observed that place names like the Nelson Mandela Bay Metropole, O R Tambo International Airport, Thabo Mbeki Drive, Walter Sisulu Botanical Gardens, and Peter Mokaba Stadium appear frequently and prominently throughout South Africa. These places are all named in honour of ANC struggle icons, and therefore give an impression of political hegemony and an overly inscribed narrative of the ANC—in many ways similar to the colonial and apartheid heritage of past regimes. Others have argued that "liberation heritage should be documented and presented in a way that fosters reconciliation … it should not favour a specific political party/movement or individuals and should include the heritage of all people, including those who could be considered as losing parties…"[243]

[241]A correspondence and letter of complaint (21/08/2015) lodged by AfriForum and Freedom Front Plus to the Tshwane Municipality (Mayor's office) regarding the alleged unconstitutionality of place name changes in Pretoria. The complaint has been referred to the National Geographical Names Commission and the High Court. However, the Tshwane Municipality has argued that they have adequately consulted stakeholders in the City of Tshwane and received overwhelming support for street name changes in the inner city (CBD). AfriForum and other lobby groups are still contesting the renaming of streets in Pretoria.
[242] The Daily Maverick, 29 March 2012, www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-03-29. [Accessed on 17/10/2016]
[243] Report on Stakeholder Consultation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project in the North West Province, organised by the National Heritage Council, 23 March 2011. www.nhc.org.za.

However, opposition parties like the Democratic Alliance (DA) have also used names of ANC political activists and struggle icons to rename places in DA-led constituencies. On 11 March 2013, *The Sowetan* newspaper reported that the City of Cape Town had on Human Rights Day renamed streets in honour of ANC heavyweights Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and former ANC Women's League member Dulcie September.[244] Eastern Boulevard in Cape Town was also renamed Nelson Mandela Boulevard, while a significant public square in the city was named after former ANC president Albert Luthuli (the first African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize).

In South Africa, the contentious act of attaching the names of struggle icons (activists and victims of apartheid) to places is inextricably linked to the process of "symbolic reparations", which is one of the truth and reconciliation outcomes espoused by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Rassool et al., on the subject of memorialisation and the TRC, have argued that "there has been a tendency by government to shift the focus from financial compensation to issues of community restitution and symbolic reparations".[245] Indeed, one often wonders whether a simple change of name is adequate, since transformation needs to occur at a more fundamental level within economically and socially fragmented South African societies. Nhlapho has contended that "changing the name is not transformation … [though] it could be one of the components of a systematic process that needs to take place".[246]

At the time of the promulgation of the White Paper on Arts and Culture in 1996, the former Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology officially administered the implementation of the White Paper together with its various agencies, which include the South African Heritage Resources Agency, the National Heritage Council, Iziko Museums

[244] *The Sowetan* newspaper article entitled DA HONOURS ANC STALWARTS, 11 March 2013.
[245] Rassool, C., Witz, L., Minkley, G, "Burying and memorialising the body of truth: The TRC and national heritage", 2000, Pg4. In James, W (Ed.) "After the truth and reconciliation commission: Reconciliation in the New Millennium", Cape Town: David Phillip.
[246] Nhlapho N, In TRC Report (2003). In terms of the TRC Report (2003) and recommendations of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (1998), symbolic reparations are legal and moral obligations to survivors of gross human rights violation and these are measures that facilitate the communal process of remembering and commemorating the pain and victories of the past. Such measures are seen as mechanisms to restore the dignity of victims and survivors, including exhumations, tombstones, memorials and monuments and the renaming of streets and public facilities. TRC Report (2003), Introduction. Report of the Rehabilitation and Reparation Committee, 6, 92-180.

(former Southern Flagship Museums), Ditsong Museums (former Northern Flagship Museums), among others. State-funded museums in particular have been called on by the Ministry of Arts and Culture to redress past inequities, as part of the national reconstruction and development programme. Funding is a powerful agent of change, and it has been made clear that financial support will be awarded to those heritage projects that contribute to transforming national consciousness.[247]

The Cultural Institutions Act of 1998 ushered in the implementation of heritage policies and structural reforms through the establishment of new heritage institutions and the refashioning of old cultural institutions like the South African Heritage Resources Agency (formerly the National Monuments Council), Iziko Museums of Cape Town (formerly Southern Flagship Museums), Ditsong Flagship Museums (formerly Northern Flagship Museums) and the National Heritage Council.[248] In line with the restructuring of heritage institutions, a call was made to museums to reposition themselves to serve all South Africans, and increase public accessibility.[249] Museums have since faced a series of challenges, including accessibility, the development of new audiences, capacity building, and devising transformation programmes to groom and appoint a new generation of curators and managers to enhance racial, gender and age representation. Former Minister of Arts and Culture Pallo Jordan said in 2005 that his department had challenged museums and heritage institutions "to mount exciting community outreach programmes and exhibitions that reflect the cultural diversity of our country, to increase public access and participation [in] museum spaces".[250]

[247] Davison P, "Controversy Surrounding Miscast Exhibition", 1998, 148. South African Museum.
[248] In an attempt to coordinate the museum sector, the DAC commissioned a feasibility study aimed to investigate the possibility of clustering specific museums in order achieve economies of scale. The Simeka Report (1998) recommended that the overall approach to heritage services be transformed in line with the national agenda for political change. The outcome resulted in the amalgamation of heritage institutions towards the centralisation of finances of heritage services and the formation of the Northern Flagship Institution and Southern Flagship Institution, renamed Ditsong Flagship Museums and Iziko Museums of Cape Town respectively.
[249] The Department of Arts and Culture, A report of the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG), 1995, 11.
[250] The Department of Arts and Culture, A progress report on status of transformation in the heritage sector, 6 May 2005. Also captures a speech delivered by the former Minister of Arts and Culture Mr Pallo Jordan at the Heritage Colloquium organised at Kopanong Conference venue in March 2005.

Despite the urgent need to change museum exhibitions and public displays, the issue of transformation has persistently been delayed, and is often misconstrued to mean simply adding new exhibitions that juxtapose with the old colonial exhibitions. This popular approach to heritage management post-1994 tends to reinforce the add-on effect of new symbols, and negates the prospects of addressing real changes in the heritage sector. Across most of the sectors involved in heritage management, the colonial modus operandi and legacy continue.

In 2010, the Department of Arts and Culture initiated a second policy-review process to address some of the policy challenges that had been identified in the first 14 years of democracy. This policy-review process involved research and extensive stakeholder consultations across the country. Briefly, the primary aim of the policy-review process was to focus on policy alignment with new government strategies, such as the New Growth Path and the National Development Plan.

The policy-review process also sought to rationalise the governance of heritage by addressing the duplication of resources and the overlapping mandates among state-funded heritage institutions. New proposals were submitted for those institutions with overlapping mandates, such as the National Heritage Council and the South African Heritage Resources Agency, to merge.[251] Since both the SAHRA and the NHC are statutory bodies of the DAC charged with the responsibility of heritage management in South Africa, there is often tension and confusion concerning their overlapping mandates and core functions, including the duplication of roles and responsibilities across the two organisations. According to Sibayi (Executive Officer of SAHRA), the core mandate of SAHRA concerns "heritage resources management which covers the identification, grading and declaration of heritage resources[,] both heritage sites and objects … which are part of the national estate."[252] On the other hand, the core function and mandate of the NHC is "coordination, funding and effecting transformation measures in the heritage

[251] The Department of Arts and Culture, A report on Policy Review process of the White Paper on Arts and Culture, 2010. www.dac.gov.za.
[252] Sibayi D, "Addressing the Impact of The Structural Fragmentation on Aspects of the Management and Conservation of Cultural Heritage", 2009, 5. A Master's Thesis, Masters of Public Management, Stellenbosch University.

sector".[253] However, recurring ambiguity and vagueness in the heritage policies of both organisations continue to create confusion and even potential rivalry between the two institutions.

The policy-review process of the White Paper on Arts and Culture identified this problem of overlapping mandates and the duplication of state resources between SAHRA and the NHC, and made a strong recommendation for the merger of the state-funded organisations, proposing an amalgamated and single national body responsible for heritage management in South Africa. On this point Dumisani Sibayi (executive officer of SAHRA) asserts that "the policy review process should assist in eliminating all sorts of duplication of resources amongst the heritage institutions … the proposed changes make provision for the merger of in particular the National Heritage Council and the South African Heritage Resources Agency, under a single structure and state organisation … in fact the latest recommendations propose that about three heritage and cultural institutions will be merged and the National Heritage Council will be the coordinating state institution of heritage management in South Africa."[254] In many African countries, heritage management falls under the jurisdiction of a single and often centralised state organisation or department, such as the national museums in Zimbabwe, Kenya, Malawi, Botswana, Senegal, and many other states.

For the most part, the policy-review process attracted valuable input from public- and private-sector organisations involved in heritage management. Technically, however, the policy-review process is not complete, since the Draft White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage has not yet been ratified or passed into law by Parliament. Nonetheless, the policy-review process has coincided with shifts in national priorities by the state, as well as significant policy proposals intended to unlock the potential of arts, culture and heritage in ways that meet the developmental goals of the state.[255] Heritage management has

[253] The National Heritage Councils Act of 1999, www.polity.org.za and www.nhc.org.za.
[254] Interview with Mr Dumisani Sibayi, 18th August 2015 and follow-up meetings, Cape Town
[255] After the 2009 national elections, government adopted an outcomes-based approach, including the use of monitoring and evaluation. This approach, implemented across the three spheres of government, is aimed at assisting and ensuring implementation of policy directives and frameworks. It involves changing the culture of government from one that focuses almost exclusively on activities to one that also focuses strongly on results (outcomes). In pursuit of this new approach, Cabinet agreed on a set of outcomes (or priorities) to provide a strategic focus for government, building on the five priorities in the

undergone a paradigm shift in the 22 years of democracy in South Africa. The old approach of conserving heritage resources only for the sake of protection is being phased out to make way for a more integrated management approach, which includes addressing socioeconomic issues. Even though in practice there has been steady progress in implementing an integrated management approach, this approach is typical of contemporary expectations that state-prioritised heritage projects contribute to the broad development imperatives of the country, as outlined in the National Development Plan (NDP). The NDP details desired national outcomes, including job creation and economic development, rural development, regional integration, and social cohesion. The heritage sector has been urged to redefine itself in response to these predetermined national imperatives.

In 2011, the Department of Arts and Culture unveiled the Mzansi Golden Economic Strategy, which strongly recommends unlocking the economic potential of the creative industry, culture and heritage to address national priorities like job creation, economic development, training, skills development, infrastructure development, social cohesion, and national identity. The Mzansi Golden Economic Strategy is informed by the New Growth Path and the National Development Plan, which serve as national blue-print documents for development.[256] It is crucial that current heritage management policies and legal instruments be relevant to contemporary development needs, especially in Africa. It has been observed that, in most African countries, "colonial outdated laws have failed to meet contemporary realities of integrated development … as such, the legislation of

ruling party's election manifesto. It is in this context that the 2010-2014 Medium-Term Strategic Framework (Strategic Plan) of the DAC outlines in its mandate the development and preservation of South African culture and heritage to ensure social cohesion and nation building, and make a meaningful contribution to the government's objectives of creating decent work, fighting poverty and building sustainable livelihoods. The NGP, the concrete interventions envisaged in the IPAP 2 and the NDP, provide some guidance on what could be considered the role and contribution of the arts, culture and heritage to growth and development. However, the existing 1996 White Paper on Arts and Culture in Section 2, entitled Background and Historical Overview, does not reflect and comprehensively address the current general policy approaches and imperatives of government and the creative and cultural industries.

[256] The DAC's Mzansi Golden Economy Strategy is informed by the New Growth Path strategy of national government. The New Growth Path (NGP) with its focus on growing the economy for the benefit of all and creating decent work, as well as the adoption of the National Development Plan (NDP) with its vision for 2030, underpins the vision and objectives of the DAC. Also see revised Draft White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (version 4) 2011. www.dac.gov.za

policies available fail to address issues of poverty, employment, interests of youth, gender, land use and rights."[257] Where legislation exists, it tends to conflict with other legislation on environment, land planning, urban and rural development, traditional and cultural rights and community values.[258]

Similarly, the ongoing debate around a sustainable and integrated approach to global heritage is premised on attempts to establish a balance between heritage conservation and development. Thus, the proposed approach has been to harmonise issues of heritage conservation with the objectives of development. For instance, economic activities like infrastructure development, mining and tourism are now subject to impact assessments, in order to mitigate their potentially adverse effects on heritage conservation.[259] In South Africa, the potential threat of coal mining next to the Mapungubwe world heritage site represents a common dilemma confronting UNESCO member states, especially in Africa. Communities in such areas are forced to make difficult choices between heritage conservation and a development agenda that is geared towards economic empowerment and job creation. Critics have observed that it is imperative that mining operations comply with the relevant legislation, particularly the Environment Conservation Act (ECA) of 1989, the National Environmental Management Act (NEMA) of 1998, the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999, the Cultural and Natural Heritage Act of 1972, and the World Heritage Conservation Act of 1999, otherwise the landscape will be exposed to extreme danger and will face losing its world heritage status.[260] The Mapungubwe case epitomises a much more widespread phenomenon that

[257] Eboreime J, "Challenges of Heritage Management in Africa", 2001, 2. In "Cultural Heritage and the Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa", 2001. www.iccrom.org

[258] Ibid., 4.

[259] A report on the 40th anniversary of UNESCO makes specific recommendations on issues heritage conservation and sustainable tourism, including SMME development and community beneficiation in world heritage sites, especially in Africa, organised jointly by AWHF, DAC and NDT, Kopanong conference venue, 2012. State of Conservation Reports of Robben Island and Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Sites, drawn from Reactive Mission of UNESCO 2011. Also the Periodic Cyclic Reporting hosted by the National Heritage Council, 2010, Kopanong conference venue. Also a report of the expert meeting on conservation and development with the extractive industry (Mining Houses) at Maropeng (2014).

[260] The SAHRA framework for development of integrated management plans, www.sahra.org.za

exists around conservation and sustainable development, especially in developing states in Africa and elsewhere.

The National Heritage Resources Act and the South African Heritage Resources Agency

During the 1990s, the formal heritage management paradigm in southern Africa and abroad began to shift from a "monumentalist approach", which focused on the protection of monuments, relics, and various other tangible forms of heritage, to a holistic conservation approach. [261] Conservation became defined as "all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance, caring not only for the cultural heritage values of the site but also the surrounding environment".[262] Related to this shift came the establishment of the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 and the National Heritage Councils Act of 1999—among the major developments to emerge from the implementation of the 1996 White Paper on Arts and Culture.

The National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) was promulgated in 1999 in line with the vision and ideals of democracy and transformation. Under the Act, the narrowly defined term "monument" was replaced by the term "heritage resources", defined as "any place or object of cultural significance".[263] Heritage resources protected by the Act include places of natural beauty, buildings, streets, landscapes, objects of historical importance, geological, palaeontological and archaeological sites and objects, rock art, shipwrecks, and the graves of historical figures and victims of conflict. The Act makes reference to "cultural significance", a blanket term for "aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance".[264]

The NHRA, like previous heritage legislation, draws heavily on the European experience of heritage management, as evidenced by the use of terms like "aesthetic", "heritage resources", "national estate", "cultural significance", and by the use of categories or

[261] Deacon, 1993 and also Pearson & Sullivan, 1995, "Reflections on New Heritage Legislation," www.sahra.org.za
[262] Ibid.
[263] National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 Section (xi). www.polity.org.za and www.sahra.org.za.
[264] Ibid.

typologies of heritage. The NHRA also ranks heritage in terms of its value or "cultural significance", using a grading system. For instance, heritage resources deemed to be of national significance are considered Grade I Sites and are part of the national estate. Those heritage sites considered to be of provincial significance are Grade II Sites, and, finally, sites that have attained local significance are Grade III Sites according to the NHRA ranking system.

The term "national estate" in the Act covers heritage resources of cultural significance, or of other special value, to the present community and future generations. These resources must fall under the control of the heritage authorities. According to the National Heritage Resources Act, the national estate may include: (a) places, buildings, structures and equipment of cultural significance; (b) places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage; (c) historical settlements and townscapes; (d) landscapes and natural features of cultural significance; (e) geological sites of scientific or cultural importance; (f) archaeological and palaeontological sites; (g) graves and burial grounds, among other ascribed attributes and values.[265] The concept of "national estate" has far-reaching implications for the general heritage management principles outlined in the NHRA. In particular, the concept of national estate is only applicable to sites that are deemed to be of national significance (Grade I Sites). Therefore, by implication, heritage sites that are of provincial and local significance do not qualify to be part of the national estate, and therefore do not qualify for protection at the national level by SAHRA. Their protection is limited to the provincial or local level. The concept of a "national estate" is considered a more encompassing framework than the heritage management systems used in other African states, such as Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana, Kenya, Namibia, and many others. A national estate includes any property of importance to the heritage of a country, held in trust and controlled by heritage authorities.[266] The concept of a "national estate" mimics a system used by many countries to allocate and manage mineral rights. In effect, the NHRA sets up a system whereby heritage cannot be viewed as a commodity

[265] Ibid.
[266] Ndoro W, "Legal Definitions of Heritage",2008, 31. In "Cultural Heritage and the Law Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa". www.iccrom.org.

with a value to be traded, altered, or even destroyed by anyone who has rights to use the land on which that heritage is located.[267]

The National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 is largely influenced by the Australian Burra Charter, which includes concepts like “monument”, “national estate”, and “movable and immovable heritage”. The Australian Burra Charter was in turn influenced by the Venice Charter, discussed in Chapter 2, which has the unique credit of introducing the notions of “systematic maintenance” and “social use”, as well as the value of proven techniques of repair.[268] The Venice Charter, like many other European-derived legal instruments, emphasised the conservation of monuments. Its popularity in the African context paved the way for the standardisation of norms and practices in heritage management.

Consistent with the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996), and in a notable departure from the heritage policies that held sway under colonialism and apartheid, the National Heritage Resources Act (1999) places an emphasis on inclusiveness, access and the participation of local communities in heritage management. In particular, the Act states that “heritage resources form an important part of the history and beliefs of communities and must be managed in a way that acknowledges the right of affected communities to be consulted and to participate in their management … [the Act] … aims to promote good management of the national estate, and to enable and encourage communities to nurture and conserve their legacy so that it may be bequeathed to future generations.”[269] As a result of the growing desire among those in the heritage sector to democratise the conservation and management of heritage resources, inclusiveness (especially of previously marginalised communities) became one of the key aims of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA). According to Pistorius, who was involved in drafting the NHRA, the Act was created to establish an integrated and interactive heritage management system, and to empower communities to nurture their heritage.[270] These

[267] Hall A, “Powers and obligations in Heritage Legislation”, 2001, 38. In “Cultural Heritage and the Law Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa”. www.iccrom.org.
[268] Stovel H, “Monitoring World Cultural Heritage Sites”, 1995, ICOMOS Canada Bulletin, Vol. 4, 1995.
[269] National Heritage Resources Act of 1999, In Section (4) of General principles for heritage resources management, www.polity.org.za or www.sahra.org.za
[270] Pistorius P, “The Spirit and Aims of the NHRA”, 2011, a presentation rendered by the Association of Heritage Practitioners, at the Heritage Alive Workshop, held in Cape Town on 29 October 2011

aims are enshrined in the long title of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) and in its preamble. Pistorius has argued that the definition of heritage resources needs to be reviewed and expanded to contribute to a national identity, however diverse that may be.[271] Andrew Hall, who was also involved in drafting the NHRA, refers to the Act as "aspirational", but he adds: "We live every day in the shadow of the National Monuments Act."[272] Hall is disappointed with the "very few steps"[273] that have been taken to promote the ideals of the NHRA, whose aim was partly to eliminate the exclusion that communities endured under colonialism and apartheid.[274]

Even though post-1994 policy reforms have emphasised the urgent need for public participation in heritage management, such participation has been slow in materialising, especially due to a history of public scepticism about government. The state tends to define the conditions and terms of public participation, which is another example of Foucault's notion of governmentality. Often members of the public are not part of the bureaucratic and governance processes around heritage management. It has been observed that archaeologists and heritage managers frequently view local communities as passive partners.[275] Furthermore, in many African states, the post-colonial era did not automatically result in the incorporation of local communities into heritage management and protection. As a result of this top-down approach, there has been a growing call for traditional knowledge and community stewardship to be legally recognised in the formal heritage management system.[276]

Another significant aspect of the National Heritage Resources Act (1999) is the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), which was established in terms of Section 11 of the Act as the leading authority for implementing the Act and managing the national

[271] Ibid.
[272] Hall A, "What makes heritage so difficult to achieve in practice?", 2011, A presentation rendered at the Heritage Alive Workshop, held in Cape Town on 29 October 2011.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Hall A, "What makes heritage so difficult to achieve in practice?", 2011, A presentation rendered at the Heritage Alive Workshop, held in Cape Town on 29 October 2011
[275] Ndoro et al., "Heritage Management and Conservation: From Colonialization to Globalization", 2015, 139. In "Global Heritage: A Reader", John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
[276] Chirikure S, and Pitwi G, "Community Involvement in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Management: An Assessment from Case Studies in Southern Africa and Elsewhere", 2008. In 'Current Anthropology', Vol 49, No 03, June 2008.

estate. In 2000, SAHRA officially replaced the National Monuments Council (NMC). The National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) further provides for the establishment of Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities (PRHAs) in all the nine provinces of South Africa, with the exception of KwaZulu-Natal, where Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali is the official provincial heritage authority. It has been noted that, in most provinces, the PRHAs are still inadequately resourced and therefore cannot effectively execute their mandates, as set out in the National Heritage Resources Act.[277]

As part of the post-colonial discourse on heritage policy reforms, the National Heritage Resources Act (1999) has created an enabling environment for SAHRA to implement particular aspects of liberation heritage. Sections 3 (g)(iii) and (g)(iv) of the Act makes specific reference to the declaration of "graves of victims of conflicts … graves of individuals designated by the Minister by notice in the Gazette."[278] In terms of Section 36 of the Act, SAHRA administers the Burial Grounds and Graves Unit, whose key objective is to declare, identify, record and conserve graves and burial grounds across South Africa. These include ancestral graves, royal graves, the graves of traditional leaders, historical graves, and cemeteries. Accordingly, the Ministry of Arts and Culture in 2010 declared several of the graves of struggle icons national heritage sites, including the graves of Charlotte Maxeke, Helen Joseph and Lillian Ngoyi. In 2013, the graves of Rev Sefako Makgatho, Mr Josiah Gumede, Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Dr Robert Sobukwe, Mr Stephen Biko and Dr Christiaan Naude were granted the same heritage status.[279]

Some years earlier, and in line with this transforming heritage landscape, SAHRA for the first time published an article celebrating the role of women as heroines of the liberation

[277] The National Heritage Resources Act, as mentioned, makes provision for the promulgation of a three-tier system for heritage resources management in South Africa: national, provincial, and local levels. SAHRA is the custodian of sites that have been classified as Grade I heritage resources, while Grade II heritage resources are the responsibility of Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities, and local municipalities are responsible for sites of local significance and for sites that have not been graded. The primary aim of the three-tier system is to help promote the management of cultural resources at the local government level and to enlist the participation of local communities.
[278] National Heritage Resources Act no 25 of 1999. www.sahra.org.za or www.dac.gov.za.
[279] South African Government News Agency, "Graves of struggle heroines declared heritage sites", 20/08/2013, Soweto. www.sanews.gov.za

struggle in its newsletter. In the article, entitled “Celebrating our Heroines of the Liberation Struggle in South Africa”, SAHRA asserts that:

> [I]n our [SAHRA] efforts of accelerating transformation of heritage resources through gender representivity—it becomes very clear that our national heritage sites must honour the significant roles played by these heroines … Lest we forget our history!

Some of the popular struggle activists listed by SAHRA in the newsletter article are Sarah Baartman, Charlotte Maxeke, Queen Modjadji, Ruth First, and Queen Nandi.[280]

Even though SAHRA has since invoked the National Heritage Resources Act to prioritise new projects, such as the National Liberation Heritage Route, it is worth noting that the majority of national and provincial heritage sites are drawn from the apartheid and colonial era. SAHRA records reveal an estimate of 4,000 heritage sites from the colonial and apartheid eras,[281] of which less than 100 reflect the suppressed history of the majority of South Africans. The National Liberation Heritage Route project is one of the post-colonial state’s flagship initiatives, designed to foreground these previously suppressed histories.

Another notable development of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) has been the inclusion of intangible aspects of heritage, or “living heritage”, which is defined in Section 2 of the NHRA as intangible aspects of inherited culture, such as cultural traditions, oral history, performance, ritual, popular memory, skills and techniques, indigenous knowledge systems, and a holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships.[282] However, the National Heritage Resources Act does not cover intangible heritage per se. According to Section 3 of the Act, the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) has the mandate to manage heritage resources (both sites and objects) to which oral tradition or living heritage is attached.[283] In other words, SAHRA applies the

[280] The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), News Letter - SAHRA NEWS, Sept 2007, Vol 2, Issue 2, 1.
[281] Ibid.
[282] National Heritage Resources Act of 1999, www.polity.org.za, section 2.
[283] Ibid.

same standards and conditions to safeguarding living heritage as it does to tangible heritage, which includes sites and objects.[284] Regardless, it has become common practice that intangible values are taken into account during the declaration of heritage sites and objects.

As an official working for SAHRA, responsible for the living heritage portfolio, I have since discovered that living heritage and intangible heritage are closely linked to local community beliefs and practices, which sustain the conservation of heritage. For instance, the land-use management practices at the Richtersveld World Heritage Site are informed by the indigenous knowledge and traditional practices of the Nama people (the local community), who have been implementing these practices for centuries. Thus, the integrated conservation management approach now incorporates indigenous and traditional practices.

In 2015, a significant milestone was reached when the Department of Arts and Culture submitted a Cabinet memorandum for the ratification and publishing of the National Policy on South African Living Heritage. The policy was the first of its kind to prescribe guidelines for protecting various aspects of intangible heritage in South Africa. An integral aspect of the policy is its emphasis on the participation of local communities. In effect, the National Policy on South African Living Heritage makes it compulsory for the state and local communities to share responsibility for the country's living heritage. As in the case of the Richtersveld, public participation needs to be fully realised, as local communities are still largely marginalised and their rights to heritage still tend to be suppressed by dominant state measures on conservation. On this point, Mataga argues that, "for the local communities, the sites or the objects are part of their life, and they find value in relating to these through everyday rituals, even when it sometimes compromises the preservation values as envisaged by museum experts." He further contends that "counter-heritage practices become a platform for previously marginalised practices to engage with and

[284] Manetsi T, "Can Intangibles be Tangible: Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in the New South Africa: Towards Formulating Policy for the Conservation and Sustainable Management of Living Heritage", 2006, 56. MA dissertation, University of Cape Town.

challenge officialised practices, forcing them to accommodate definitions and concepts of heritage articulated by marginalised communities, in a down-to-top movement."[285]

The Heritage Council Act and the National Heritage Council

The White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996) proposed a new National Heritage Council (NHC), whose functions were outlined in the National Heritage Council Act:

- To develop, promote and protect the national heritage for the present and future generations;
- To coordinate heritage management;
- To protect, preserve and promote the nation's oral heritage;
- To integrate living heritage into the functions and activities of the council, and all other national, provincial and local heritage authorities and institutions;
- To promote and protect indigenous knowledge systems, including enterprise and industry, social upliftment, institutional framework and liberator processes; and
- To intensify support for the promotion of the history and culture of all our peoples, and particularly to support research and publication on enslavement in South Africa.

Three of these objectives reiterate the focus on intangible heritage—including oral heritage, living heritage and indigenous knowledge—which was subject to exclusion and marginalisation in the past. The National Heritage Council seeks to integrate living heritage into the mainstream of heritage management. Unlike SAHRA, the NHC is charged with the responsibility of coordinating and transforming the heritage sector in South Africa. The former chief operations officer of the NHC, Somadoda Fikeni, explains this task:

> Colonial and Apartheid legacies compound the task as the South African heritage sector is highly fragmented, racialized and skewed … rich, diverse

[285] Mataga, J. 2014. "Practices of Pastness, Postwars of the Dead, and the Power of Heritage: Museums, Monuments and Sites in Colonial and Post-Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890 – 2010," PHD Thesis, 2014, 216.

> histories, cultures and experiences of the people of this country are not properly reflected or represented, as the formerly oppressed population is still marginal on the heritage landscape … a general survey of museums, monuments, heritage sites, archives, libraries, names of geographic places, symbols, and human resources or skills distribution, clearly demonstrate[s] the need to transform the sector in a manner that will assist in fostering a true national identity that embraces diverse cultures and experiences.[286]

In 2005, the National Heritage Council (NHC) initiated the National Heritage Transformation Charter, which proposes a set of structural and programmatic changes in the heritage sector. In line with this Charter, the NHC embarked on an appraisal of all heritage assets, institutions, practices and values through a broadly consultative process, which included public and private organisations. Even though the NHC has invested a great deal of state resources in the Charter, it is yet to be ratified and formally adopted by the Department of Arts and Culture. Critics in the sector have blamed the Charter's delay on bureaucracy and a lack of transparency and accountability on the part of the National Heritage Council.[287]

Besides the Transformation Charter, the National Heritage Council has initiated various topical programmes and projects, outlined in documents such as the Policy Position Paper on Heritage Conservation and Development, the Policy Position Paper on Public Access to Heritage Resources, and the Policy Position Paper on Repatriation of Heritage Resources. The repatriation of heritage resources in particular has been at the centre of heritage debate in post-colonial South Africa, which has witnessed a flurry of claims on human remains by lobby groups from descendant communities. The power of community mobilisation was evident in the exhumations at Prestwich Place in Green Point (2005) and at Mapungubwe National Park (2007), as well as in the repatriation of the remains of

[286] The National Heritage Council (NHC), A report on stakeholder engagement for the development of the National Heritage Transformation Charter, input by Dr Somadoda Fikeni (chief operations officer: NHC), 2005. www.nhc.org.za.

[287] See Mohale G, "Do we have a Heritage Transformation Charter or Not?" 2010. Input and comments made on the Draft National Heritage Transformation Charter, posted to the archival platform on 13 June 2010.

Sarah Baartman (2002), and Klaas and Trooi Pienaar (2014). Communities have limited influence on heritage management, it turns out, but they do have a say, especially in relation to ancestral remains. Section 41 of the National Heritage Resources Act enshrines the protection of local communities' interests and requires the relevant publicly funded institutions to negotiate with bodies or communities "with bona fide interest".[288]

The repatriation of Klaas and Trooi Pienaar in 2014 from Austria, and their reburial in Kuruman in the Northern Cape, highlights the extent of state intervention in heritage management in striking ways. President Jacob Zuma oversaw the state-funded reburial ceremony and used the opportunity to address issues facing the heritage sector:

> The horrible treatment of Mr and Mrs Pienaar and others is a stark reminder of the need to comprehensively transform our museums and heritage sectors … our museums must be transformed to become centres of heritage and expertise which respect all peoples and cultures … no museum must have a collection or material that depicts any section of the South African population as colonial objects, more so the indigenous people ... therefore, all museums in South Africa need to urgently undertake an enquiry into the ethics of their human remains collection … they must ensure that none of the material was collected through dehumanizing and racist methods.[289]

The Pienaar incident illustrates the importance of collaboration between the state, society and academia in the governance of heritage resources. In making its repatriation claim, the state acted on evidence presented by local communities and on research by Rassool and Legasick in 'Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African Museums and the Trade in Human Remains 1907–1917'.

[288] The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), National Heritage Resources Act of 1999, Section 41. www.polity.org.za and www.sahra.org.za.
[289] Iziko Museums of Cape Town, "Our museums must be transformed and decolonised", speech by President Jacob Zuma on the occasion of the reburial of Mr and Mrs Klaas and Trooi Pienaar in Kuruman, Northern Cape Province, 12 August 2012. www.iziko.org.za.

The transformation envisioned by the National Heritage Council Act dates back to the early years of democracy, and is rooted in post-colonial thinking. Analysts began to reinterpret heritage to accommodate multiple perspectives on the past, and to articulate contemporary narratives that are aligned to the ideals of the new political order. Former Minister of Arts and Culture Pallo Jordan strongly recommended that local knowledge be used to reinterpret heritage resources that are still subject to dominant colonial interpretations.[290] In keeping with the theme of reinterpretation, historical sites have over the years been converted to serve different purposes. Examples of repurposed sites include the Old Fort at Constitution Hill (Johannesburg), the Gallows Chamber (Pretoria Maximum Security Prison), the Pass Office (Langa, Western Cape), Lwandle Migrant Labour Hostel (Western Cape), the Nelson Mandela Capture Site (Howick, KwaZulu-Natal), the Robben Island Museum (Western Cape), and many more newly proclaimed heritage sites.

Perhaps the most intriguing form of reinterpreting the past in the present is the case of Robben Island. The iconic site was once a place of torture and banishment, but now it is recast as a symbol of hope and triumph over evil. According to Harriet Deacon, "for the past three-and-a-half centuries Robben Island has been the hell-hole of Table Bay, South Africa's Alcatraz, an impregnable place of banishment for those who have opposed the status quo … the now dominant representation of the island as a place symbolising triumph over apartheid is linked to a reformulation of national identity based on a particular view of modernity represented by the discourse of human rights."[291] The model of Robben Island has been replicated in several national and international memory projects involving sites of political resistance and liberation struggle.

Reinterpreting the past clearly represents a significant shift in heritage management in South Africa. The dominant colonial and apartheid narratives of the country could not be challenged pre-1994, but in the post-colonial era there has been a rapid increase in alternative narratives that continue to cast light on different perspectives on the history and heritage of South Africa. The rise of these alternative narratives has had a

[290] The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), Minister of Arts and Culture, Mr Pallo Jordan, speech delivered at the National Heritage Council Transformation Indaba, 1 April 2005.
[291] Deacon, 1998, 162.

tremendous influence on heritage management, particularly on the definition, interpretation, documentation and presentation of heritage.[292]

The work of the National Heritage Council has often centred on media spectacle and popular events to raise awareness around contemporary and topical heritage issues. Some of the popular events staged by the National Heritage Council include the Liberation Heritage Summits, stakeholder engagements on the Heritage Transformation Charter, the South African Traditional Music Awards, and Ubuntu in Nation Building. At some point, Ubuntu in Nation Building became a flagship initiative of the NHC, with a huge budget allocation. The annual event entailed conferring a heritage award called the Ubuntu Award on popular figures in modern history, such as Nelson Mandela, Kenneth Kaunda, Fidel Castro, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Winnie Mandela, and others who are considered "an embodiment of values of ubuntu and humility".[293] The selection criteria for Ubuntu recipients were often contested, and the NHC is aware of the objections. Despite the misgivings of some critics, the NHC is resolute in its defence of the Ubuntu project.

The one-off popular Ubuntu events, synonymous with the NHC's "media-grabbing" culture of "eventing", were only significant in raising awareness and promoting heritage issues, however. The impact of these events could not be sustained. Informed by the need to transform the heritage sector in South Africa more substantially, the National Heritage Council initiated the National Liberation Heritage Route project in 2005 as its new flagship initiative, which was later proclaimed a "Legacy Project" of the Department of Arts and Culture through a Cabinet resolution. The National Liberation Heritage Route project, which constitutes a case study for this research, seeks to document and present the history and legacy of the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Further details of the project will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. However, it is critical to note here the deliberate commitment demonstrated by the National Heritage Council to transforming the heritage sector by introducing a diverse range of heritages.

[292] Ndoro W, "Legal Definitions of Heritage", 2008. In "Cultural Heritage and the Law Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa". www.iccrom.org
[293]The National Heritage Council (NHC), Ubuntu in Nation Building programme, 2009–2010, www.nhc.org.za.

Even though the National Heritage Council is a new state agency whose purpose is to advance transformation in the heritage sector, the work of the Council is rooted in the norms and standards established in the colonial and apartheid eras. Projects initiated by the NHC may be transformative in nature, but the modus operandi of these initiatives remains largely based on European colonial experiences. For instance, the ownership of liberation heritage by the National Heritage Council epitomises European and colonial notions of state-authorised, institutionalised heritage, which is beyond the reach and custodianship of the public and society.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that the colonial period has left its mark on the legal systems that govern cultural heritage in Africa.[294] Even after 50 years of independence, the majority of heritage legislation continues to reflect the management systems introduced during the colonial-settler era. It is against this background that heritage management in post-colonial South Africa has been framed. By implication, the formalisation of heritage management by the state epitomises colonial notions of authorisation and institutionalisation. Heritage management in post-colonial South Africa has been marked by a measure of progressive laws and policies, although transformation in the sector is still lagging. Besides resource allocation and support, significant developments in the governance of heritage in post-colonial South Africa include the legislative proclamation of notions like public participation, the recognition of diversity, and the inclusion of intangible heritage. These radical shifts in the South African heritage sector could not have transpired without political will and state intervention

State prioritisation of heritage in the post-colonial era refers to the deliberate intention by the state to select particular pasts and construct new heritages aligned to its contemporary demands and interests. The introduction of legacy projects such as the National Liberation Heritage Route accentuates the governmentality employed by the state in defining and proclaiming “official heritage”.

[294] Negri, “Introduction to Heritage Law in Africa”, in “Cultural Heritage and the Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa”, ICCROM Conservation Studies, 2008, 9.

The following chapter will clearly illustrate the extent of governmentality in the framing of the National Liberation Heritage project as “official heritage” in post-colonial South Africa. It is thus the purpose of the next chapter to unpack, in-depth, the nature and scope of the National Liberation Heritage Route project, which is the selected case study for this dissertation. The National Liberation Heritage Route prevails as a critical illustration of state-prioritised heritage in post-apartheid South Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY: THE NATIONAL LIBERATION HERITAGE ROUTE PROJECT

Figure 12: Preliminary branding of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project. Source: NHC www.nhc.org.za

Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed account of the case study of this research: the National Liberation Heritage Route project. The National Liberation Heritage Route (NHLR) project, or, alternatively, the liberation heritage project, is an important initiative designed to promote the suppressed history of the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa. The NHLR offers an alternative historical narrative, and seeks to confront the legacies of colonialism and apartheid by responding to questions of redress, transformation, and restorative and social justice. Most importantly, the liberation heritage project documents and disseminates previously marginalised narratives of people's struggles against repressive regimes in South Africa. Dr Ndagala, the UNESCO representative in Dar es Salaam and coordinator of the Roads to Independence: Africa Liberation Heritage Project in Tanzania, has explained the importance of such an undertaking:

> A significant aspect of this history of African countries stands to be lost unless it is collected, documented and made accessible to the public … many of the personalities who were instrumental in the liberation struggles are no longer alive and those who are still alive have not documented their experiences in detail … there is a gap due to a lack of transmission of information and

> knowledge to the young generation … this programme can serve as a vehicle to bridge that information and knowledge gap.[295]

I have selected the National Liberation Heritage Route in South Africa as a case study for this research project in the hope of illustrating the rationale for state prioritisation of liberation heritage and the implications for heritage management. The case study was primarily selected to offer an informed understanding of the complex issue of state deployment of political instrumentality, policy regimes and strategy directives around heritage management, particularly the governance of the liberation heritage project in South Africa. Another crucial motivation for the selected case study is the fact that the National Liberation Heritage Route project is highly contentious. In the first instance, the project serves as a testament to the government's noble and ambitious plans to represent previously neglected histories. But it also reveals the challenges, contradictions, political agendas, power struggles and contestations that have characterised the seminal period of democracy in South Africa's history. The emergence of the liberation heritage project suggests implicit shifts in policy and attitude, influenced by the current and possibly future political dynamics in South Africa. The National Liberation Heritage Route project was initiated in recognition of "government's important role in providing guidance and resources for citizens to celebrate the various stages in history where battles against oppression were fought by liberators".[296]

In this section, I will first reflect on the proposed definition of liberation heritage, then present the concept and outline a detailed chronology of the National Liberation Heritage Route project, from inception to date, concluding with a summary discussion. At this crucial stage, I want to declare upfront that it is neither the intention nor purpose of this chapter to rewrite the much-scripted history of the liberation struggle against colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. Rather, my intention is to use the National Liberation Heritage Route project to examine and demonstrate state prioritisation of heritage through

[295] Official project documents of the "Roads to Independence in Africa: The African Liberation Heritage Programme". Celebrating the Common Heritage and Shared Values for Sustainable Development. Technical Brief for The establishment of regional programme to valorise the African liberation heritage, UNESCO Dar es Salaam, April 2008, 4.
[296] A Guideline Protocol Document on the Implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route, National Heritage Council, 2013, 7.

the deployment and mobilisation of state politics, policies and strategies that affect heritage management.

Before I proceed, it is vital to reflect on the emerging definition of "liberation heritage". In the meetings I have attended and facilitated on the liberation heritage project, a discussion of the definition of liberation heritage has often been unavoidable, and this discussion tends to place sharp focus on the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles. Indeed, I believe that what will make or break this important project is how the term "liberation heritage" is defined. This chapter takes a first step in carving out that definition.

Towards a Definition of Liberation Heritage

> Liberation Heritage is a new typology that requires proper definition as an aspect of our national heritage … most heritage typologies that we know today have clearly defined concepts and even national heritage legislations provide for their identification … even though these concepts continue to evolve, there are clear and understandable frameworks … the critical question is do we have a clear understanding of what is meant by liberation heritage and how do we identify it or rather what are the provisions made in our national legislations?[297]

The extract above is drawn from the extensive deliberations of the African Regional Workshop on the Liberation Heritage Project, which was organised in August 2011 by the South African Department of Arts and Culture and the National Heritage Council, together with the Africa World Heritage Fund. Liberation heritage seems far too complex to simply be defined as a typology of heritage, especially within the context of existing legal instruments. Nonetheless, liberation heritage remains "an underrepresented typology on national registers of cultural places in many African countries, including on the prestigious UNESCO World Heritage List" and "there is need to strengthen its conservation and management".[298] In South Africa, the National Heritage Resources Act (1999), the

[297] A report of the Regional Workshop on the African Liberation Heritage that was organised on 16 – 18 August 2011, jointly by the Department of Arts and Culture (South Africa), the National Heritage Council (South Africa) and the Africa World Heritage Fund, Pretoria, Roodevallei Conference and Meetings Hotel, 2011, 26.
[298] Ibid., 6.

National Heritage Council Act (1999) and the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996) do not make any provision for the typology and definition of liberation heritage. As has been observed, “existing heritage policies, which draw from the past, still are unable to capture a contemporary definition and typology such as liberation heritage explicitly”.[299]

The draft National Heritage Transformation Charter (2008) proposes that the definition of heritage must be broad and must encompass liberation heritage, museums, heritage sites, libraries, archives, geographical names, national symbols, language, indigenous knowledge systems, and many other categories. According to the draft Charter, liberation heritage refers to “bodies of ideas and concepts, works, sites, routes, landscapes, as well as memories and experiences associated with men and women and movements of significance in all phases of the struggle for liberation”.[300] Although the Charter appears to offer a suggested definition for liberation heritage, it has not been incorporated into policy frameworks on heritage management in South Africa.

The National Liberation Heritage Route resonates with the International Council on Monuments and Sites’ (ICOMOS) definition of cultural routes. The concept of cultural routes or cultural itineraries was defined in a 1994 meeting of experts in Madrid, Spain, as follows:

> [A] land, water, mixed or other type of route, which is physically determined and characterized by having its own specific and historic dynamics and functionality; showing interactive movements of people as well as multi-dimensional, continuous and reciprocal exchanges of goods, ideas, knowledge and values within or between countries and regions over significant periods of time; and thereby generating a cross-fertilisation of the

[299] Ndoro W, An extract on recommendations to UNESCO for recognition of the typology and category of liberation heritage. In the report of the Regional Workshop on the African Liberation Heritage that was organised on 16–18 August 2011, jointly by the Department of Arts and Culture (South Africa), the National Heritage Council (South Africa) and the Africa World Heritage Fund, Pretoria, Roodevallei Conference and Meetings Hotel, 2011, 25.

[300] Draft National Heritage Transformation Charter of South Africa, National Heritage Council, 2008, 4.

> cultures in space and time; which is reflected both in its tangible and intangible heritage.[301]

Cultural routes are now recognised as an important heritage category by UNESCO, and protocols for their management have been developed. Some of the cultural routes that have been inscribed on the world heritage list include the Santiago de Compestela in Spain and France, the Silk Route in Asia and Europe, the Slave Route launched in Ouidah, Benin, in 1994, and the Convict Route in Australia. The National Liberation Heritage Route project is modelled on these established routes—in particular, the Convict Route in Australia and the Santiago de Compestela in Spain and France,[302] even though the themes and narratives of these initiatives are different.

What is evident, though, is that liberation heritage tends to find expression through specific projects, i.e., the National Liberation Heritage Route and the Roads to Independence projects. These projects are confined to codes and categories of governmentality and to the governance of heritage resources at a nation-state level. Critiques of heritage management discourse have focused on its tendency towards "managerialism", with its rigid and "technicist" definitions of heritage, and liberation heritage remains for the most part enclosed in these discursive tendencies.[303]

At a stakeholder workshop on the liberation heritage project hosted by the National Department of Tourism in October 2014, which I had the privilege to facilitate, it was interesting to note the confusion around the name of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. Officials from the National Heritage Council conceded that there is a degree of confusion surrounding the terminology for the project, which stakeholders variously refer to as the National Liberation Heritage Route, the National Liberation

[301] The definition of cultural route is clearly outlined in the ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes, September 2005. www.international.icomos.org.
[302] The Tentative List of the National Liberation Heritage Route project submitted to UNESCO in February 2009 by the National Heritage Council draws comparison of the National Liberation Heritage Route project to other routes inscribed as World Heritage Sites under UNESCO, such as the Convict Route in Australia and the Santiago de Compestela in Spain and France.
[303]Shepherd et al., "New South African Keywords", Ohio University Press, 2008, 122.

Heritage Trail, National Liberation Heritage Sites, or the National Liberation Heritage Network.[304]

It is often argued that the definition of liberation heritage will differ for each country or nation state, since it is largely informed by each country's unique experience of history. In the case of South Africa, the National Liberation Heritage Route project is defined in relation to the political struggle against both colonialism and apartheid, given that South Africa is the only country that (officially) experienced apartheid. According to the National Heritage Council, the National Liberation Heritage Route project follows a thematic approach, highlighting significant historical moments in the struggle for freedom in the colonial and apartheid periods. The National Liberation Heritage Route project is, by design, composed of a network of sites linked to the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Therefore, the project is not associated with any specific individual site, and so departs from the model of the Roads to Independence project, which assumes the format of a stand-alone museum, archive, library, research centre and multi-media facility. Furthermore the modelling of the National Liberation Heritage Route project as a network of sites expanding across South Africa and beyond is not comparable to any individual or stand-alone site such as the National Heritage Monument in South Africa or memorials located elsewhere.

The themes of anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle would seem to provide sufficient context for the way liberation heritage, and the National Liberation Heritage Route project in particular, is defined in South Africa. However, these liberation themes are not exhaustive, since they exclude a multitude of other contemporary challenges (and contemporary liberation struggles) experienced by South Africans: for example, the ongoing struggle for economic freedom. Despite the fact that, as part of the electoral mandate, economic development and job creation remain high on the national agenda,

[304] Workshop Report on the Liberation Heritage Route project, organised by the National Department of Tourism, Ditsong Cultural History Museum, Pretoria, 2014, 6.

grossly disproportionate wealth distribution and abject poverty for millions of citizens remain the economic realities of South Africa.[305]

The struggle to define liberation heritage reminds us of the complex and multi-faceted nature of the National Liberation Heritage Route, as a project of the post-colonial and post-apartheid imagination. Refining the concept of liberation heritage is part of an attempt to broaden the legislated definitions of cultural heritage, in South Africa and beyond, so that a typology or category like liberation heritage can be included in the policy frameworks of nation states and of multinational organisations like UNESCO.

The National Liberation Heritage Route: Ideological Underpinnings

The National Liberation Heritage Route was first mooted in 2001 by the Eastern Cape Department of Sport, Arts and Culture as the Trails of Tears/Umzila Wenyembezi/Wars of Dispossession Development project.[306] The proposal did not materialise at the time. However, in 2004 there was renewed interest by the Amathole District Municipality in the Eastern Cape, under Councillor Somyo, to initiate the Amathole Heritage Initiative. The Amathole Heritage Initiative would follow four routes within the history and legacy of the Xhosa kings—Sandile, Maqoma, Phalo, and Makana. The Amathole municipality offered a discretionary budget to support the initiative, which marked the first allocation of state resources towards bolstering the liberation heritage project.[307]

Another important development in the formation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project was a visit in 2004/2005 by President Thabo Mbeki to Nkantolo village in the Eastern Cape, the birthplace O R Tambo. Following the visit, the idea was proposed for the establishment of the NLHR project, not only to serve a conservation purpose, but also

[305] The National Development Plan 2030 Our future–Make it Work, ratified by the South African Parliament in 2013 to serve as a policy framework for development needs, including economic development, inclusive economic growth, job creation, and broad beneficiation. National Planning Commission, the Presidency, 2013. www.thepresidency.gov.za or www.gov.za.
[306] Report on the National Liberation Heritage Route project, National Heritage Council, 2009. Also Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa, Research Report of the National Liberation Heritage Route project, November 2013, 4.
[307] Ibid.

to be a catalyst for income generation and poverty alleviation in the rural areas of the former Transkei homeland state.

Informed by these events, the establishment of the National Liberation Heritage Route project was formally and jointly initiated by the National Heritage Council, the Nelson Mandela Museum and the Eastern Cape Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture in 2005/2006. According to the National Heritage Council, the National Heritage Liberation Heritage Route project seeks to "identify, document, research, present and develop a series of liberation sites with localised, provincial and national significance ... the sites that will form a route, present evidence of a common narrative, memory and experience associated with liberation history and struggle for emancipation against multiple expressive forms of oppression in the Republic of South Africa."[308]

The objectives of the National Liberation Heritage Route project are described in the 2011 "Project Plan and Outline" as follows:

- To reconstruct the history of the liberation struggle through the regeneration of physical elements and related heritage content;
- To protect and conserve the tangible and intangible evidence associated with the liberation struggle narrative;
- To attain world heritage status and to raise global awareness about the social memory of liberation heritage as part of a shared heritage value for South Africa;
- To unlock economic value and package a series of sites that will be targeted nodes for promoting socio-economic development throughout South Africa;
- To explore the uniqueness of the South African liberation struggle, so that it is treasured by future generations.

[308] The National Liberation Heritage Route Project, Project Plan and Outline, 2011, www.nhc.org.za.

These aims of the project clearly illustrate its intention to not only address issues of heritage conservation but also advance a political discourse that responds to the social and economic development imperatives of a nation state.

The National Liberation Heritage Route project has been designed to be "anchored on the current national development imperatives of the Republic of South Africa". Accordingly:

> the route will provide a wide range of socio-economic multiplier effects or opportunities as outlined in the business case [of the project]; infrastructural investments, becoming a catalyst for the creation of cultural and hospitality industries, as well as the creation of small, medium and micro enterprises and jobs for local communities … the project holds great potential for socio-economic development towards the fulfilment of the national imperatives contained in the New Growth Path of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.[309]

It has become common practice in contemporary South Africa for the state to support heritage projects with the potential to yield economic benefits to address unemployment and other national priorities.[310] Cabinet's support for the National Liberation Heritage Route hinges on a business plan that defines the social and economic impact of the project.[311] It remains to be tested whether the National Liberation Heritage Route project will yield opportunities for economic development and job creation, especially for local

[309] Cabinet memorandum on the National Liberation Heritage Route project, National Heritage Council, 2011, 2. National Heritage Council archives.
[310] National Priorities, also referred to as National Outcomes of Government, which are part of the Electoral Mandate of Political Office Bearers, 2010–2014 and 2014–2019. One of the targets of the Department of Arts and Culture, including its agencies, such as the National Heritage Council, is to respond to the National Outcomes, which prioritise issues of economic development and job creation. All programmes and projects of the Department and its agencies should be aligned towards addressing this National Outcome, among others.
[311] Project report of stakeholder consultation workshop towards the development of the Liberation Heritage Route business plan, commissioned by the National Heritage Council, 3 October 2013, 3.

communities, but heritage has become widely accepted as “an economic resource … to promote tourism, economic development and rural and urban regeneration”.[312]

To date, though, the National Liberation Heritage Route has not yielded much economic benefit. And yet the project has started a crucial debate on the economic impact of heritage, which has sadly been lacking in conservation scholarship. The commercialisation of heritage conservation is a relevant contemporary issue, and increasingly prominent in the discourse of heritage management. It is ironic to note that, as mentioned, the National Liberation Heritage project is premised largely on the political history of the struggle for freedom, and does not adequately capture the quest for *economic* emancipation, including the economic impact of the repressive colonial and apartheid regimes.

The National Liberation Heritage Route consists of a set of broad themes and sub-themes, which attempt to define the content and structure of the project. The main themes cover the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods of the resistance against colonialism and apartheid, including Wars of Resistance to Colonialism, and the Modern Liberation Struggle, while the more elaborate sub-themes include Early African Intellectuals, Liberation Movements, the Trade Union Movement, Traditional Leaders, Armed Struggle, the Women’s Movement, Imprisonment and Banishment, Massacres, Assassinations and Execution, the Youth Movement, the Student Movement, Rural and Peasant Struggles, the Civil Movement, International Solidarity, Routes to and from Exile, and Constitutional Negotiations. The periodisation of the project therefore presents the selected historical narratives in a predictable, linear fashion.

[312] Graham et al., “A Shared Future: Territoriality, Pluralism and Public Policy in Northern Ireland”, Political Geography, 2005.

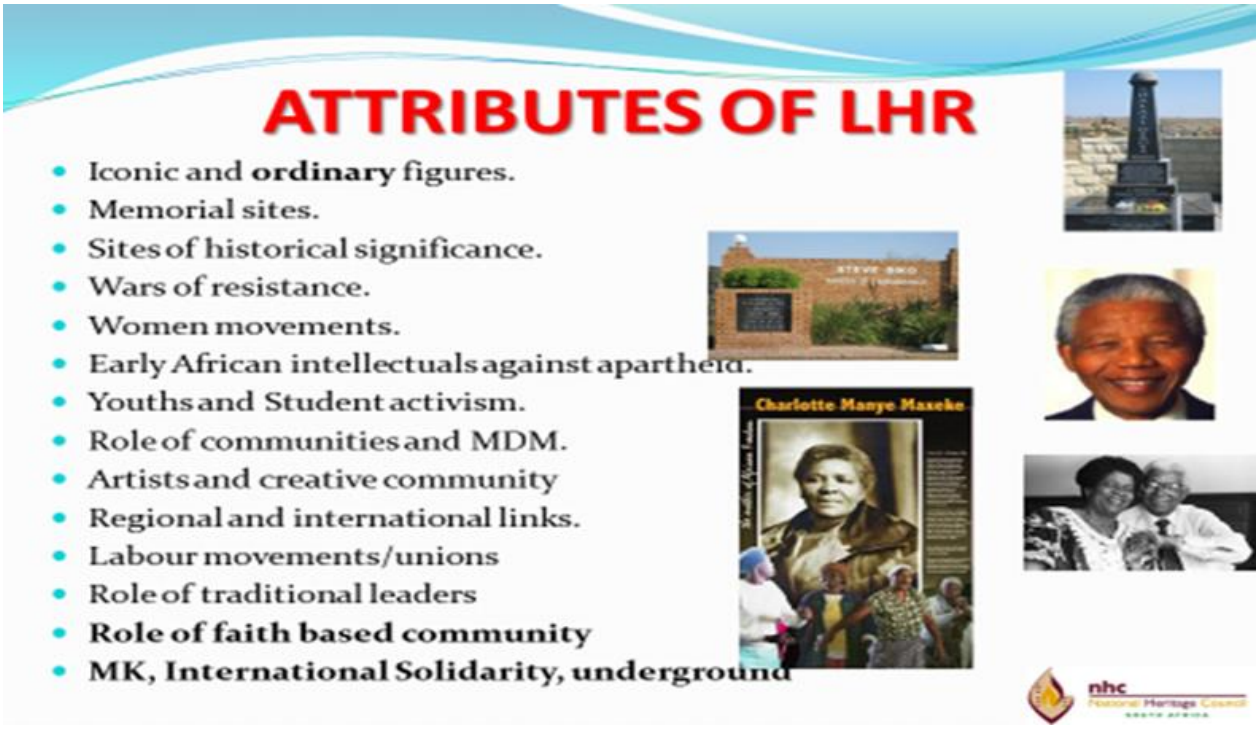

Figure 13**:** Key attributes of the National Liberation Heritage Route projects which underpin the various epochs of the struggle history in South Africa. Source: NHC. www.nhc.org.za

Mr Babalo Mdikane, the project manager of the National Liberation Heritage Route at the National Heritage Council, has justified the choice of themes by explaining that they cover the modern liberation movement as well as the wars of dispossession that predate 1910.[313] However, the choice of the period 1910–1994 as a primary defining time and space of the National Liberation Heritage Route has been fiercely contested, especially considering that this prescribed timeframe tends to favour the activism of the ruling African National Congress (ANC)—thus disregarding the legacy of other liberation movements. Mr Obakeng Molefe, a stakeholder from the Free State who attended a project consultation session, stressed that "the developers of the business plan for the project must be mindful of the fact that Cabinet is made up of different political parties and that the timelines provided seemed to be in favour of the African National Congress struggle history".[314] Similarly, several other political critics and opponents have decried

[313] Minutes of stakeholder consultation session of the Liberation Heritage Route Business Plan with Government Departments at National and Provincial Level, by Ashira (service provider) commissioned by the National Heritage Council, 2011, 7.
[314] Ibid.

the dominance of ANC icons in liberation heritage.[315] Their criticism is outlined in greater detail in Chapter 6 below.

Another widespread concern involves the fact that the liberation heritage project is dominated by politicians, marginalising the narratives of individuals and groupings with no political affiliation to the major political parties. The Department of Arts and Culture has disputed the accusation that certain narratives have been neglected:

> [V]arious heritage sites and infrastructures in South Africa are named after the liberation struggle icons … in addition to that, other liberation struggle heroes from fields such as acting, literature, music, labour movements and so forth includes Rahima Moosa, Bessie Head, Frances Baard, Ruth First, Princess Magogo, Olive Schreiner … South Africa also acknowledges the support and solidarity provided by its neighbouring African nation states during the era of oppression and there are heritage sites and infrastructure named after these iconic African leaders ... the Samora Machel Monument at Mbuzini in Mpumalanga and the Kenneth Kaunda District Municipality in the North West are some of the examples.[316]

The role of traditional leaders in the liberation struggle, especially during the pre-1910 wars of colonial resistance, has been another contentious liberation heritage issue. There seems to be a reinforced perception that the National Liberation Heritage Route project does not cater for the struggle narratives of traditional leadership, such as their history of land dispossession during colonialism. The recurring debate on the perceived marginalisation of the history of traditional leadership reveals the deeply entrenched power struggles between traditional leadership and political and administrative authorities in public service, as emphatically articulated by Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi (member

[315] A NEUM article, entitled, "Disinherited: Distorting Heritage by Omission," Posted on 18 September 2012. www.archivalplatform.org.

[316] Concept note and brief of the launch of the Heritage Month celebrations and Heritage Day celebrations, under the theme "Celebrating the Heroes and Heroines of the Liberation Struggle in South Africa", Department of Arts and Culture, 2011. www.dac.gov.za/heritagedaycelebration-2011/.

of parliament and leader of opposition party Inkatha Freedom Party). His speech is worth quoting at length:

> [D]uring apartheid and our liberation struggle, I waged a struggle also for the recognition of our monarch and kingdom and on behalf of traditional leadership … I could never have anticipated that when we finally defeated minority rule and established democracy in South Africa, my fight on behalf of traditional leadership would need to continue, and increase … but that has been the case … because for almost twenty years the Government led by the ANC has progressively side-lined traditional leaders with the intention of diminishing their role, powers and functions until they are merely symbolic title-holders, with no real say in governance … thus when the ANC-led Government began developing legislation for municipal governance, it thought nothing of obliterating the role, powers and functions of traditional leaders … this created a serious problem … the clash between traditional leadership and local governance was knowingly created by the ANC-led Government, and commitments to resolve this clash and restore the role, powers and functions of traditional leaders have never been honoured … instead, in terms of legislation, Government may consider allocating us a role, but has no obligation to do so … and if it does choose to allocate a role for us, it can do so only under the strictest conditions … we, on the other hand, are made to toe the line.[317]

In all sort of directions, then, the National Liberation Heritage Route project has become a site of contestation. The project unavoidably evokes a substantial measure of both criticism and justification in a political milieu where the ANC-led government has been accused of exercising hegemonic politics. Most importantly, it is unlikely that a nation-state initiative such as the National Liberation Heritage Route project, which is a construction of political imagination, could be totally immune to the advancement of certain political interests of the liberation movement currently in power in South Africa.

[317] Address by Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi (MP), Inkosi of the Buthelezi Clan and Traditional Prime Minister of the Zulu Monarch and Nation, 2 April 2013. www.ifp.org.za/Speech/020413/.

Undoubtedly, as has been observed elsewhere, the view of heritage in any given society will reflect the political, social, religious or ethnic groups in positions of power and authority, a phenomenon summed up by the term “authorised heritage discourse”.[318]

Piloting and Plotting the NLHR Project

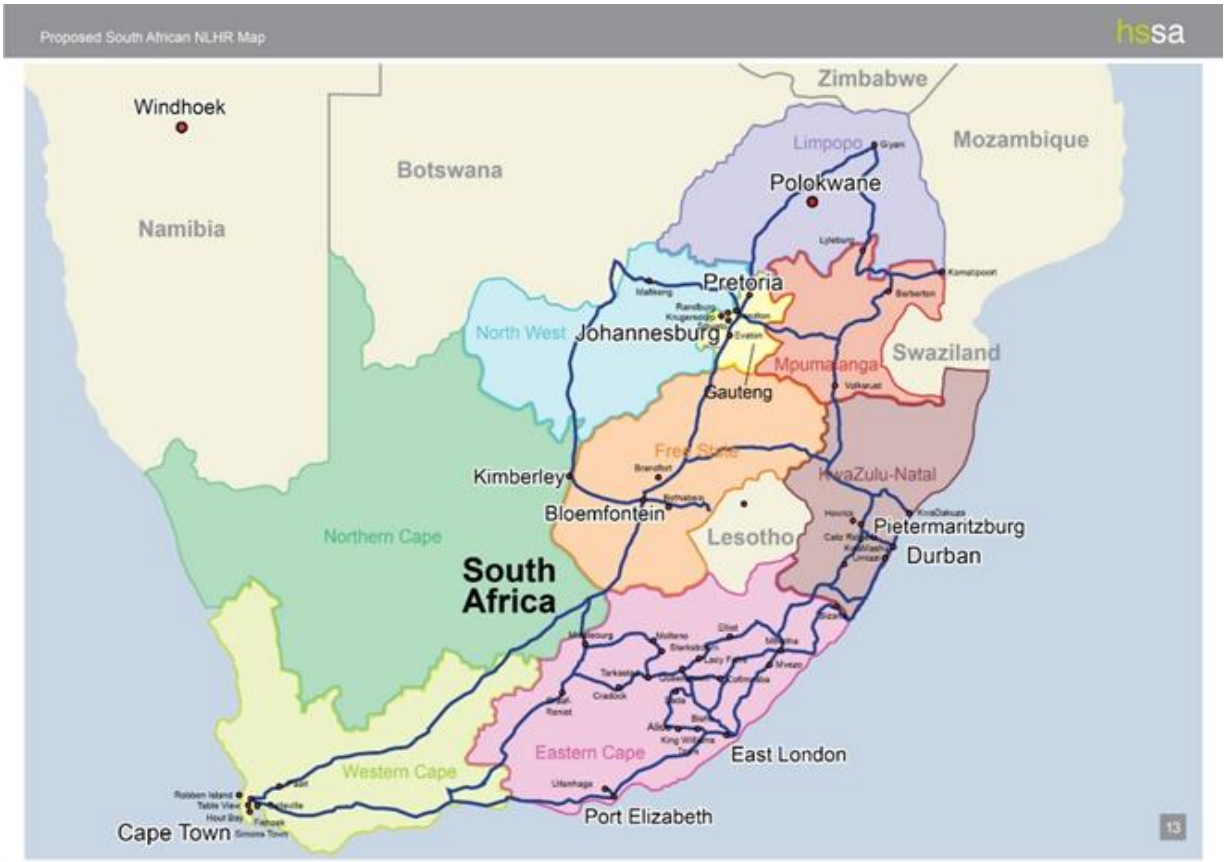

Figure 14: A map of a network of identified routes to plot the National Liberation Heritage Route project. Source: NHC.www.nhc.org.za

[318] Smith L, “Uses of Heritage”, Part II of the publication presents a detailed discussion on “authorised heritage discourse”, 2006. Also Ashworth et al., in “Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies”, 2007, 40.

Figure 15: Proposed clusters of sites of national significance associated with the liberation history and past. Source: NHC.www.nhc.org.za

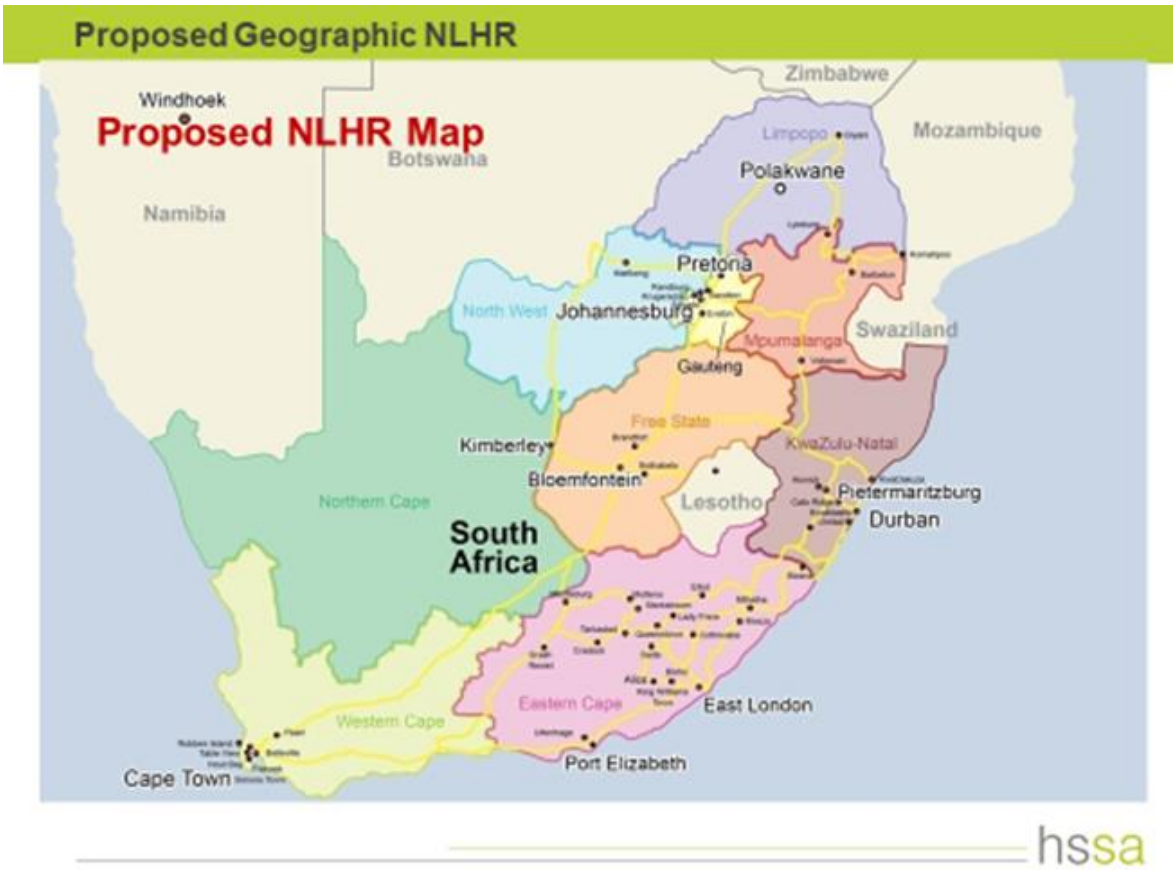

Figure 16: Proposed geographic spread of preliminary sites identified of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. Source: NHC.www.nhc.org.za

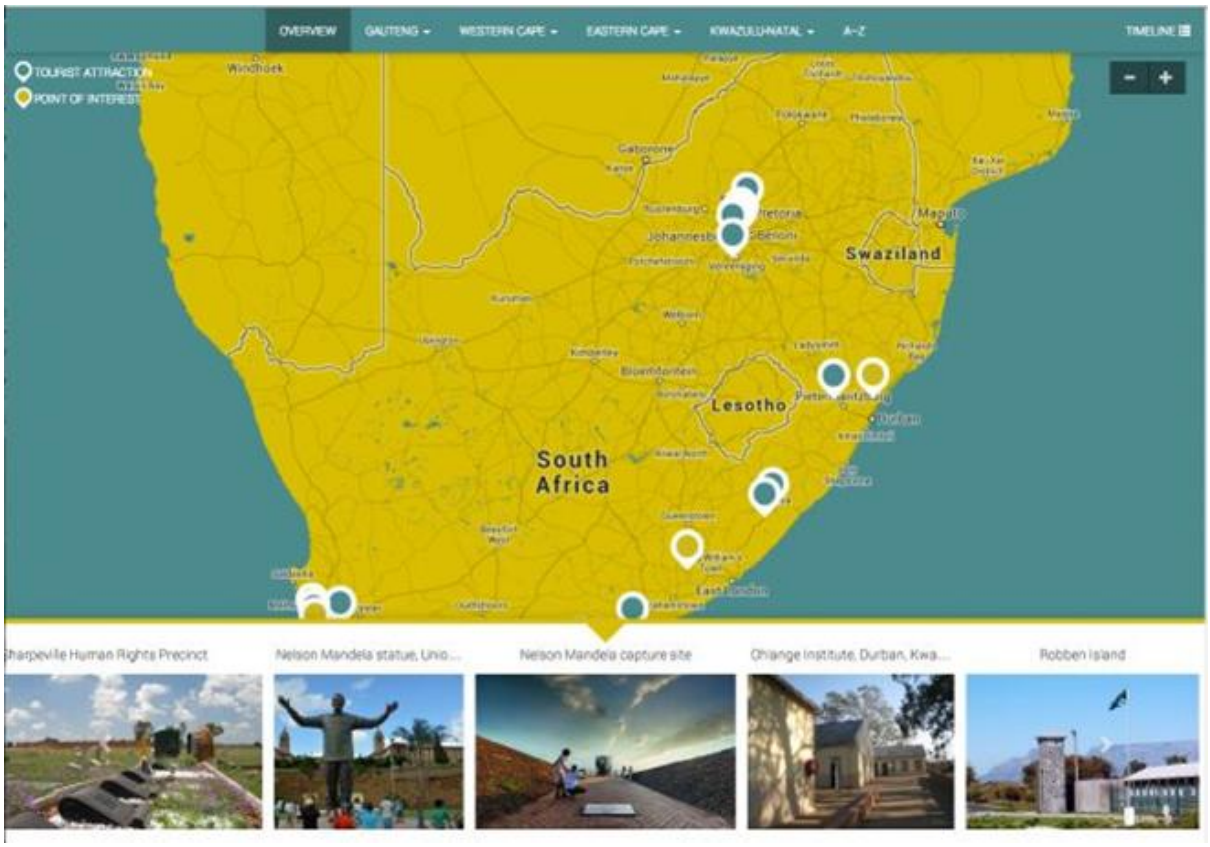

Figure 17: Digitised map of sites associated with the struggle journey of Nelson Mandela – part of Madiba's footprints and pilgrimage route by South African Tourism. Source: SAT. www.southafrica.net

The initial implementation phase of the National Liberation Heritage Route project emerged from a series of planning meetings that occurred prior to and during 2005 in the Eastern Cape Province, where a pilot project of the Route was initiated. The pilot project was made possible through a joint partnership between the Nelson Mandela Museum, the National Heritage Council and the Eastern Provincial Department of Arts and Culture.[319] From the outset, the National Liberation Heritage Route project was defined as "a product of political and strategic considerations" by these three entities.[320] According to the National Heritage Council, the project was officially initiated in the Eastern Cape, at a meeting with provincial authorities, where R6 million was pledged to pilot the project

[319] Report on the National Liberation Heritage Route project. Also, the support received from the Eastern Cape Legislature and the Eastern Cape Social Cluster Committee (ECSECC) was requested to draft a report on the status of the project and make recommendations on necessary interventions. This process was completed and endorsed, 2008, 4.
[320] Proposal of the National Summit of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project, 2009, NHC archives, www.nhc.org.za.

in the Chris Hani District Municipality.[321] In August 2006, at the Eastern Cape provincial indaba (conference), involving the provincial Cabinet and legislature, the Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRAC) and other stakeholders took a decision to pilot the National Liberation Heritage Route project in the Eastern Cape.[322]

For the pilot project, several historical sites were identified that are linked to prominent icons of the liberation struggle, such as Oliver Tambo, Steve Biko, Nelson Mandela, A B Xuma, Chris Hani, Alfred Nzo, and many others from the Eastern Cape. The task of defining selection criteria for sites on the National Liberation Heritage Route was a fraught one from the start. On 19 April 2011, the Local Economic Development Project Unit of the Eastern Cape premier's office raised concerns about the need to reach consensus on the route and on the criteria for selected sites.[323] Far too often, there seemed to be neither rational justification nor cognitive reasoning behind the selection of liberation heritage sites, which exposed the project to critique. The politics around the selection of sites, as well as issues of selective amnesia, will be addressed in the latter part of this chapter.

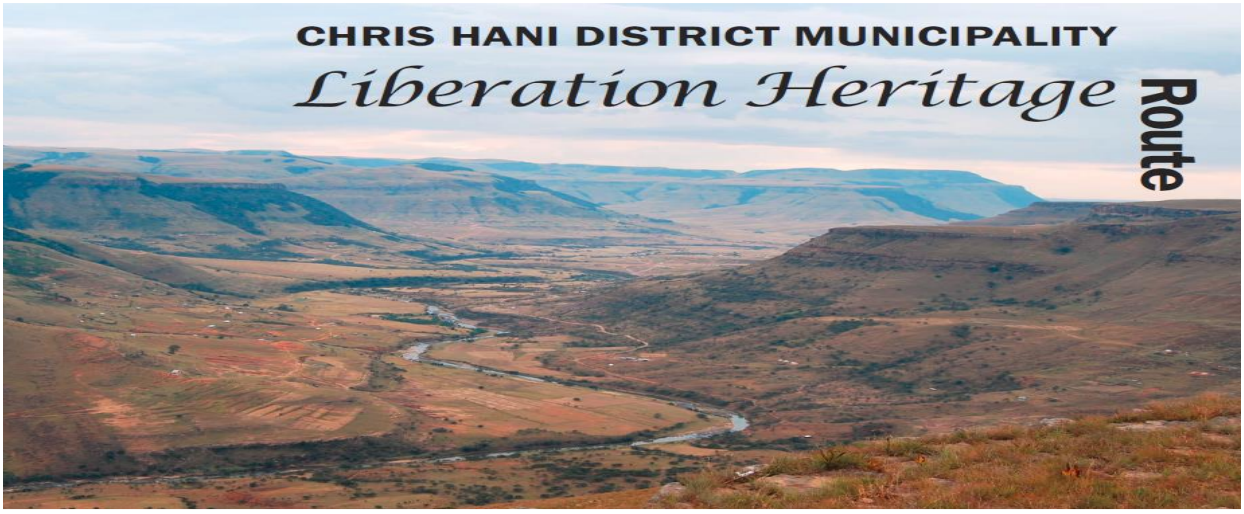

Figure 18: A published book documenting the 'Chris Hani District Municipality Liberation Heritage Route'. Source: Chris Hani District Municipality (Eastern Cape Province)

[321] Project report on the concept of the establishment of the Liberation Heritage Route, a pilot project implemented in the Eastern Cape Province, 2007.
[322] A Guideline Protocol Document on Implementation of the Liberation Heritage Route, National Heritage Council, 2006 and 2013. National Heritage Council's archives. www.nhc.org.za.
[323] A presentation entitled "Liberation Heritage Route Action Plan", by the Local Economic Development Project Manager, Ms Nthabiseng Moleko, at the Eastern Cape Social Cluster Committee (ECSECC), 19 April 2011.

By 2008, the Eastern Cape pilot project had evolved and several sub-projects had been established in local municipalities of the province—most notably, the publication of a book entitled *Chris Hani District Municipality Liberation Heritage Route: Icon Site Guide* by the Chris Hani District Municipality. The former mayor of the Chris Hani District Municipality, Mr Sigabi, like his counterpart Mayor Somyo of the Amathole District Municipality, utilised discretionary funds to launch the Chris Hani District Municipality Liberation Heritage Route. Through this fund, the state invested about R3 million towards the implementation of the project, including the mapping and identification of 54 iconic sites located along three sub-routes—Calata, Sisulu and Ndondo—within the Chris Hani District Municipality.[324]

In April 2008, the National Heritage Council, in partnership with the Chris Hani District Municipality, staged a national launch to promote the National Liberation Heritage Route project. At that time, when I was tasked with organising the launch, the project was largely unknown. The launch was symbolic because it was organised to coincide with the anniversary of the death of the slain South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani. The event took place on 10 April in Chris Hani's birthplace, Sabalele village, and attracted hundreds of people, including politicians, traditional leaders, government officials and diverse members of the public. The company that organised the event, Litha Communications, recorded an overwhelming attendance of about 6,000 people, including the Deputy Minister of Defence and Military Veterans, Mr Thabang Makwetla, ANC Secretary General Mr Gwede Mantashe, leader of the Pan Africanist Congress Mr Clarence Makwethu, executive mayors, MK veterans, and the family of the late Chris Hani.[325]

[324] The Chris Hani District Municipality (CHDM) embraced the concept and initiated research for its own Liberation Heritage Route (LHR) in September 2007. The tender was awarded to the Institute of Social and Economic Research of Rhodes University, represented by Mr V Mqingwana and Prof J Peires in " Chris Hani District Municipality Liberation Heritage Route: Situational Analysis", Institute of Social and Economic Research, July 2008, Rhodes University. Also the Human Sciences Research Council's report regarding the research project of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project, commissioned by the National Heritage Council, 2013, 5.

[325] Completion Report of the National Launch of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project, by Litha Communications, an events management company commissioned by the National Heritage Council to organise the launch events 10–11 April 2015.

In my observation, the launch became an opportunity for members of the public, including politicians and the masses drawn mainly from the surrounding villages of Cofimvaba and the former Transkei, to express their impressions of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. The secretary general of the ANC, Mr Gwede Mantashe, who appeared as the keynote speaker, attested to this opportunity:

> [T]his [launch] is a significant milestone in the history of the free South Africa, as this project [the National Liberation Heritage Route] marks a re-collection of the struggle experience of many of the heroes and heroines of the liberation history, whose contribution to the struggle for freedom remains largely unknown but because of this initiative they'll be known … for me this is not a "Route" but … a "Trail", a journey travelled in many directions to attain emancipation for all South Africans.[326]

In the exuberant ambience of the launch, some ordinary South Africans in attendance vibrantly chanted songs and slogans of the liberation struggle. For others, the event seemed to open the wounds of the past struggle and the deep pain suffered by millions of black South Africans under repressive colonial and apartheid domination, especially since the launch coincided with the anniversary of the assassination of the Communist Party leader under the old apartheid regime. The political rhetoric, especially surrounding the recollection of the legacy of the late Chris Hani, profoundly moved the crowds, who erupted emotionally into song and dance, chanting *Nithi sixolele kanjani amabhulu abulele uChris Hani wethu?* (How can we forgive the Boers who killed our Chris Hani?)[327] Although the event was peaceful, I can clearly recall its compelling, unforgiving subtext: the urgency of conserving and promoting liberation history in South Africa.

I consider the Eastern Cape to have been the perfect setting for the pilot project of an initiative as significant as the National Liberation Heritage Route, mainly because the province is the birthplace of some of the finest icons of the struggle for freedom in South Africa and Africa. It is no coincidence that the Eastern Cape has branded itself the Home

[326] A report of the National Launch of the National Liberation Heritage Route project, National Heritage Council, 10–11 April 2008. Also SABC audio visual archive: www.sabc/archive/footage.co.za.
[327] Ibid.

of the Legends.[328] However, concerns have been raised that a national initiative should not be confined to a specific province, since this confinement has the potential to diminish the diverse representation of a nationwide and international project. In particular, a fundamental criticism of the pilot project was its lack of diverse representation of liberation narratives from other provinces. According to the National Heritage Council:

> [T]he intention of the NHC [National Heritage Council] is that the National Liberation Heritage Route project assumes a national character … the aim here is to ensure that it gets national support from the national government … the national scaling up of the project was inaugurated in the Liberation Heritage Route National Summit which was held in February 2009 … the Liberation Heritage Route is being ushered in as a national project within a new political context.[329]

In 2009, after intense debates on the future hosting of the project, the provincial pilot was escalated to a national scale. The project-management function was transferred from the Nelson Mandela Museum in the Eastern Cape to the National Heritage Council. To this day, the Council is still the host of the National Liberation Heritage Route project.

A significant process within the development of the National Liberation Heritage Route project has been the research and documentation of liberation history, especially where there has been a glaring deficiency of archival information. From 2008 to 2011, the National Heritage Council commissioned research, a feasibility study and a business case of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. In 2009, the first research study was outsourced to Amandla Communications to gather information about the liberation struggle history of South Africa. The first tranche payment of about R2 million (of a total of R4 million) was transferred to Amandla Communications at the inception of the study in December 2009.[330] Mysteriously, the research project has to this day not been

[328] The Home of the Legends campaign is a flagship programme of the Eastern Cape Provincial Government to rebrand the province as the birthplace of world-acclaimed icons in various fields. The province prides itself in packaging the successes and achievements of these icons to further attract tourists and boost economic investment. www.visiteasterncape.co.za.

[329] A report of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project, National Heritage Council, January 2010, 9.

[330] As part of data collection for the National Liberation Heritage Route project, a National Research Programme was launched in 2009, which entailed site identification, development of narratives and the

delivered by Amandla Communications, who have since disappeared without accounting fully for the first tranche payment. As a result, the outsourced study was among several projects subjected to a forensic investigation by the Special Investigating Unit (SIU) when former Arts and Culture Minister Lulu Xingwana initiated a probe into the affairs of the National Heritage Council in 2010.[331]

Research into the country's liberation history was finally completed at the end of 2013, after the appointment of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). However, it is important to note that the research scope of the Human Sciences Research Council was limited to only five provinces (Western Cape, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, North West and Limpopo). Therefore, the study does not provide a complete account of liberation history and heritage in all the nine provinces. Secondly, the research does not clearly outline the selection criteria for recommended sites to be included in the National Liberation Heritage Route. The predetermined objectives of the research were:

- To identify new heritage sites that can be included on the National Liberation Heritage Route and submitted to UNESCO for consideration as a world heritage site, and
- To identify and record the history of unsung heroes and heroines of the struggle.[332]

In 2008 and 2009, the National Heritage Council also commissioned a feasibility study, which estimated the required funding for the implementation of the comprehensive

plotting of the route. Researchers were assigned to all provinces to collect the storyline of each significant event, icon, communities, places and epochs associated with the national liberation struggle, National Heritage Council, 2011, 4.

[331] An interim report of the Special Investigation Unit (SIU), April to September 2011, www.siu.org.za. National Heritage Council: Proclamation R2 of 2011, published on 14 January 2011. The former Minister of Arts and Culture requested the SIU to conduct an investigation into irregularities identified in the audit report of 2010 by the Auditor General of South Africa (AGSA) at the National Heritage Council. A number of problems were identified during the period under review: Irregular and fruitless expenditure that was incurred by the NHC to the value of R5 321 000 by contracting suppliers, contrary to the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA) and National Treasury regulations. The SIU has referred two criminal cases of tender fraud to the police. In addition, recommendations were made for disciplinary charges to be instituted against eight staff members for non-compliance with statutes and regulations in both procurement and expenditure management at the National Heritage Council. Also www.thepresidency.gov.za.

[332] Terms of reference of the research project of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project. The research study was commissioned to the Human Sciences Research Council by the National Heritage Council and it was completed in November 2013. Also refer to the Human Sciences Research Council's research report on the National Liberation Heritage Route Project, 2013, 6.

National Liberation Heritage Route.[333] The study also entailed a viability assessment. According to its terms of reference, the study had to present an analysis of the economic value of the project, with particular focus on the development of a series of geographical sites.[334] The study was informed by discussions between the National Heritage Council and National Treasury, which had requested a bankable case for the project. According to the feasibility study and business case, the total cost projections for the development and implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project amounted to R1.6 billion over five years, mainly for infrastructure development and research.[335] Both the feasibility study and business case have been presented to potential funders and stakeholders for fundraising purposes. Subsequently, in 2009, the national lottery provided funding of about R24 million towards research and nationwide stakeholder consultative workshops.

Another crucial milestone in the establishment of the National Liberation Heritage Route has been the obtainment of Cabinet approval for the project, as an official flagship project owned and resourced by state. In July 2011, the National Heritage Council and the Department of Arts and Culture submitted a memorandum to secure Cabinet approval and support for the project. The memorandum states its aims as follows:

> to inform and seek Cabinet approval on the development of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project (NLHR) as a network of liberation sites depicting struggles from colonialism and apartheid, and the journey towards the liberation of the Republic of South Africa as a democratic country in 1994 … to further seek endorsement of the project as a national heritage and socio-economic development project by all Provincial Governments.[336]

Although the memorandum has not been completely ratified by Cabinet, an inter-ministerial committee, led by the Minister of Arts and Culture, has been established to

[333] A business case study commissioned by the National Heritage Council to Haley Sharpe Southern Africa, following an extensive bidding process between 2008 and 2009.
[334] Ibid.
[335] A joint presentation by the Department of Arts and Culture and the National Heritage Council, presented to the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Arts and Culture on 15 June 2011.
[336] A draft Cabinet Memorandum of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project, by the Department of Arts and Culture and the National Heritage Council, 2011, 1.

guide and support the development of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. Following a Cabinet resolution in July 2011, the Department of Arts and Culture was assigned to coordinate the implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. The following section on the institutional arrangement for the implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project will clearly outline the details of the Cabinet resolution.

As part of the evolution of the liberation heritage project, a tentative list of sites was submitted in 2009 to UNESCO, to register South Africa's intention to proclaim the National Liberation Heritage Route project a UNESCO world heritage site. The tentative list was since successfully accepted at the General Council Meeting of UNESCO in 2009, which is a notable first step in a lengthy and often difficult process. For many member-state countries to UNESCO, obtaining world heritage status is a significant achievement and a symbol of global recognition.

Stakeholder Consultations and Public Participation

> [H]eritage resources form an important part of the history and beliefs of communities and must be managed in a way that acknowledges the right of affected communities to be consulted and to participate in the management thereof.[337]

I consider public participation in heritage management to be paramount, especially since the liberation history of South Africa draws heavily on social memory and the oral history of diverse personalities with an interest in the country's struggle history. Members of the public, especially victims of the repressive colonial and apartheid regimes, are key stakeholders of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. The state recognised this, and as a result a major part of implementing the National Liberation Heritage Route project became extensive stakeholder consultations across the nine provinces of South Africa.[338]

[337] Preamble of the National Heritage Resources Act No.25 of 1999.www.sahra.org.za.

[338] The National Heritage Council (NHC) hosted Provincial Summits on the Liberation Heritage Route (LHR) project to encourage full participation and contribution of all communities and organisations towards the

In March 2009, the National Heritage Council hosted the first national summit on the National Liberation Heritage Route project, in the form of a stakeholder consultation conference. In the subsequent months and years, the National Heritage Council staged several stakeholder consultative meetings to gather public opinion and input on the liberation heritage project. Between 2009 and 2011, the NHC received funding from the National Lottery for research and to organise provincial consultative sessions with stakeholders in all the nine provinces in South Africa. In line with the constitutional mandate and the prescripts of the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996) on public participation, the National Heritage Council organised provincial consultative sessions with state departments from the three spheres of government, traditional leadership, heritage organisations, and members of the public. According to the National Heritage Council, "the provincial consultations have assisted in securing the buy-in of the provincial government, identifying priority sites for each province and gathering information on the status of sites, including the anticipated development cost implications".[339]

Generally, the stakeholder consultative sessions proved useful in gathering and consolidating public opinion at the provincial and local government levels. However, during a stakeholder consultation meeting in Cape Town in 2011, concerns were poignantly raised by Khoisan groups about the Route's persistent ANC bias:

> [T]he problem of difference persists … amidst all the deliberations more and more sites are being included in the ANC's National Liberation Struggle Heritage Route with little or no attention given to 'other' less significant stakeholder communities … they [the National Heritage Council] did not, however, include Khoe-San groups and claimed that the Khoe-San were not relevant to this project as they never took part in the struggle against oppression … Khoe-San activists, on the other hand, argue that their Khoe-

identification of liberation routes and sites throughout the country. The Provincial Summits, which are funded by the National Lotteries Distribution Trust Fund (NLTDF), were conducted in order to consult with the public on the best ways to preserve the liberation history and propose sites to be listed by the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO.

[339] Consolidated Reports of stakeholder consultation workshops on the National Liberation Heritage Route Project in the nine provinces of South Africa, National Heritage Council, 2011. www.nhc.org.za

> San forebears laid the foundations for the struggle at the onset of European settlement, as evidenced during wars dating back to the 14th and through to the 19th century … Many previously so-called "Coloured" people are now exercising their right to self-identification and embracing their African heritage and identity as San and Khoekhoe or Khoe-San.[340]

The concerns voiced by the Khoisan community echo complaints raised in the past, despite the contrasting affirmation by the National Heritage Council that it had sought "maximum social engagement with all South Africans, irrespective of their race, colour and/or political affiliation in reconstructing the multi-layers of liberation struggle".[341]

Subsequent to this contestation, the Human Sciences Research Council in 2013 documented the role of the Khoisan in historical liberation struggles: "in line with the requirements of the National Heritage Council, the history of the liberation struggle is divided into three phases … in the first phase the focus is on the Khoikhoi wars of resistance in the 17th and 18th centuries … in the Western Cape [including] San and Khoikhoi resistance in the period 1702–1809."[342] However, the crux of the complaint relates to the lack of consultation with the Khoisan community. Also, the scope of the Human Sciences Research Council's report does not include the struggle history of Khoisan groups in other provinces beyond the Western Cape.

This unsettling politics of exclusion within the liberation heritage project has also been perceived by other cultural, social and political formations. On 25 April 2012 the chairperson of parliament's Portfolio Committee on Arts and Culture, Ms Thandile Sunduza, raised a similar point:

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[340] Consolidated stakeholder consultation workshop report of the National Liberation Heritage Route project, workshop organised in the Western Cape Province, National Heritage Council, 2012. www.nhc.org.za. Also refer to commentary posted at the Archival Platform, 18 September 2012, www.archivalplatform.org.

[341] Concept note of the stakeholder consultation workshops on the National Liberation Heritage Route project, organised in the nine provinces in South Africa between 2009 and 2013 by the National Heritage Council. www.nhc.org.za. Also refer to the draft Cabinet Memorandum of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project, 2011, 3.

[342] The Human Sciences Research Council's report of the research study of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project. The research study has been commissioned by the National Heritage Council in 2013, National Heritage Council, 2013, 7.

> [M]any people … participated in the liberation struggle from all races … when it was recognised who had been in the struggle, there was a need to recognise all those who played a role across races as well as political entities … there [is] a need to represent all these people in the different political factions and races, as well as groups such as the PAC [Pan Africanist Congress] as well as certain ethnic groups, such as the Khoi [who] have not been represented.[343]

Further one-on-one discussions with Sunduza revealed that "liberation heritage is an all-inclusive initiative … however it still remains a fact that the ANC [African National Congress] is the oldest liberation movement in the continent … in itself it is a broad church, a home for all South Africans…synonymous with the government of nation unity."[344]

Stakeholder consultations have also served to question whether the National Liberation Heritage Route should incorporate the narratives of white struggles, such as Afrikaners' resistance to British colonial rule, and the narrative of the Anglo-Boer War at the turn of the 20th century. On this particular point, Democratic Alliance councillor Duncan du Bois passionately expressed the following concern:

> [E]ach generation in our history has had its liberators … within eThekwini there are statues and monuments to Dick King, Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, for example … within the context of their times they were liberators … without context, the relevance and significance of a history suffers … moreover, the preamble of our Constitution calls on us to respect those who have worked to build and develop our country.[345]

The debate on the politics of inclusion and exclusion leads to a broader, more critical discussion of the policy issues of national identity, public access and entitlement to

[343] Minutes of the meeting of the portfolio committee on arts and culture on 25 April 2012. Published on Parliamentary Monitoring Group *(Parliament of South Africa monitored)* (http://www.pmg.org.za). Also refer to progress report presented by the Department of Arts and Culture on the legacy projects, state of the nation address, and the National Libertarian Heritage Route.
[344] Personal communication with Thandile Sunduza, 26 February 2013, Dobsonville (Soweto).
[345] www.duncandubois.co.za/currentIssues (Councillor Duncan Du Bois, ward66, The Bluff, eThekwini).

heritage resources in contemporary democratic South Africa. It is difficult to measure the control and influence that members of the public have over access and ownership of heritage resources, especially when the terms of their involvement and participation are determined by the state and not themselves.

The social dialogue on public participation also raises some pertinent questions around state intervention in these consultations: Who convened them, and for what purpose? These questions speak to a central tenet of governmentality, and a particular brand of state control. The terms and conditions of public participation in the National Liberation Heritage Route project were clearly defined by the state. After all, it is the state that has conceived of, and that continues to provide resources for, the National Liberation Heritage Route project, and it is therefore the state that will determine the fate of the consultative sessions surrounding the project.

Liberation Heritage Sites: The Politics of Selection

> [I]issues of selection and identification criteria within the paradigm of legal frameworks for heritage management [have] been a hotly contested matter[,] especially in the African context.[346]

I share a deep appreciation for liberation heritage sites that were neglected under former repressive regimes, and that are now prioritised and selected within the National Liberation Heritage Route project. Simultaneously, though, I share with many others a deep concern about the lack of selection criteria, which ideally ought to provide an objective process for the inclusion of sites in the project. I am convinced that it is precisely the credibility of the selection process that will make or break the National Liberation Heritage Route project. I have participated in several meetings with stakeholders where the pertinent issue of the selection of sites was raised as a matter of concern. On 2 May 2013, I was present at a steering committee meeting convened by the Department of Arts and Culture. The meeting noted the politically sensitive nature of selection criteria and

[346] Ndoro et al., "Legal Frameworks for the Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage in Africa", Africa 2009 programme for conservation of immovable cultural heritage in Sub-Saharan Africa, ICCROM (www.iccrom.org), UNESCO World Heritage Centre (www.unesco.org/whc) and CRaTerre-EAG (www.craterre.archi.fr), 2005 and 2008.

resolved that the inter-ministerial committee convened by the Minister of Arts and Culture should provide guidance on the selection of historical sites to be included in the National Liberation Heritage Route.[347]

The draft Cabinet memorandum, which has been endorsed by the inter-ministerial committee of the National Liberation Heritage Route project, confirms that:

> strategic discussions on the development of Provincial Chapters of the National Liberation Heritage Route have ensued at the Arts and Culture MIN-MEC [Minister and Members of the Executive Council in Provinces] … as a result of these interactions, this project is a matter of political and strategic consideration in all provinces through the Provincial Summit Forums initiated by the NHC.[348]

From these political and official statements, it appears that clearly defined and objective selection criteria for heritage remain elusive. However, following provincial consultations and agreements between the national Minister and the MECs of Arts and Culture, three sites per province were identified and selected. The Department of Arts and Culture conceded thus:

> [T]he framework could further include a thematic approach where site identification can be guided by a common liberation thread that unites Provinces … the theme that has been agreed upon is the declaration of graves to honour the liberation leaders of the liberation struggle … this approach will entail the identification and recording of graves of the liberation struggle and the construction of memorials associated with the graves … the aim is to identify one grave per province that will form part of the project.[349]

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[347] Minutes of the inter-governmental steering committee meeting convened by the Department of Arts and Culture 2 May 2013.
[348] Report on deliberation of the draft Cabinet memorandum on the National Liberation Heritage Route project, 2011, 4.
[349] A joint presentation by the Department of Arts and Culture Presentation and National Heritage Council on the National Liberation Heritage Route Project to the Parliament Portfolio Committee on Arts and Culture, 2011, 7.

The following table represents a list of the identified and selected sites for implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project in the nine provinces:

PROVINCE	ANCHOR SITE	OTHER SITES
Eastern Cape	Nelson Mandela Museum	• R Tambo • Bisho Massacre
Free State	Wesleyan Church (Waaihoek)	• Rev. Mahabane Park • Thabo Mofutsanyane
Gauteng	Freedom Park	• Sharpeville • Lilieslief
KwaZulu-Natal	Luthuli Museum	• DCO Matiwane • Johnny Makhatini House
Limpopo	University of Limpopo	• Sekhukhune Site • Akani Community Centre
Mpumalanga	Mbuzini (Samora Machel Memorial)	• Kanyamazane Hill • Pixley Ka Seme
Northern Cape	McGregor Museum	• Langeberg Rebellion • Galeshewe
North West	Kaditshwene Heritage Site	• O R Tambo Escape Route Heritage Site • Huhudi Heritage Site
Western Cape	Robben Island	• Victor Verster Prison • Gugulethu Seven

Table 2: List of select sites identified in all nine provinces as part of the National Liberation Heritage Route. Source: NHC.www.nhc.org.za

This published list of liberation heritage sites was compiled by the National Heritage Council in 2012 and subsequently updated in 2015, after consultation with provincial authorities. It is interesting to note that the list bears reference mainly to the struggle history and experiences of a few iconic freedom fighters, especially those affiliated to the ANC: namely, O R Tambo, Nelson Mandela, A B Xuma, Pixley ka Seme, Z R Mahabane, and other politicians. There seem to be no sites on this list that allude to the struggle history of personalities and groups with no political affiliation to the popular liberation movements of South Africa. For instance, the list does not cover groupings like traditional leadership, artists, and many other struggle icons with no political affiliation to the dominant liberation movements. The exclusion of these groupings brings to mind observations around the global rise in heritage conflict, which Ashworth et al. attribute to "the processes of social inclusion and exclusion that define societies characterised by ever more complex forms of cultural diversity".[350]

In addition, the above list clearly shows that three sites per province are earmarked for state funding. According to the Department of Arts and Culture, the selection of these sites is informed by the need to integrate the management of heritage sites into spatial planning and infrastructure development, especially at the provincial and government level.[351] On 3 June 2014, I had the privilege to chair a meeting between the Department of Arts and Culture, the National Heritage Council, and the National Department of Tourism (NDT), where officials from the National Heritage Council explained:

> [T]here was no specific or predetermined criteria followed in the selection of the sites in the provinces … each province had to select 3 sites onto the list of the liberation heritage project … however these sites were picked through a political and administrative process where an impression was created that funding at provincial levels of Government will be available for infrastructure development around these sites.[352]

[350] Ashworth et al., in "Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies," 2007, 4.
[351] A joint presentation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project, by the Department of Arts and Culture and the National Heritage Council at the stakeholder committee meeting, Pretoria, August 2013, 6.
[352] Minutes of meeting of the National Liberation Heritage Route, convened by the National Department of Tourism, on 3 June 2014, National Department of Tourism, www.tourism.gov.za.

The idea of merging heritage with spatial planning and infrastructure development is new in South Africa, and is informed by the government philosophy of integrated development and the sustainable use of environmental resources.[353]

Still, the "political and administrative process" involved in the selection of sites remains unclear. What is certain, though, is that this process is highly rhetorical, with politicians using rhetorical strategies at expedient moments to prioritise certain liberation heritage sites for state intervention via conservation and development, especially at the provincial level. Most notably, between 2019 and 2015, state officials began publicly announcing their commitment to developing liberation heritage sites, extending state support to strategic heritage projects coordinated by the provincial departments responsible for arts, culture and heritage. The provincial governments of Gauteng, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Western Cape, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal, for example, repeatedly pronounced their commitment to the National Liberation Heritage Route project during this period, through state of the province addresses and budget vote speeches.

In addition to the published list of sites, the National Heritage Council has compiled a comprehensive list of about 400 sites that have been identified through a nationwide research programme. The National Heritage Council has published assessment criteria to determine the cultural significance of the identified sites, and the responsibility involved in their management, in accordance with the National Heritage Resources Act (1999). Between 2009 and 2014, the South African Heritage Resources Agency prioritised the graves of the following liberation icons for national heritage status: J L Dube, S M Makgatho, J T Gumede, P ka Seme, A B Xuma, A J M Luthuli, O R Tambo, R M Sobukwe, and S B Biko.[354] However, the graves of Dube, Makgatho and Gumede, among others, appear to have been omitted from the official list of state-prioritised liberation heritage sites. The omission of these graves highlights the confusion created by the various state

[353] In 2009, the South African government established the Department of Human Settlement, formerly known as the Department of Housing. The objectives of the Department of Human Settlement entail making provision for decent and dignified habitats for human settlement in South Africa. This new approach follows the dissatisfaction through public grievance and complaints about the one-room dwelling, popularly known as RDP houses, and government intervention towards improving housing development in South Africa.
[354] Between 2011 and 2014, the South African Heritage Resources Agency published the grading and declaration of the graves of struggle icons and stalwarts of the liberation history in a manner that seeks to protect this cultural heritage resource. www.sahra.org.za.

institutions involved in publishing and circulating separate lists of state-prioritised liberation heritage sites.

Indeed, the glaring disparities between the lists are primarily due to the separate lists published by the National Heritage Council and the South African Heritage Resources Agency. There has also been contention between national and provincial authorities regarding the divergent lists that are in circulation at these levels of government. Sometimes the priorities of national departments differ from those of their provincial counterparts, which leads to the misalignment of government priorities, the potential duplication of state resources, and strained working relations. These overt inconsistencies tend to nullify claims that there is only a single official list of identified liberation heritage sites across the three spheres of government (national, provincial and local government). In reality, provincial departments tend to endorse and pledge resources to sites that they themselves have prioritised as heritage sites in their area of jurisdiction.

I maintain that the credibility of the National Liberation Heritage Route project rests in the manner in which sites are selected and justified. Objective selection criteria (if these are at all possible) will help validate the credibility of the sites that are included in the final project.

Institutional Arrangements and Implementation

The institutional arrangements surrounding the implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project emphasise an intergovernmental approach. [355] These arrangements follow a Cabinet resolution and include predetermined roles and responsibilities for the various state institutions involves. The constitution of inter-

[355] A draft Cabinet memorandum for support of the National Liberation Heritage Route project was presented in parliament by the Minister of Arts and Culture, Mr Paul Mashatile (2011), and subsequently a Cabinet resolution was passed (11 June 2011), with specific conditions for a properly constituted governance structure for implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. The governance structure consisted of an inter-ministerial committee of the Ministers of Arts and Culture, Science and Technology, Basic Education, Public Works, Tourism and Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs. A task team (technical committee) was also established comprising officials from the aforementioned departments, including statutory organisations such as NHC, Freedom Park and SAHRA. The task team would develop a conceptual framework and business plan for the implementation of the pilot project in all nine provinces. www.dac.gov.za/publications.

ministerial and technical committees has been vital for the implementation of the Cabinet resolution. The committees are made up of representatives from the Departments of Arts and Culture, Education, Tourism, Environmental Affairs, Science and Technology, Public Works, Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, as well as statutory organisations like Freedom Park, the NHC, and SAHRA. The Cabinet resolution also recommended that liberation history sites be identified and prioritised for government funding in the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework of each Province. The Department of Arts and Culture mentioned the liberation heritage project in its strategic plan for 2012/2013:

> [I]n pursuit of the goal to transform the national heritage landscape, the Department through the National Heritage Council of South Africa, will implement the National Liberation Heritage Route Programme … this programme is intended to preserve our history through identifying sites, people and ideas that have played a pivotal role in the struggle for freedom and liberation.[356]

The Minister of Arts and Culture convened the inter-ministerial committee, whose primary purpose is to serve as a political vehicle and executive structure to guide the development of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. Most importantly, the inter-ministerial committee has had to make a compelling case to Cabinet to support and approve of the National Liberation Heritage Route as a flagship project to be resourced by the state. The initial inter-ministerial committee meeting of 19 August 2009 was summarised thus:

> [T]he purpose of the meeting was to begin a strong political lobby for a deeper understanding and acceptance of the Liberation Heritage Project … as a result of this interaction constructive feedback was received from the Ministers on matters to be considered before the submission of a Cabinet Memorandum to the National Cabinet … the Ministers assured the NHC [National Heritage Council] of their support and stressed on the need to uniquely position the Liberation Heritage Route as a major national memory project … they said the

[356] Department of Arts and Culture Strategic Plan (2012–2013). www.dac.gov.za/publications.

Liberation Heritage Route could generate the main area of activity within the heritage sector.[357]

There have subsequently been follow-up meetings, the most recent on 23 September 2014, where members resolved to prioritise the establishment of the liberation heritage museum, site mapping, criteria to measure site significance, and pilot projects.[358] Based on personal interactions with members of the inter-ministerial committee, I believe its most difficult task is selecting which sites and narratives of the liberation struggle to prioritise. The work of the inter-ministerial committee has not yet concluded, as the final memorandum for Cabinet consideration is still in progress.

At the administrative level, the Cabinet resolutions proposed the establishment of intergovernmental steering and technical committees composed of government officials from the stakeholder departments mentioned above. I serve on both the steering and technical committees on behalf of my employer, the National Tourism Department. The primary objective of these committees is to provide technical and administrative support for the project. To give effect to the structural arrangements around the project, in July 2011 the director general of the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) convened a meeting with the National Heritage Council (NHC) and the Heritage Branch of the DAC to delineate roles and responsibilities for stakeholder departments and organisations. The meeting assigned roles and responsibilities and resolved that:

- The Heritage Branch, as the lead department, will oversee the development and implementation of the project;

[357] Minutes of meeting with Cabinet Ministers hosted in Cape Town, facilitated and convened by the National Minister of Arts and Culture, Hon. Lulu Xingwana, focusing on the National Liberation Heritage Route, held in Cape Town on the 19 August 2009. In attendance to the meeting were Minister of Education Angie Motshekga, Minister of Science and Technology Hon. Naledi Pandor, Minister of Co-operative Governance, Hon. Sicelo Shiceka, Deputy Minister of Tourism, Ms Toko Xasa, the CEO of the National Heritage Council, Adv. Sonwabile Mancotywa, the Acting Deputy Director General of the National Department of Arts And Culture, Mr Vusi Ndima, and the Project Manager of the Liberation Heritage Route, Mr Babalo Mdikane, National Heritage Council, 2009.

[358] A report by the Department of Arts and Culture on the inter-ministerial committee meeting of the National Liberation Heritage Route project, convened by the Minister of Arts and Culture, Mr Nathi Mthethwa, in Pretoria, 23 September 2015.

- The National Heritage Council will serve as the primary implementation agency of the project through concept development, stakeholder engagement, research and business planning;
- The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) will pursue the identification, grading and declaration of sites associated with liberation history;
- The National Department of Tourism will promote the project through tourism development and sustainable management;
- The National Department of Public Works' mandate is to facilitate the development of the heritage infrastructure;
- The South African Development Education Trust (SADET) will provide research and content development support to the project.

Parallel to setting up these structures, the National Heritage Council has drafted the Intergovernmental Stakeholder Framework (2011), which defines the roles and responsibilities of stakeholder institutions, in line with their respective legislative mandates.

Across these outlined roles and responsibilities, it is crucial to note the leadership role assumed by the Department of Arts and Culture to manage the tension between its agencies: namely, the National Heritage Council and the South African Heritage Resources Agency. I recall working for both agencies at various stages of my career and have observed a tendency for rivalry and fragmentation between the two statutory organisations. In 2011, an official from the National Heritage Council complained about a lack of cooperation from the South African Heritage Resources Agency regarding the implementation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. The official, who requested to be anonymous, lamented that:

> there have been frustrations with respect to working with SAHRA … representatives from SAHRA had attended one of the stakeholder meetings held in Pretoria to get an indication of what is expected from them … the representatives had no authority to commit the organisation to any roles

identified … I request that the DAC intervene in the matter by convening the meeting between the DAC, SAHRA and NHC.[359]

To ensure optimum use of state resources, the National Heritage Council Act of 1999 assigns powers to the Council to coordinate the activities of the public institutions involved in heritage management. However, it has been difficult for the NHC to enforce its mandate of coordinating heritage programmes, due to deficiencies in existing heritage policies.[360]

In subsequent years, both the National Heritage Council and the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) have pledged cooperation towards the common purpose of supporting the National Liberation Heritage Route project. Their pledge follows intervention from the Department of Arts and Culture and administrative changes within SAHRA. SAHRA, in particular, has been under tremendous pressure, given its limited resources and capacity, to prioritise the grading and declaration of sites, especially the graves of ANC stalwarts.[361]

From 2011 to 2015, then, the liberation project has been coordinated under the auspices and leadership of the Department of Arts and Culture. The National Heritage Council has been assigned to administer the implementation of the project.

Following the death of the struggle icon Nelson Mandela in 2013, the National Heritage Council introduced the “Human Rights, Liberation Struggle and Reconciliation: Nelson Mandela Legacy Sites”, a new initiative parallel to the development of the National Liberation Heritage Route project. According to the concept document, the NHC makes a proposition for the “National Declaration and World Heritage Listing of a network of sites associated with the journey of President Nelson Mandela on Ubuntu, Liberation and

[359] Minutes of stakeholder consultation session on the Liberation Heritage Route business plan with government departments at national and provincial level, by service provider Ashira, commissioned by the National Heritage Council, 2011, 9.
[360] The findings of the report of the policy review process pertaining to the White Paper on Arts and Culture and Heritage Policies, produced by the agencies of the Department of Arts and Culture, has revealed glaring overlaps in terms of mandates of state-funded heritage institutions, including potential duplication of state resources. The comprehensive report makes specific recommendations for policy alignment and possible mergers of some of the state-funded heritage institutions, such as the National Heritage Council and the South African Heritage Resources Agency. A comprehensive report compiled by the Department of Arts and Culture, Pretoria, 2010.
[361] A presentation by the Department of Arts and Culture presented at the session of the parliamentary portfolio committee on arts and culture, 2012, 9.

Reconciliation … South Africa therefore needs to prepare the necessary nomination dossiers to enable the listing of the liberation heritage with linkages to Nelson Mandela on to the world heritage list."[362] To date, the NHC has started consulting various stakeholders such the South African World Heritage Convention Committee about this new proposal, and a series of site visits have been conducted to historical sites linked to Mandela. At the South African World Heritage Convention Committee (SAWHCC) meeting on the 15 March 2014 in Baviaanskloof World Heritage Site (Eastern Cape), where the NHC presented the new proposition, the committee meeting advised that UNESCO criteria for nomination of sites for world heritage status does not recognise places or sites that are associated with personalities or individuals.[363] The NHC concedes that "UNESCO does not, however, encourage the listing of personalities onto the world heritage list … [but] what Nelson Mandela represents is universal, inclusive, for his time and space and beyond."[364] A few years later, in a subsequent SAWHCC meeting in August 2016, the NHC presented the draft nomination file of the "Human Rights, Liberation Struggle and Reconciliation: Nelson Mandela Legacy Sites." The meeting resolved that since the draft document has not satisfactorily addressed some of the concerns raised at the previous UNESCO general meeting in July 2015, it must be referred back to the NHC for revision. To date the draft is still under review.

At this point it is not clear whether the new nomination of "Human Rights, Liberation Struggle and Reconciliation: Nelson Mandela Legacy Sites" will replace the previous nomination of the National Liberation Heritage Route, which was listed in the UNESCO tentative list of February 2009. However, in a UNESCO correspondence dated 13 April 2014, the National Liberation Heritage Route project was among the sites that were to be removed from the tentative list, owing to prolonged delays in the drafting and submission of the comprehensive nomination file and dossier by South Africa as a state party to UNESCO.

[362] Concept Document on Human Rights, Liberation Struggle and Reconciliation: Nelson Mandela Legacy Sites, 2013, 1.
[363] Minutes of the South African World Heritage Convention Committee (SAWHCC) meeting,15 March 2014, Baviaanskloof World Heritage Site (Eastern Cape), Department of Environmental Affairs
[364] Ibid., 3.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the relevance of the National Liberation Heritage Route project within the current political milieu, where the ANC is the mass liberation movement in power, cannot be overstated. The prioritisation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project points to the political conditions involved in establishing this flagship state project as "official heritage", at the service of advancing particular interests. But what remains profoundly illuminating is the liberation project's relationship to the complex party politics and state policies that influence heritage management in South Africa.

Even though the liberation route is a priority project for the nation state, it is puzzling that this pivotal state undertaking was not recognised in the Cabinet-approved National Development Plan of 2014, which outlines a 2030 vision for development in South Africa. Similarly, the liberation heritage project is omitted from the New Growth Path document of 2011. Could this be a deliberate omission? Or is the state more preoccupied with "bread and butter issues" like job creation, economic development, infrastructure development, health, and education? The NHC has consistently argued, without concrete evidence, that the liberation heritage project will be a catalyst for socio-economic development, in line with national imperatives.[365]

The success or failure of this important project rests in negotiating contemporary socio-economic issues and the sensitive politics of attaining credibility and ensuring diverse representation of liberation experiences in South Africa. These politics arise out of the constitutional imperative of the country to advance equality and inclusivity, but they also speak to what the National Liberation Heritage Route project was intended to achieve in the first place. The next chapter continues the discussion of state prioritisation of liberation heritage, exploring its roots in post-colonial discourse.

[365] A Cabinet Memorandum (2011: 02) of the National Liberation Heritage Route project was drafted by the Department of Arts and Culture and submitted for commentary by various national departments, including the National Department of Tourism, for approval by Cabinet. The first draft of the Cabinet Memorandum was produced in 2011. Subsequently, the final Cabinet Memorandum was submitted and tabled in Parliament for approval in 2014. In December 2014, the Cabinet Memorandum was approved by the National Assembly and Parliament in Cape Town.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND REFLECTIONS ON POST-COLONIAL DISCOURSE AND STATE PRIORITISATION OF THE LIBERATION HERITAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

> "Struggles around culture and difference in South Africa have historically constituted a powerful domain of political resistance, whereby culture or ethnicity was a shorthand for political, social and economic claims … these claims are increasingly being enacted in the sphere of heritage and are themselves underpinned by the state failure over equity, access to resources, and recognition."[366]

Introduction

This chapter continues the discussion of the case study, the National Liberation Heritage Route project, via a series of critical reflections. The framing of the project as state-prioritised heritage within post-colonial South Africa serves as an example of governmentality and state intervention in heritage management. In this chapter, I will illustrate and interrogate the political instrumentality informing state prioritisation of liberation heritage. In particular, the discussion will focus on the extent to which politics and policies have influenced state prioritisation of the liberation heritage project in South Africa. The arguments presented in this chapter relate to the rationale and discursive formation of the liberation heritage project as an enterprise of the state, supported through political instrumentality and the administrative processes that undergird governmentality.

Ashworth et al. have posed some critical questions that are worth considering in this section: for example, why is a particular interpretation of heritage promoted, whose interests are advanced or retarded in this process, and in what kind of milieu is the project conceived and communicated?[367] It is the purpose of this study, and this chapter in particular, to investigate the rationale for, and the implications of, deploying political authority and policy instruments to prioritise liberation heritage.

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[366] Garuba et al., In "New South African Key Words", 2008, 37. Edited by Nick Shepherd and Steven Robison, Ohio University Press.
[367] Ashworth et al., "Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies", 2007, 41.

Framing Political Instrumentality

The legacy of colonialism and apartheid serves as a reference point for the conception of the liberation heritage project. In the postcolonial era, particularly post-apartheid South Africa, heritage has emerged as a means of commemorating and memorialising the political struggle for emancipation from colonialism and apartheid. The prioritisation of state resources to establish the official liberation heritage project, officially known as the National Liberation Heritage Route, is evidence of the role that heritage has assumed in postcolonial South Africa. For the state, heritage is arguably an opportunistic means of fulfilling the social needs of the electorate, while simultaneously fostering the political goals of nation-building, reconciliation and unity, as well as promoting the economic imperatives of development, employment creation, and mostly tourism-driven income generation.[368]

In March and April 2015, South Africa witnessed the destruction of colonial monuments and apartheid statues at various locations in the country, sparked by the University of Cape Town-based "Rhodes Must Fall" campaign. The denunciation of the colonial past was clearly demonstrated in these controversial events, as was the prolonged frustration at the lack of transformation in postcolonial South Africa. The media also reported on cases where colonial-era monuments had been vandalised by suspected criminals and political opportunists. These violent acts tend to set a precedent for the permanent obliteration of history for future reference, yet they simultaneously reflect the construction of history and heritage in the present. The current denunciation of colonial heritage epitomises the public dissonance regarding what colonial heritage means. The reception of a monument or memorial in the public domain is largely dependent upon the historical and socio-cultural background of the audience. This historical and socio-cultural background encompasses the lived experiences and behaviours of the people involved,

[368] Marschall S, "Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South Africa", 2009, 8, Vol 15, University of Amsterdam.

which are in turn embedded in an unequal distribution of power on the basis of race, gender, class, ethnicity, age, and even sexual orientation. [369]

Coombes has asserted that "many of the buildings or other structures that have been proclaimed national monuments by the National Monuments Council have more negative than positive connotations for the majority culture … what does it mean, for example, to preserve the Cape Dutch architecture and slave quarters of Groot Constantia, built on slave labour and thriving as a profitable vineyard to this day?"[370] Coombes argues elsewhere that the Voortrekker Monument is "the Afrikaner nationalist symbol most closely identified with the apartheid regime and remains highly contested in the democratic South Africa … the monument attests to its historical value as a vestige of a separatist system and others argue for its removal … this monument, which represents the former apartheid state and the myth that South Africa belongs to the Voortrekkers and their descendants."[371]

Following the violent destruction of colonial heritage, the Minister of Arts and Culture, Mr Nathi Mthethwa, held nationwide consultative meetings and public hearings with politicians and civil society organisations on the contestations in the heritage landscape. As an outcome of the consultative meetings, about 20 resolutions were adopted and a 10-member task team was set up to further examine the recommendations of the meetings. The task team has since presented a report of its findings to the Minister, which is still to be made public. However, Minister Mthethwa has commented that the majority of respondents during the public hearings were against the vandalism and destruction of statues. It was also suggested that new monuments could be erected and juxtaposed with "old and offensive statues".[372]

[369] Liestyna P, Woodrum A, "Breaking Free: The Transformative Power of Critical Pedagogy", 1999, 3. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review.
[370] Coombes A, "Symbolic Restitution", 2003, 34.
[371] Coombes A, "Translating the past: apartheid monuments in post-apartheid South Africa", 2000. 173-197. Also In "Hybridity and its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture", by Avtar Brah and Annie E. Coombes, London: Routledge.
[372] Report on stakeholder engagement by the Department of Arts and Culture (public sector manager) on reflections by the Minister Nathi Mthethwa, April 2016, 11.

Public denunciation of colonial heritage elicits deep-seated questions: What would the ideal heritage symbols that resonate with the aspirations of the present generation look like? A simple response, to a much more complex situation, could be that the popular dissent against colonial and apartheid history inversely justifies the enunciation of the much-celebrated liberation heritage project currently being prioritised in postcolonial South Africa. The denunciation of the colonial and apartheid past further accentuates the politicisation of "heritage erasures", aptly described by Pikirayi:

> [The] choices and decisions we make with regards to our own environmental contexts … this includes heritage erasures… [i.e.]…what we choose to save may be what we value, but it does not necessarily follow that what we destroy or choose not to keep is valueless … sustainable heritage is about meeting the needs of the present and the future, not just preserving the past.[373]

The liberation heritage project is a political statement that reflects the state's postcolonial thinking on the memorialisation and commemoration of the anti-colonial struggle. The National Liberation Heritage Route project is perceived as a befitting memorial and commemorative project that resonates with the aspirations of the majority of South Africans who suffered under the repressive colonial and apartheid regimes.[374] The National Liberation Heritage Route project locates itself within the transformation discourse surrounding the cultural landscape of the new South Africa, and attempts to present the untold narratives of the masses of South Africans who suffered under the siege of colonialism and apartheid. Marschall has argued that these alternative narratives are vital:

> [N]ew monuments and statues are necessary to "tell the other side of the story"; to expose suppressed histories and preserve narratives of the past previously written out of the official historical record; to counter biased

[373] Pikirayi I, "The Heritage We Want: Development, Sustainability and the Future of Africa by 2063", 2015. A presentation at the Seminar on Harmonising Heritage with the African Union Agenda 2063, organised by the Africa World Heritage Fund, African Union and the Republic of South Africa, Development Bank of Southern Africa, Midrand, South Africa, 6–8 May 2015.
[374] Department of Arts and Culture, In "Progress Report on the National Liberation Heritage Route Project", 2011, 3-5.

> interpretations disseminated through the existing symbolic landscape; to celebrate the identity and achievements of societal groups previously marginalized; and lastly to acknowledge suffering and pay tribute to individuals or groups who lost their lives through acts of resistance.[375]

For many who have traversed the cultural landscape of South Africa, representations of colonial and apartheid conquest are still dominant, and do not reflect the demography and diversity of South Africa.

According to the National Heritage Transformation Charter, "the disparities amongst the various heritage institutions persist in the distribution and management [of] heritage resources [and this situation] only highlights the perpetuation of the pre-1994 norms and practices privileging certain institutions at the expense of the previously disadvantaged institutions (PDIs)."[376] Similarly, the Direct Action Centre for Peace and Memory, a non-profit organisation, has pointed out that, "in Cape Town, where there are marks of victory against the native dotting the cultural landscape, there are no marks of victory against colonialism and apartheid … there is a gap in recognising those who fought apartheid in the city's cultural landscape."[377]

In the context of regime change and the politics of transforming the heritage landscape in postcolonial South Africa, the promotion of liberation heritage is morphed and weaved into grand national narratives such as "reconciliation", "social cohesion", "national pride", "national identity", "nationhood", and an emerging "democratic" state. The rationalisation of both the ideological texts and the physical signifiers of liberation heritage in the public domain reflects the systematic curation and mediation of history and the past by the state. Furthermore, the state's intervention in liberation heritage is a deliberate attempt to make the anti-colonial legacy available to the current generation for popular consumption.

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[375] Marschall S, "Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South Africa", 2009, 16.
[376] National Heritage Council, In "Draft National Transformation Heritage Charter", 2006, 4.
[377] Direct Action Centre for Peace and Memory, in "Policy Dialogue: The Role of the Ex-Combatants in Memorialisation Processes in South Africa", 2007, 5–6, The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation – Transitional Justice Programme, Workshop Report, 15 Nov 2007.

Thus, the impression is created that the liberation heritage project works as a political device at the service of broad political aspirations and objectives in post-apartheid South Africa. As has been observed, "when culture is closely linked to politics, cultural heritage becomes a vehicle for transformation of society … the cultural dimension may thus be used to legitimise political orientations."[378] The liberation heritage project has become a deliberate attempt to legitimise anti-colonial history and position it not only as the "official heritage" of the nation state, but also as an instrument to entrench political ideals within a transforming state.

The Legitimisation of Liberation Heritage in Africa

The theme of liberation heritage has always been a source of profound interest and preoccupation in the geo-political space in postcolonial Africa, and in post-apartheid South Africa in particular. The notion of liberation heritage draws on the history and historiography of the struggle for emancipation against colonialism and apartheid, as expounded within post-colonial discourse. Several renowned scholars and intellectuals of Africa and the diaspora have written extensively on the effects of political instrumentality and colonial domination. W E B Du Bois (1903), Cheikh Anta Diop (1946), Franz Fanon (1968), Amilcar Cabral (1969), Chinua Achebe (1958), Ngugi wa Thiongo (1986), Wole Soyinka (1975), Steve Biko (1977) Muhammad Mamdani (1992), and Achille Mbembe (2001) in particular have focused on white domination and black subjugation, decolonisation, Pan-Africanism, post-colony, democracy, neoliberalism, social justice, political consciousness, transformation, and identity politics. These grand themes have underpinned the struggle discourse of many liberation movements and have inspired ambitious attempts to restore and affirm "African identity" in the global context: a trend most evidence in, for instance, Senghor's "Negritude" (1930), Nkrumah's Organisation of African Unity (1961), Nyerere's "Ujamaa" (1962), and, most recently, Mbeki's popularisation of the concept of "African Renaissance" (1998).

[378] Negri, "Introduction to Heritage Law in Africa", 2008, 8. In "Cultural Heritage and the Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa", ICCROM Conservation Studies.

In Africa, it has become of paramount importance to prioritise the conservation and promotion of liberation heritage. The liberation process was facilitated by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which established the OAU Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa in May 1963. The primary objective of the Committee was to advance the struggle against colonialism and apartheid by providing support to national liberation movements in Africa, in the form of training, supplies, and the setting up of military camps.[379] The mandate of the OAU Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa was terminated at a special one-day session of the Committee held in Tanzania in August 1994, after South Africa became the last member state to attain liberation.[380]

The legacy of the OAU Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, with its former headquarters in Tanzania, resulted in the heritage project known as the Roads to Independence: Africa Liberation Heritage, which is a memorial initiative of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and which received overwhelming endorsement from the member-state countries of the newly established African Union.[381] In October 2005, at the 33rd General Conference of UNESCO, the following SADC countries who were largely involved in the liberation struggle sponsored Draft Resolution 33C/29: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, the Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, together with Cote d'Ivoire. On the recommendation of the Commission for Culture (Commission IV), the 33rd General Conference unanimously

[379] The mandate of the OAU Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa was to spearhead the liberation struggle in territories still under repressive colonial domination and white-minority rule. The Coordinating Committee comprised of Algeria, Congo, Ethiopia, Guinea, Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda, and the United Arab Republic. Tanzania served as the headquarters of the Coordinating Committee for Liberation because of Tanganyika's (Tanzania) proximity to then un-liberated territories of central and southern Africa. After the devolution of the Coordinating Committee in August 1994, Tanzania still remains the headquarters for the "Roads to Independence: Africa Liberation Heritage Project". Source: ANC Archives University of Fort Hare, South Africa. Also www.ufh.ac.za.

[380] In "Resolution on Dissolution of the OAU Liberation Committee" [AHG/Res.228 (XXX)], The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its 30th Ordinary Session in Tunis, Tunisia, from 13 to 15 June, 1994. www.peaceau.org/uploads/ahg-res-228-xxx-e.pdf.

[381] The African Union (AU) was established in 2001 to replace the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The AU has since adopted a new set of strategic objectives for Africa's development and global competitiveness. Key features of the AU have been the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and the Pan African Parliament. www.au.int/en/.

adopted the Roads to Independence: African Liberation Heritage project, essentially recognising this type of heritage to be of universal value and significance.[382]

The Roads to Independence initiative is a multi-country programme hosted by Tanzania, in collaboration with African Union (AU) member countries and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). The programme includes the construction of a museum, library, an archive, a research centre, and a multi-media facility. The primary aim of the programme is "to collect, document, conserve and commemorate the mosaic of Africa's heritage accumulated during the struggles for independence".[383] The programme acknowledges the importance of the liberation movements for the decolonisation of the continent, as well as the role played by Tanzania in providing material and moral support to these movements.[384]

In post-colonial states in Africa, and in southern Africa in particular, there are a number of similar initiatives that draw on the political commitment of former liberation movements-turned-ruling parties in order to legitimise the legacy of the anti-colonial struggle as the official history and heritage of the nation state. Ndlovu-Gatsheni has observed that:

> former liberation movements, including the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, the African National Congress in South Africa, the South West Africa People's Organisation in Namibia and the Chama Cha Mapinduzi in Tanzania … have maintained close ties rooted in common liberation histories and personal connections, and during times of crisis they draw on these linkages and solidarities.[385]

[382] Draft Resolution 33C/29 at the 33rd General Conference of UNESCO, October 2005. www.unesco.org/unesdoc/.
[383] Technical brief of Roads to Independence in Africa: The Africa Liberation Heritage Programme, 2008, 6.
[384] Ibid., 5.
[385] Ndlovu-Gatsheni S, "Reconstructing the Implication of Liberation Struggle History on SADC Mediation in Zimbabwe", 2011. Occasional Paper No 92, South African Foreign Policy and African Drivers Programme, South African Institute of International Affairs, University of the Witwatersrand, African Perspectives. Global Insights, Sept 2011.

Liberation movements in government, such as the ANC, SWAPO, MPLA, ZANU-PF, and FRELIMO, have unequivocally resolved to conserve and promote the liberation heritage that marks their victory and ascension to power. The legacy of the anti-colonial struggle has spurred memorials and shrines premised on liberation history. For instance, the ruling SWAPO party in Namibia has established the Heroes' Acre, as has ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe, while FRELIMO has erected statues and monuments of revolutionaries in Mozambique, and the ANC-led government in South Africa has constructed Freedom Park, among many of the other symbols prioritised by these nation states. Visible signs of post-colonial "patriotic history" are inscribed on the landscape, not only as part of the legacy of the anti-colonial struggle, but also to assert the regime change engendered by the liberation movements' entry into power. What is clear is that liberation heritage has become a common and dominant theme among the former liberation movements now in government in post-colonial states.

Strategic political alliances have been established among the former liberation movements that have influence in the SADC region. In each regime and political system, heritage is used as a rallying point to mobilise society, consolidate political power, and advance political interests. In August 2011, the heads of the former liberation movements held an important summit in Namibia, where they stressed "the importance of identification, restoration and preservation of historical sites which are relevant to the liberation struggles' need for promoting the spirit of solidarity and cooperation amongst Africans in the context of the former liberation movements".[386] Undoubtedly, protecting the history of the liberation struggle is top of the agenda for former liberation movements who are in government in the SADC region. However, unavoidable disputes occur as a result of the imposition of certain histories biased to the dominant narrative of the former liberation movements in question. This dominance and bias sometimes tend to exclude and displace alternative histories, especially the narratives of other former liberation movements not in the ruling party.

Henning has concluded that heritage is politicised:

[386] An African National Congress (ANC) communiqué about the meeting of heads of political parties of the former liberation movements, on 8 March 2013, 2. www.anc.org.za.

> [G]overnments formed by the anti-colonial liberation movements took control of the state machinery and reorganized themselves as political parties … their legitimacy to rule stemmed from their emergence from the decolonization process as representatives acting on behalf of the majority of the people … since then they have been able to strengthen their political dominance and maintain control over the state.[387]

In other words, it is inevitable that, once in power, former liberation movements will use their political hegemony to politicise and prioritise struggle history and heritage. Saunders has cautioned against "romanticisation, and triumphalism" on the part of those whose movements emerged victorious. He further argues that "triumphalist history either ignored or minimised difficult issues in the past, such as the imprisonment and torture of activists in exile … it tends to be uncritical, assuming that criticism would somehow bring the struggle itself into disrepute."[388]

A substantial chunk of post-colonial writing has been devoted to the important task of documenting liberation history and theory, especially the interpretation and systematic recording of the narratives of the struggle against the repressive colonial and apartheid orders. "The Roads to Democracy in South Africa" by the South African Democratic Education Trust (SADET) was the first series of post-1994 scholarship on various topics and epochs of the liberation struggle in South Africa. Similarly, the SADET publication "Heritage routes for the liberated South Africans: using oral history to reconstruct unsung heroes and heroines' routes into exile in the 1960s" presents liberation struggle histories that have been largely undocumented.[389] "The Liberation Struggle and Liberation Heritage Sites in South Africa" is a research report by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, 2013) that also documents liberation history in South Africa.

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[387] Henning M, "Liberation Movements as Government: The Unfinished Business of Decolonisation", 2006, 19-31, In "Outside the Ballot Box: Preconditions for Elections in Southern Africa", by Minnie J (ed), Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA), Windhoek, 2005/6.
[388] Workshop report on "Documenting the History and Legacy of the Liberation Struggle in South Africa", Nordic African Institute, 2009, 11.
[389] Ndlovu S, "Heritage routes for the liberated South Africans: Using Oral History to Reconstruct Unsung Heroes and Heroines' Route into Exile in the 1960s", 2002, SADET.

The Hashim Mbita project on the liberation history of southern Africa was approved by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Summit of Heads of States and Governments in Botswana in August 2005.[390] The result was the recent publication entitled "Southern African National Liberation Struggles" (2014) by Hashim Mbita, a former brigadier general and executive secretary (1974–1992) of the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The publication attempts to document the history of the liberation struggle in southern Africa through oral text and data, mainly in SADC member states.[391] The National Liberation Heritage Route project in South Africa is considered part of the joint SADC initiative.

In post-colonial South Africa, the work done by major cultural institutions to critically document the history and heritage of the liberation struggles in South Africa speaks to the prominence of the liberation heritage project as a priority of the nation state. The institutions that have undertaken this work include the South African History Archive, the Centre for Popular Memory, the National Oral History Project, the Department of Arts and Culture, the Department of Military Veterans, the National Heritage Council, the South African Heritage Resources Agency, the Nordic Africa Institute, the National Archives, the National Library, the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, the Nelson Mandela Museum, Freedom Park, the Chief Albert Luthuli Museum, the Mayibuye Archives, the District Six Museum, universities, and many others. In all sorts of interesting ways, these institutions have been preoccupied with transforming the heritage landscape by presenting an alternative narrative of the resistance struggle.[392]

What has been sadly lacking, however, is the digitisation and ownership of digital archive material. It is disconcerting to note that ownership rights of the digitised material of South Africa's liberation history, especially anti-apartheid records, are not yet in the custodianship of the state. The ownership rights of these records rest with multi-national

[390] Report of the African Union, SADC Summit of Heads of States and Governments in Botswana in August 2005, resolved to support and approve the Hashim Mbita project regarding the documentation of the liberation history in Southern Africa.
[391] Mbita, "Southern African National Liberation Struggles", published under Mkuki Na Nyota Publishers, Tanzania, 2014.
[392] Draft National Transformation Heritage Charter, 2009. www.nhc.org.za.

organisations. It appears that the state has not yet prioritised enough resources towards the digitisation of the liberation heritage archive as part of its heritage management strategy. Lalu has argued that there has been an increase in the digitisation of the liberation history in South Africa on the part of multi-national organisations, and that this has far-reaching implications for the ownership rights of South Africa's digital archive.[393]

The Political Enunciation of Liberation Heritage in South Africa

The liberation heritage project has moved from the remnants of the past into the new trajectory of post-colonial South Africa, where the sharp focus and emphasis are on the memorialisation and celebration of the struggle for freedom. Due consideration and attention must be given to the notion that "heritage can both stimulate and act as a symbol of political struggle, and [that] ownership of heritage objects, places and practices might be considered to give their possessors political power".[394] As a politically endorsed and state-resourced "official" heritage, the National Liberation Heritage Route project has found meaning and expression through elaborate official enunciations by the state at expedient political moments. Most notably, on four occasions between 2011 and 2014 the President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Jacob Zuma, underlined the liberation heritage project and the development of graves and monuments of struggle heroes as priorities in his state of the nation address (SONA).[395] During the 2011 SONA, Zuma pronounced that:

> [Government] will launch a programme celebrating National Icons and promote a National Liberation Heritage Route, to honour individuals who have made an enormous contribution to the liberation of our country.[396]

In the subsequent year, the president reiterated this commitment:

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[393] Lalu, "The virtual stampede for Africa: Digitisation, Postcoloniality and Archives of the Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa", University of the Western Cape, 2007.
[394] Harrison R, "Understanding the Politics of Heritage", 2010, 154, Manchester University Press, Manchester, UK.
[395] State of the Nation Address by Jacob G Zuma, President of the Republic of South Africa, at the Joint Sitting of Parliament, Cape Town, 10 February 2011 and 9 February 2012. www.info.gov.za/speech/.
[396] Ibid.

> as part of the promotion of social cohesion, this year we will undertake and continue many heritage projects … museums and centers to be unveiled will include the 1980 Matola Raid museum in Maputo, the Ncome museum in Kwa Zulu-Natal, phase 2 of the Freedom Park museum and the Steve Biko heritage centre in Ginsberg in King Williamstown … we have also prioritized the homes and graves of former ANC Presidents and other national heroes including Thomas Maphikela, Lilian Ngoyi, Walter and Albertina Sisulu, Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge, Robert Sobukwe and others.[397]

Once again, in the 2013 SONA, President Zuma announced:

> [T]his year marks the 50th anniversary of the raid on Lilliesleaf Farm, the escape from Marshall Square as well as the start of the Rivonia Trial … A series of events are being planned throughout the year to mark the three events, culminating in a national commemoration on the 11th of July 2013.[398]

The authoritarian power and political instrumentality behind such fundamental enunciations by the head of state should not be underestimated. Critics have observed that such pronouncements by the state about public representations like monuments, and the unparalleled media coverage accompanying them, are implicitly informed by the emancipatory post-modern and post-colonial discourses of the previously oppressed populace, as it comes to the fore and expresses its identity.[399] It is therefore the mandate and objective of the ANC-led government to deliberately foreground liberation heritage in the public domain, since this aspect of heritage was subject to marginalisation and invalidation during colonialism and apartheid.

Among the aforementioned projects, state resources have been allocated towards the following projects: the second phase of the Freedom Park Museum, the Steve Biko Heritage Centre, the Ncome Museum, and the 1980 Matola Raid Museum in

[397] Ibid.
[398] Ibid.
[399] Marschall S, "Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South Africa", 2009, 16.

Mozambique.[400] However, the latter project reportedly lacks the governance systems and funding to support its administrative operations.[401] While the state has pledged resources to support these prioritised projects, it is important to keep in mind their current implementation status.

The political rhetoric employed by President Zuma not only reveals the way the liberation heritage project functions as a tangible construct of political imagination, but also demonstrates the extent of political will and power in selecting and supporting a particular aspect of the past in a supposedly politically correct context. It is worth recalling that both the colonial and apartheid states once selected heritage resources that favoured and advanced their interests, too, as illustrated in the first chapter. The president's political enunciations also show the way power is channelled from party politics into state administration (executive authority). The alignment between the state and the party is made evident in the language used by the president (state) to articulate the state's position on issues of arts, culture and heritage: i.e. "a national memorial commemorating the liberation struggle will be erected, as it has been outlined in the ANC Draft National Cultural Policy".[402] The state's position is the ANC's position. Even the revised White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage draws heavily on the ANC's Draft National Cultural Policy (1994), which states that "colonialism and apartheid neglected, distorted and suppressed the culture of the majority of South Africans".[403]

This kind of political alignment has attracted criticism from other former liberation movements and opposition political formations. Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader and Member of Parliament Mangosuthu Buthelezi's comments are again indicative:

> [O]n the surface it would seem that [President Zuma and I] both have the same interests at heart. He [President Zuma] is a Zulu, I am a Zulu … and he is proud of his cultural heritage … but President Zuma is also the President of the ANC,

[400] Department of Arts and Culture Presentation of Progress Report on the "Legacy Project of State of Nation Address and Liberation Heritage Route", at the parliamentary arts and culture portfolio committee meeting, 25 April 2012.
[401] Ibid.
[402] ANC policy position, in "Draft National Cultural Policy (1994)", ANC Headquarters Luthuli House, Johannesburg, 1994. www.anc.org.za archives.
[403] The African National Congress's (ANC) Draft National Cultural Policy (1994).

> and he leads a party whose intention has always been to gain political hegemony and total dominance.[404]

The issue of political domination, and of the inherent selective amnesia involved in privileging certain signifiers of the historic past, is a central concern of this study.

Political hegemony receives a lot of attention in post-colonial discourse, particularly discourse that deals with the constraints and opportunities around diverse representations. Bhabha has argued that "postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order".[405] Bhabha's view ties in well with Fanon's assessment in "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness":

> [N]ational consciousness, instead of being the all-embracing crystallization of the innermost hopes of the whole people, instead of being the immediate and most obvious result of the mobilization of the people, will be in any case only an empty shell, a crude and fragile travesty of what it might have been.[406]

In other words, a democracy like South Africa often aims to accommodate a diverse range of cultures. But, in striving to be inclusive, a state may end up alienating some sectors of the society, and thereby sacrificing a sense of social cohesion and unity. Achieving multiculturalism through state prioritisation of liberation heritage requires a thoroughgoing appreciation and acceptance of cultural differences, which tends to be difficult to achieve.

The influence of politics in shaping liberation heritage plays itself out in various public platforms and social contexts. It seems the persistent politicisation of heritage is unavoidable. In a series of speeches in the Limpopo Province Legislature in September 2014, for example, a member of the ANC stressed the following:

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[404] Address by Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi (MP), Inkosi of the Buthelezi Clan and Traditional Prime Minister of the Zulu Monarch and Nation, April 02, 2013 www.ifp.org.za/Speech/020413/. [Accessed on 04/08/2015].
[405] Bhabha H, "The Location of Culture", 1994, 171. Routledge, London and New York.
[406] Fanon F, "The Wretched of the Earth", 1963, 148.

> I want to emphasise to myself and all of us here and the public out there that we must start to argue that the African National Congress itself as the political party is the heritage of the South African people and the African struggle. [APPLAUSE] … I want to state that the Freedom Charter states that this land belongs to all of us—black and white—and further that the colour of a man's skin is no more significant than the colour of his eyes … we want to argue that apartheid is a legacy, but it is a legacy which we want to forget … we want it to be put in the archives of history and never be re-loaned or introduced to our people except to remind them of the evils of apartheid … the African National Congress' main policy, as the liberation movement and body committed to nation-building, is to redress the imbalances of the past.[407]

These political sentiments and policy positions are especially prevalent in ANC-led provinces and municipalities, where the idea is entrenched that the ANC is a home for all, despite differences in political ideologies and cultural ideas—that it is the party of all parties, as it were. This image of the ANC links well with the findings of Ncebisi Ndletyana's publication entitled "Patronage Politics Divide Us: A Study of Poverty, Patronage and Inequality in South Africa". In this publication, Ndletyana shares insights into the unscrupulous extent of hegemonic politics in certain ANC-led municipalities that are plagued by blind loyalty, nepotism, prejudice, self-enrichment, and reciprocal benefitting. He argues that there is a tendency in these municipalities to pledge political allegiance to politicians who are likely to reciprocate by allocating benefits to their supporters.[408]

Ndletyana's observations help shed light on the mobilisation of political instrumentality in the National Liberation Heritage Route project. His analysis illustrates how politics within the ruling ANC party often extend far beyond the limitations of structured state policy

[407]Recorded speeches of the Limpopo Legislature, Lebowakgomo Legislative Chamber, Tuesday, 28 September 2010, meeting of the House (14:15)

[408] Ndletyana M, "Patronage Politics Divide Us: A Study of Patronage, Poverty and Inequality in South Africa", Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA), Research Report 2013, www.mistra.org.za.

frameworks. The same could be said of the way political power has sometimes been exercised in formation of the National Liberation Heritage Route project.

The Uses of Liberation Heritage at Expedient Moments

As part of a string of post-colonial policy reforms, the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 created an enabling environment for certain aspects of liberation heritage. As mentioned earlier, Sections 3 (g)(iii) and (g)(iv) of the National Heritage Resources Act (1999) make reference to the declaration of "graves of victims of conflicts and those associated with the liberation struggle … [and] graves of individuals designated by the Minister by notice in the Gazette".[409] Through the National Heritage Resources Act, the Ministry of Arts and Culture gazetted the declaration of several graves of struggle icons as national heritage sites, including those of Charlotte Maxeke, Helen Joseph and Lillian Ngoyi in 2010, and those of Rev Sefako Makgatho, Mr Josiah Gumede, Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Dr Robert Sobukwe, Mr Stephen Biko and Dr Christiaan Naude in 2013.[410] The convenient use of policy to legitimise a select few national monuments and memorials has had the far-reaching consequence of privileging certain pasts over others. The bias inherent in declaring a few struggle icons and excluding others has attracted criticism, especially from opposition political formations like the IFP, but also from certain alliance parties of the ANC, who have expressed resentment over the dominance of the ANC-led liberation heritage project. See, for example, this powerful critique from members of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), which speaks to many of the major concerns of this thesis:

> Well, we need to call a spade a spade: the ruling party looks after its own. Today liberation heritage is by and large a story about ANC icons from the past, with a nod towards Black Consciousness leader[ ] Steve Biko, PAC icon[ ] Robert Sobukwe, and one or two indigenes, such as Klaas and Trooi Pienaar, whose remains were recently repatriated from Austria and reburied

[409] National Heritage Resources Act no 25 of 1999. http://www.dac.gov.za/sites/default/files/Legislations%20Files/a25-99.pdf [Accessed on 07/05/2013]
[410] South African Government News Agency, "Graves of Struggle Heroines Declared Heritage Sites", 20/08/2013, Soweto, www.sanews.gov.za.

> at Kuruman in the Northern Cape … and more of the same is on the way … now, according to Paul Mashatile, the Minister of Arts and Culture, the graves of Charlotte Maxeke, Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, O.R. Tambo, Alfred Xuma, Pixley Ka Isaka Seme and Albert Luthuli, among others, are to be upgraded and declared national heritage sites … in privileging its own, the ruling party has effectively erased that past in which the ANC is not inscribed, and that past in which it was challenged by a rival political tendency, as represented by the NEUM and associated organisations … but that today's heritage landscape is a biased and exclusionary master-narrative focusing on ANC national heroes shouldn't surprise us, of course, as history, heritage and memory are always controlled and shaped by those in power … what we have in South Africa is an official national heritage landscape that has been edited by the state through engineered silences and gaps in the liberation story—a deliberate distortion of history by omission.[411]

Similarly, Pickover, curator in the Department of Historical Papers at the University of the Witwatersrand, writes that "the state and the ruling party lays claim, ownership and stewardship to South Africa's past and the 'liberation struggle' not under the guise of inclusiveness discourse … It is not about creating a common, inclusive identity but about creating a monolithic lens through which a certain kind of struggle history is given superiority and fostered."[412] Inevitably, the liberation heritage project, which is state-funded through the ANC-led government, has tended to project and profile the political interests of the ruling party, much to the dismay and exclusion of other former liberation movements and opposition political parties.

The political and policy context that has shaped the flagship liberation heritage project in South Africa draws its inception from a series of official state declarations. Most notably, in 2012, the Department of Arts and Culture announced a set of key objectives during the

[411] NEUM, "Disinherited: Distorting heritage by omission" by NEUM report: Posted on 18 September 2012, 11.
[412] Pickover M, In "Disinherited: Distorting heritage by omission" by NEUM report: Posted on September 18, 2012, 12. Also Department of Historical Papers at the University of the Witwatersrand.

staging of Heritage Day celebrations in the Northern Cape Province, under the theme "Celebrating the Heroes and Heroines of the Liberation Struggle in South Africa".[413] These objectives were as follows:

- To reaffirm and promote the significance of liberation heritage as part of the cultural heritage of South Africa;
- To use liberation heritage as a vehicle to foster social cohesion, nation building, economic development, inclusive citizenship, and an end to xenophobia and homophobia;
- To promote national identity that is self-conscious of its liberation heritage;
- To promote unity in diversity among all sectors of the South African society.

These official statements of intent clearly define the uses to which heritage is put in contemporary South African politics. They also expose the fundamental expectation that heritage management will fulfil certain national priorities. The National Heritage Council has conceded that "expectations are high that the Liberation Heritage Route project will promote social and economic progress and that it will provide impetus for the development of cultural industries and cultural tourism."[414] However, we recall here Ashworth et al.'s claim that heritage is often deployed as a "political resource in the creation or support of state" and in "the legitimation of … governments and governing ideologies."[415] Contemporary uses of heritage, then, transcend any straightforward need for conservation. Instead, they point to a pattern of state appropriation of heritage for other political ends.

The exploitation of heritage for political ends is prevalent in many other political systems and nation-states. Some African states openly affirm the pre-eminence of culture in establishing a national identity. Negri has observed that:

[413] The Department of Arts and Culture publication on "Celebrating the Heroes and Heroines of the Liberation Struggle in South Africa", Heritage Month, 2012.
[414] National Heritage Council, Presentation of National Liberation Heritage Route project at a Summit in the North West Province, 2011.
[415] Ashworth et al., "Dissonance and the Uses of Heritage", 1996, 34.

> the acknowledgement of cultural values can thus be effected at the highest level of the legal standards which underpin the creation of the state […] the incorporation of the [state's] cultural priorities in the Constitution may correspond to different objectives … it may be from the need to use these foundations to build a national identity common to the different ethnic groups or the need to promote a dominant national culture that will compel recognition among the various communities of the state.[416]

In South Africa, as we have seen, heritage has frequently been used to engender a culture of national unity, reconciliation, social cohesion, and, most recently, economic and infrastructure prosperity.[417] The notions of reconciliation and unity, which follow on from the negotiated settlement during South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, have been systematically enacted in various state-supported, high-profile events, such as the unveiling of the road linking the Voortrekker Monument and Freedom Park (discussed in Chapter 4).[418] The practice of using heritage to foster a new national identity and unity is consistent with the perceived conditions for a democratic dispensation, amid the deeply entrenched and glaring realities of racism, sexism, homophobia and xenophobia in South Africa.

State-funded national events also play to public consciousness and serve as a political instrument to mobilise support and legitimise the liberation heritage project. Such political instrumentality has been partly realised through established platforms, including the much-profiled year-long centenary celebrations of the African National Congress (ANC) in 2012. The liberation heritage project featured prominently in the celebrations, which were carefully orchestrated through an assemblage of public lectures, symbolic torch-bearing processions and myriad festivities across South Africa. According to the ANC, the centenary celebrations sought to:

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[416] Negri V, "Introduction to Heritage Law in Africa", 2005, 8, In "Cultural Heritage and the Law Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa", 2005.
[417] Revised Draft White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, 2013, 22, www.dac.gov.za.
[418] The Department of Arts and Culture 2013/2014 Budget vote speech by the Minister Paul Mashatile at the National Assembly, 16 May 2013. www.dac.gov.za.

> celebrate our [ANC] proud traditions, values and principles that earned our movement an indelible place in the hearts, psyche and soul of our people…it should reflect the ANC in all its facets and dimensions, for example, mass mobilization, the underground, armed struggle and international solidarity.[419]

The African Union endorsed the centenary celebration through a Decision on the Centenary of the African National Congress, a testament to the party's ongoing continental reach.[420] Indeed, for the past 20 years since the dawn of democracy, the ANC has continually reinvented itself as a political party. Yet the former liberation movement primarily relies on its anti-colonial and anti-apartheid credentials for social mobilisation of the masses in contemporary South African politics. The struggle credentials of the ANC have earned the political party immense electoral support.

On certain historic occasions, such as the passing on of the iconic leader Nelson Mandela in 2013, the notion of liberation heritage once again receives a substantial measure of prominence and media mileage. Mandela's death spurred the proliferation of heritage initiatives associated with his name, such as the unveiling of a towering bronze statue in 2014 at the Union Buildings by the Department of Arts and Culture, the grading and declaration of the Nelson Mandela Sites of Reconciliation and Memory (2014) by the National Heritage Council, and, most recently, the launch of the Madiba Journey mobile application in 2015 by South African Tourism. Back in the Eastern Cape, the birth and resting place of Nelson Mandela, a special Cabinet resolution was taken to honour prominent leaders of the struggle, as part of the 20-year anniversary of democracy and the branding of the province under the banner "Home of the Legends".[421] Most notably, the Cabinet resolved to honour Nelson Mandela, Chris Hani and O R Tambo, among the great political leaders whose birthplace is the Eastern Cape.[422] Similar events occurred

[419] The African National Congress, "AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: 100 YEARS OF SELFLESS STRUGGLE", 2012, www.anc.org.za/centenary/show. [Accessed on 04/09/2014].
[420] African Union, General Assembly/AU/Dec. 353 (XVI) (Doc. Assembly/AU/15 (XVI).
[421] Eastern Cape Provincial Legislature adopted a Cabinet resolution to honour prominent leaders of the struggle as part of marking the 20 years of democracy and the branding of the province under the banner of the Home of the Legends, 2014.
[422] A Cabinet Memorandum presented at the Eastern Cape Provincial Legislature for adoption (2014). The Cabinet Memorandum made specific resolutions and recommendations to honour prominent leaders

in various provinces across South Africa in 2014. What is crucial to note here is not only the scaling up of an important memorial such as the liberation heritage project, but also the foregrounding of prominent personalities as embodiments of the political struggle.

But the opportunistic framing of liberation heritage has also manifested in other forms of cultural inscription. Post-colonial South Africa has witnessed the politicisation of heritage in the naming and renaming of places after icons of the liberation struggle. Several towns, streets, buildings, cityscapes and municipalities attest to the abrupt upsurge of new place-names: for example, the Sol Plaatjie Municipality (Northern Cape Province), Luthuli House (Gauteng Province), O R Tambo International Airport (Gauteng Province), Thabo Mbeki Drive (Limpopo Province), Moses Mabhida Stadium (KZN Province), Ngaka Modiri Molema Municipality (North West Province), Fezile Dabi Municipality (Free State Province). This list is by no means exhaustive.

These nation-wide commemorative initiatives help define the political backdrop against which the liberation heritage project finds its profound meaning and prolific expression.

Politics of Hegemony and Domination Continue

Political hegemony in heritage management, clearly illustrated in Chapter 2, was inevitable under the repressive colonial and apartheid regimes. However, a similar approach to heritage management seems to manifest in post-colonial South Africa.

The deliberate imposition of the proclaimed “official heritage” by the state through the colonial, apartheid and post-colonial regimes in South Africa leaves no doubt about the inherence of political hegemony in heritage management. As illustrated before, there is an unavoidable tendency to impose a particular grand narrative, to the exclusion of others.

State prioritisation of liberation heritage illustrates the extent to which heritage is used to achieve certain political goals. Undoubtedly, liberation heritage has assumed a significant

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of the struggle as part of marking the 20 years of democracy and the branding of the Province under the banner of the ‘Home of the Legends’, 2014.

and prominent place in the contemporary cultural and political landscape in South Africa. Liberation heritage has become a popular alternative to the colonial narrative. The framing of the liberation heritage project is surrounded by ambivalence. Officially, the project has been presented as a diverse representation of cultural and political interests. But, in reality, the official version of the project has been subjected to contestation. The question remains: whose narrative is privileged through the liberation heritage project, particularly the National Liberation Heritage Route project?

The liberation heritage project tends to elicit a multiplicity of interpretations. Those who have either justified or criticised the liberation heritage project have done so on political, social and economic grounds. The liberation heritage project borders on an important discussion around the regulation of power, not only between the centre and the margin, but also between different forces vying for power within the margin.

Within the frame and evolution of the liberation heritage project, I want to argue that hegemony occurs three–fold:

1. The ANC's appropriation of the struggle legacy
2. The exclusion of other liberation movements
3. The personification of the liberation struggle

In the first instance, the state's appropriation of the struggle legacy is weaved into popular, grand national narratives, as clearly illustrated in the statement by the Minister of Arts and Culture during the adoption of the theme of liberation heritage in 2011:

> to reaffirm and promote the significance of liberation heritage as part of the cultural heritage of South Africa … to use the liberation heritage as a vehicle to foster social cohesion, nation building, economic development, inclusive citizenship and an end to xenophobia and homophobia…to promote national identity that is self-conscious of its liberation heritage…to promote unity in diversity among all sectors of the South African society.[423]

[423] The Department of Arts and Culture. The Speech by Minister of Arts and Culture, Mr Paul Mashatile during the adoption of the theme of liberation heritage, as part of launch of heritage month 2011.

Through these political enunciations, the state not only attempts to use heritage to address contemporary social and economic issues. But the state seeks to justify its role and validate its claims to liberation heritage in a way that resonates with the emotions of the majority population in South Africa. Most importantly, the state employs liberation heritage as a rallying point for the masses around the grand ideals of national identity, social cohesion, and many other political ideologies.

The perceived neutral, naturalised and normative effect of state-prioritised liberation heritage also influences the construction of a homogenous society or "imagined community". The state's responsibility in promoting liberation heritage involves not only conserving this important legacy for posterity, but also using liberation heritage for present political purposes, including framing a new homogenous and idealistic nation state with a singular national identity. In short, the liberation heritage project illustrates the polemics of state prioritisation of heritage. The conditions set by the dominant ruling party in government tend to determine the type of "national" history and "official" heritage to be memorialised and celebrated by the present generation.

In the second instance, the politics of hegemony are prevalent in the prominent display of the ruling ANC's struggle narrative, at the expense of other former liberation movements. The character of the liberation heritage project, especially in terms of the profiled narratives and themes (see Chapter 5), gives an impression of the dominance of the ANC narrative, which is privileged over other former liberation movements like the PAC and AZAPO. The liberation heritage project epitomises the deployment of state power, which further signifies the contemporary political authority of the ANC to achieve political goals, as the Minister of Arts and Culture asserted in 2012:

> [W]e declared 2012 as the Year of Heritage … this we did as an acknowledgement of the centenary of the oldest liberation movement in Africa; the African National Congress … we identified twenty nine heritage projects, primarily to honour the heroes and heroines of our liberation of struggle.[424]

[424] The Department of Arts and Culture, 2013/2014 Budget vote speech by the Minister Paul Mashatile at the National Assembly, 16 May 2013. www.dac.gov.za.

In relation to this political pronouncement and many more similar instances, Herwitz has observed that:

> much of this heritage work is meant to consecrate the ANC's political history … instead of rehearsing the contentious, divisive history of real politics, South Africa's official heritage industry makes the past into a legacy, a source of inspiration that authenticates the ANC's contemporary policies … the staging of the ANC's history involves the expropriation of local politics, local heroes, and local history into a national narrative of struggle.[425]

Being the oldest liberation movement in Africa, the ANC still enjoys a substantial measure of popularity and generous support. For the majority, the choice of the ANC is largely because of its struggle credentials. The ANC is credited with delivering the former oppressed masses from the bondage of repressive colonial and apartheid regimes into "free and non-racial" South Africa. Heidi has observed that:

> the liberation credentials of the ANC give it a political legitimacy that is difficult to rival … this is reinforced by the liberation leadership of Nelson Mandela and his cohorts … through the ANC's pivotal role in the protracted struggle, the party has commanded a sustained political hegemony in South Africa, given the powerful liberation symbolism of the ANC, it boast[s] significant leverage within the system.[426]

It is difficult to disregard the intimate connection between South Africa's liberation struggle and the ANC. It would appear that the liberation struggle and the ANC as a political party cannot be delinked. The dominant narrative of the ANC clearly draws on the historiography of the ANC as the oldest liberation movement in Africa. However, this rationale should not justify the exclusion of narratives from other former liberation movements, such as the PAC, AZAPO, and others. The ANC-led government has confronted the challenge of political domination with fierce contestations for recognition

[425] Herwitz, In "The Politics of Heritage in Africa : Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures", 16-17. Edited by Rassool et al., Cambridge University Press, March 2015.

[426] Heidi B, "The Dominant Party System: Challenges for South Africa's Second Decade of Democracy", 2004, 8. Edited by EISA 2004, EISA Occasional Paper No 25, October 2004.

and over the misrepresentation of other former liberation movements. The PAC, in particular, has registered consistent objections around the ANC's appropriation of the mass liberation struggles in South Africa. Historically, the ANC and PAC have clashed over the celebration of national events like Sharpeville Day, and the naming and renaming of places. Saunders has argued that, "the articulation of political opposition is seen as a reason to marginalise, exclude and coerce those with dissenting views as a legitimate response by those in power".[427]

In South Africa, "the liberation movement is a prototype of a state within the state—one that sees itself as the only legitimate source of power which includes intolerance to any form of political opposition.[428] The basis for these arguments is inextricably linked to Foucault's governmentality thesis, which states that the conditions and terms of governance and governmentality are determined by the ruling regime (see Chapter 2). The ANC-led government, which has initiated the National Liberation Heritage Route project, determines the terms and conditions for the selection of narratives into the fold of the project. The ANC's role in the liberation heritage project resonates with the perception that "heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose".[429].

In the third instance, the polemical nature of hegemony tends to occur predominantly within the struggle narrative of the ANC itself, where the narratives and experiences of select struggle icons feature prominently over narratives of other struggle veterans of the former liberation movement. Broadly, it is undisputable that the composition of the liberation heritage project constitutes personal experiences and narratives of the liberation struggle. However, the prominence of certain iconic figures has sparked dissent The personification of the liberation struggle is a distinctive feature within the National Liberation Heritage Route project. As part of the celebration of 20 years of democracy in

[427] Saunders C, "Issues in Writing on Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa", 2009. In "Documenting Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa", Select Papers from the Nordic Africa Documentation Project Workshop, 26–27 November 2009, Pretoria, South Africa.
[428] Suttner R, "Talking to the ancestors: national heritage, the Freedom Charter and nation-building in South Africa in 2005", 2006, 3-27. In 'Development Southern Africa', vol. 23, no. 1. 2006. Also Suttner R, "The Challenge to African National Congress (ANC) Dominance", 2009, In 'Representation', 2009, 109-123 vol. 45, no. 2, 2009.
[429] Lowenthal, "The Past is a Foreign Country", 1985, 129.

2014, the Department of Arts and Culture conceded that: "… linked to the National Liberation Heritage Route project is our honouring of our national icons such as the restoration, upgrading of graves and/or houses of the following icons of our struggle and declare them heritage sites: Charlotte Maxeke; Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Zaccheus Mahabane, Dr James Moroka, Thomas Mapikela, OR Tambo, Sefako Makgato, Alfred Xuma, Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, Rahima Mossa, Rev Langa Libalele Dube, Chief Albert Luthuli and Josiah Tshangana Gumede".[430]

Undoubtedly, the National Liberation Heritage Route project is in itself a product of multiple personal narratives and experiences of struggle icons. But the project serves to profile the narratives of a select few individuals. Furthermore, in the Conceptual Document on the National Liberation Heritage Route (2011), the following names were profiled and promoted: W. Rabusana, T.M. Mapikela, D. Dwanya, T. Jabavu and A. Mangena, O.R. Tambo , N. Mahomo, Dr Dadoo, Edna Miya, Mary Jane Socenywa, Natalie Msimang, Neo Raditladi, Edith and Kholeka Thunyiswa, Cecilia Makiwane, Beatrice Msimang, Dr John Nembula, Dr Modiri Silas Molema, Dr John Langalibalele Dube, Fish Keitsing, Rica and Jack Hodgeson, Doman, King Shaka, Hlambamanzi or Jacob Msimbithi, Dr Abdul Abdurahman, King Cetshwayo, Bhambatha, King Sekhukhune, Thekiso Plaatje, Enoch Sontonga, Pixley ka Seme, Z.R. Mahabane, Dr Xuma, Dr Naicker, Professor Z.K. Matthews, Charlotte Maxeke, Dora Tamana, Lillian Ngoyi, Idah Mtwana, Frances Baard, Helen Joseph, Fatima Meer, Albertina Sisulu, Ray Alexander, Clements Kadalie, Albert Nzula, Moses Kotane, Lionel "Rusty" Bernstein, Michael Harmel, Joe Slovo, Ruth First, Harold Wolpe, Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Braam Fischer, Edwin Mofutsanyane, JB Marks, and Steve Biko.[431] Although some of those mentioned here are not ANC cadres and belong to other political formations, their names and struggle credentials feature scantly within the grand narrative of the ANC. In effect, personal experiences are structured and understood in terms of a larger cultural narrative of the nation state.[432] Personal narratives of the anti-colonial

[430] The Department of Arts and Culture: Minister's Budget Vote Speech, 2012, 3.
[431] The National Heritage Council, Conceptual Document of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project", 2011, 16. www.nhc.org.za and www.dac.gov.za.
[432] Marschall S, "Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South Africa", 2009, 21.

struggle are authenticated and legitimised as “official heritage” of the state. These narratives are an integral part of the multi-layered discourse of the liberation heritage project in South Africa.

However, it is crucial to take cognisance of the reality that liberation heritage draws heavily from personal experiences and the memory of ordinary South Africans who participated in the struggle. Recent debates have arisen around the sensitive issue of profiling of personal struggle narratives for public consumption.

Since the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) process, the personal testimonies of victims of apartheid and the numerous accounts of icons of the liberation struggle have become public scripts of an emerging nation state, grappling with a balanced and diverse representation of its past. The institutionalisation of liberation heritage tends to border on shifts between private and public text. The personal experiences of struggle heroes and heroines become celebrated and embraced as public narratives. This “popular memory approach” entangles public and private memory. The liberation heritage project is not just an idea. It is a construction that circumscribes us, with all its symbolism, meaning, and largely subjective management processes. One’s experience of the project depends on one’s proximity to the liberation history and contemporary meaning.

At various expedient political moments, the ANC has used the struggle credentials and popularity of its liberation icons to secure public consent and support from South African voters: for instance, with the multiple uses of the towering figure of Nelson Mandela in the bidding process for South Africa to host the 2010 FIFA soccer tournament.

These sentiments map the broad political discourse that “in the new South Africa, a national heritage complex has been constituted out of narratives of great leaders’ epic lives and the triumph of the human spirit, and from stories of a rainbow nation that are morphed into a post-apartheid discourse of diversity and a new nation comprising ‘many cultures’.”[433] In essence, the use of these narratives has been a recurring phenomenon across various locations in South Africa, especially regarding the naming of places and landmarks after a select few cadres of the liberation struggle (illustrated in Chapters 3

[433] Rassool C, “Public history as critical heritage practice in South Africa”, 2001, 2.

and 4). However, this skewed representation of the liberation struggle has not passed without criticism. Nelson Mandela, himself implicated in this programme, vehemently opposed the idea of personifying the struggle narrative of the ANC. He has reiterated that:

> the struggle for freedom was fought by a collective but not an individual and that due recognition must go to the collective and not only individuals of the liberation struggle.[434]

Although Mandela's position was to recognise the collective effort of the liberation struggle, in reality the opposite has occurred. The question remains: what happens or happened to the significant others, the "unsung heroes and heroines", who also played a pivotal role in the liberation struggle but remain largely unknown and omitted from the National Liberation Heritage Route project?

Conclusion

State prioritisation of liberation heritage shows how heritage has been deployed in ways that challenge common or essentialised understandings of heritage practice. The liberation heritage project is a deliberate attempt to legitimise and standardise anti-colonial history as "official heritage". It is a unitary state-sanctioned memorial project that clashes with the complex assemblage of colonial and apartheid histories that exist in the democratic sphere. The ideological construction of the liberation heritage project throws the political uses of heritage into sharp relief. The legacy of the anti-colonial struggle is morphed into the foundation for a new nation state and national identity.

State prioritisation of liberation heritage arises when the state takes up the challenge of synthesising or "mastering" the representation of diverse experiences and narratives of the struggles against colonialism and apartheid. "Selective amnesia", however, often leads to a skewed or biased representation of these narratives, and so to the inevitable privileging of certain heritages over others. The question remains whether liberation heritage in South Africa will transcend traditional racial, ethnic and economic boundaries,

[434] Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, 2011,12

or simply reinforce these categories. Analysing the differing investments of social groups in the liberation heritage process will allow for a fuller appreciation of the historical consciousness and geographic agency of these groups.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

A critique of state prioritisation of heritage in South Africa provides the lenses necessary to interrogate fundamental questions around state-centric approaches to heritage management. The extent of state intervention in heritage management cannot be overstated, as clearly demonstrated throughout this study. State intervention is exercised through political authority, policy and the administration of heritage management. State influence is especially prevalent in South Africa, where there are relatively well-established policies and institutions for heritage management.

Throughout this study, the consistent themes emerging as a result of state prioritisation of heritage relate to governmentality, the political uses of heritage, political power, and policy instruments. State prioritisation of heritage is tied to the broader challenge of the subjective nature of heritage management, which includes the appropriation of European practices, the polemical nature of the formalisation of heritage conservation, the contestation of state claims to the past, and the selective amnesia inherent in the governance of heritage. A critical reading of the discourse on state prioritisation of heritage prompts particular thinking about how the state frames and mobilises the technologies of governance to manage heritage resources. The mobilisation of these technologies underpins the authority and domination of the state. Most importantly, political power and policy instruments serve as deliberate tools for legitimising colonial heritage as state-prioritised heritage resources. This study places sharp focus on the relationship between “official top-down” and “non-official bottom-up” approaches. Above all, it demonstrates the extraordinary investment in heritage and its governance by different regimes and state powers, and it suggests that the contestations surrounding heritage serve as a source of defiance and challenge towards state authority.

Governmentality and Heritage Management in Context

In each regime and political system, including the colonial and post-colonial regimes, heritage has been used as a rallying point to mobilise society, consolidate political power and advance political interests. It is common practice that nation states will always prioritise certain aspects of their past and heritage to respond to their particular interests, demands or goals. State prioritisation of heritage is informed by the political context and conditions set by the regime in power, as clearly demonstrated in the colonial and post-colonial eras in South Africa. State prioritisation of heritage provides a sense of political acuity.

There is clear evidence to suggest that heritage management, conceived within certain political conditions and propelled through a state agency, is not immune from “authorised heritage discourse”. Heritage has been used as a strategic tool to validate political regimes and state authorities at expedient moments. The strategic deployment of heritage is evident in the political uses of policy in heritage management, not only for the setting of standards for conservation, but for the configuration of “official”, state-prioritised heritage. As a result, in both colonial and postcolonial South Africa, heritage has been mobilised for the construction of a national heritage and identity.

The colonial period in South Africa marked the formalisation of heritage management, including the framing of “official heritage”. The discussion in Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrates the political and policy context, under colonial and post-colonial rule, that has informed official and formal practices of heritage management by the state. In effect, colonialism and apartheid propelled the entrenchment and popularisation of colonial heritage and European heritage management practice, which displaced indigenous practices of conservation, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. European practices of governmentality and governance were privileged and legitimised through the enactment of colonial and apartheid-era policies and legal instruments. Chapter 2 showed how early settlers defined conditions in which the construction of heritage inculcated a sense of belonging in the new and foreign country and also framed the history, heritage and identity of the white settler population as superior to those of the black natives.

State prioritisation of heritage highlights the uses of heritage in shaping and reinforcing racial categories alongside the racialised regimes. In colonial South Africa, heritage work perpetuated and promoted white domination and black subjugation, with white colonial and apartheid symbols dotting the heritage landscape. In particular, in the apartheid era, the political use of heritage is evident not only in the formation and construction of the white Afrikaner identity, but also in the assertion and validation of Afrikaner nationalist identity and rule. The construction of Afrikaner nationalist identity was in line with the post-1948 rhetoric of independence from British rule and the attainment of a sovereign nationalist state. It was also consistent with segregationist and repressive policies such as the Land Act, the Group Areas Act and the Native Act, among others, which served to legitimise white colonial identity along nationalist constructs of racial classification. The Voortrekker Monument is a poignant reminder of the consolidation of the Afrikaner ideals.

The legacy of colonialism, as it plays out in post-colonial South Africa, borders on political correctness and reinforces the racial categories established by the former regimes. This legacy has defined the conditions for heritage management in the post-colonial state. In essence, the study points to the fact that heritage served to fulfil colonial and post-colonial fantasies of constructing both homogeneous and heterogeneous racialised categories, which continue to be contested and defied. In this context, the study has offered an in-depth understanding of heritage not only as an instrument of shaping national identity but also as an instrument of imposing racial categories in a way that is rationalised and justified to fit the current situation. The post-colonial discourse on heritage management speaks to the uses of heritage in framing the neo-colonial homogenous categorisation and classification of race and identity.

In both the colonial and apartheid eras, the political authority of the European settlers informed the systematic proclamation of predominantly Dutch and British colonial heritage. At the same time, policy instruments served to proclaim and validate selective colonial and apartheid resources as “official heritage”. As illustrated in Chapter 2, narratives and symbols of colonial and apartheid conquest flooded the heritage landscape. While the Bushmen Relics Protection Act (1911), for instance, focused on the protection of “Bushmen relics”, the Act also served certain colonial interests: namely, the

formalisation and institutionalisation of these relics, which were placed beyond the reach of the physical referents (the Khoi and San people). Most importantly, the Bushmen Relics Protection Act was passive to the illicit trade in the human remains of "Bushmen". It also went hand in hand with racial science, freak shows and exhibitions, such as the infamous San Diorama at the Natural History Museum in Cape Town.[435] The proliferation of state-prioritised colonial heritage, especially at the turn of the 20th century, was part of the colonial enterprise to "institutionalise" elements of nature and culture in South Africa, and in Africa in general.

Subsequently, the enactment of the Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923 and the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act of 1934, during British and Dutch rule, witnessed a flurry of state-prioritised heritage, such as Victorian and Dutch architecture and symbols that signify the imposition of the dominant colonial narrative, framed as "official heritage". Simultaneously, the deliberate inscription of colonial names became a common fixture of the colonial landscape and is still visible in post-colonial South Africa. The dominant colonial inscriptions on the cultural landscape tend to perpetuate European claims to South Africa's past as a former colony and a direct mirror of the British Empire.

The apartheid era, post-1948, initially did not experience substantive heritage policy reforms. Certainly, the use of colonial-era policies, such as the Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923 and the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act of 1934, informed the apartheid era's approach to state-prioritised and "official heritage". The promulgation of heritage legislation and policies during apartheid, such as the National Monument Council Act of 1969, further entrenched the state's authoritarian position and bias in heritage management.

The apartheid era mainly saw the emergence of the white nationalist Afrikaner state and the advancement of Afrikaner heritage, such as the Voortrekker Monument and a cluster

[435] Rassool et al., "Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African Museums and the Trade in Human Remains 1907–1917", 2001. Also Davidson, "Typecast: Representations of the Bushmen at the South African Museum," Public Archaeology, 2001. Also Skotnes, "Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen," Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 1996.

of statues of white male Afrikaner nationalist leaders (most notably, Verwoerd, Vorster and Malan). Historians have observed that the Voortrekker Monument not only serves as a reminder of the liberation struggle of Afrikaners against British colonial rule, but also represents the myth that South Africa belongs to the Voortrekkers and their descendants.[436]

The formalisation of heritage management spurred significant shifts in the standardisation of definitions in heritage legislation, with heritage and conservation work defined in relation to fixed disciplinary codes and categories: for example, the dominance of archaeological terminology in the Bushmen Relics Protection Act (1911) and the National Historical and Monuments Act (1923). Sometimes a combination of disciplinary codes is used to frame definitions in heritage policies, such as the use of archaeological and architectural terms in the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act (1934). The current National Heritage Resources Act (1999) and the National Heritage Councils Act (1999) draw on a variety of standardised definitions from established disciplines and codes, including the environmental sciences, archaeology, anthropology, history, geography, architecture, cartography, spatial planning, and sometimes indigenous knowledge systems. In effect, these categories and definitions served to codify the conservation of heritage along disciplinary codes, as an integral part of formalising heritage management.

Even in the post-colonial state, the legacy of colonial and apartheid laws still influences the approach to heritage management. Heritage deployment and mobilisation during both the colonial and apartheid periods served to entrench the dominance of white elitism. Sibayi has observed that "the promotion of English colonial heritage and later Afrikaner cultural heritage, at the expense of indigenous heritage[,] indirectly resulted in the formulation of policies that marginalized the majority of the citizens."[437] The dominant colonial and apartheid narratives were an integral part of the public script and memory,

[436] Coombes, "Translating the Past: Apartheid Monuments in Post-Apartheid South Africa", London, Routledge, 2000, 173-197.
[437] Sibayi D, in "Addressing the Impact of The Structural Fragmentation on Aspects of the Management and Conservation of Cultural Heritage", MA Thesis – Masters of Public Management at Stellenbosch University, 2009, 4. I am also drawing on notes based on personal and official interaction with colleagues at SAHRA, NHC, DAC and DEA.

perpetuated through political and policy regimes. Most importantly, political power and policy instruments served as deliberate tools for legitimising colonial heritage as state-prioritised heritage.

Since 1994, the heritage sector, like other spheres and fraternities of government in the "new" South Africa, had to align with the transformative objectives of the democratic political dispensation. The heritage landscape witnessed the popularisation and prioritisation of "common heritage" as a rallying force for national unity (social cohesion), national identity and national healing, in line with the South African Constitution (1996) and the principles of democracy. As in many post-colonial and independent states in Africa, heritage has been used in the formation of national identity as part of the post-liberation process. Post-colonial South Africa advanced the notion of diversity, and of "Unity in Diversity".[438] In post-colonial South Africa, heritage is at the service of grand political ideals of democracy, such as national identity, nationhood, peace, reconciliation, social cohesion, healing, and pride, working to legitimise a democratic state and fulfil the dream of the "rainbow nation".

Even though the spirit of these newly promulgated heritage policies promoted democratic principles, technically they remained heavily influenced by European colonial influences, especially in the evolution of protective measures. Of paramount importance is South Africa's subscription to the international standards of multi-national heritage organisations such as UNESCO, which further accentuates its vulnerability to the "authorised heritage discourse" and governmentality. The evidence presented in Chapter 3 demonstrates the extent to which European experiences are embedded in the newly adopted National Heritage Resources Act (1999) and the National Heritage Councils Act (1999). As has been observed, the colonial period has left its mark on legal systems, but even more so on the concept of the protection and the identification of cultural heritage.[439] The

[438] Strategy frameworks of the Department of Arts ands Culture, in 2004–2005, 2005–2006, 2006–2007, and 2007–2008. www.dac.gov.za.
[439] Negri, "Introduction to Heritage Law in Africa" , In "Cultural Heritage and the Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa", ICCROM Conservation Studies, 2008, 9.

“authorised heritage discourse”, inherent in official and formal practices, attests to the dominant nature of the state approach to heritage management.

The power of political authority further determines how policy and legal instruments are formulated to regulate heritage uses. In turn, policy serves as a congruent of the political regime and is a direct product of the political milieu from which it derives. Heritage regimes prioritised heritage in line with the political conditions and governance systems that set conditions for the formalisation of heritage management in South Africa. Therefore, the inherent authority of the state has had an immense influence on the governance of heritage.

This study demonstrates the relationship between the politics of change and the heritage practices that have manifested throughout the different political and policy regimes in South Africa. It is a fact that heritage practices have been implicated in the politics of change and transition from the colonial to the post-colonial era. In essence, across the various political regimes of the colonial, apartheid and post-colonial eras, the state has consistently constructed and positioned official heritage as a crucial aspect of the country’s development. In this regard, heritage and its governance are not isolated technical processes inseparable from the context in which they occur. Rather, heritage and management approaches are largely informed and shaped by their relevant colonial, apartheid or post-colonial context.

Governmentality and State-Centric Approaches to Heritage Management

The recurrent themes of governmentality and heritage management throughout this study suggest that state prioritisation of heritage is deeply embedded in hegemonic, top-down approaches and practices, in turn embedded in the centralisation of power and authority by the state. The lens of governmentality draws our attention to the following fundamental questions: state claims to the ownership of the past, the extent of state control of the past, the uses of heritage for the state, and the curation and mediation of the past. State prioritisation of heritage clearly illustrates the extent of governmentality and political validation in formalising heritage management. According to Foucault’s analysis on governmentality, the state holds the power to regulate resources and citizens, which

amounts to a curation of the past, including “official heritage”. The previous chapters have revealed how legislation and policy effectively enable state intervention in the governance of heritage.

In South Africa, state institutionalisation of heritage legitimises state ownership of heritage resources and places heritage solely within the jurisdiction of the state. In fact, state ownership is an integral part of the “official heritage” or “national estate”, as stipulated in the terms of the National Heritage Resources Act (1999). The Act outlines a three-tier system for heritage management in South Africa, with heritage placed in the care of state-funded national, provincial and local government institutions, such as SAHRA (national level), PHRA (provincial level) and Local Authority (local government level). The state tends to set conditions and terms for heritage management through the promulgation of policy and legal instruments, which tend to validate the authority of the state as the custodian of heritage resources. Heritage management policies and governance processes are themselves not immune from subjectivity.

The notions of governmentality, authorised heritage discourse and mastering the past set forth in Chapter 2 speak to the regulatory forces driving state-centric approaches to formalising heritage management. Foucault and Smith’s theories demonstrate that heritage work is not only about the conservation of the physical fabric of the nation-state, but it is more crucially about “mastering the past” in the present through mediation and regulation, including meaning-making and heritage-creation. It is the purpose of state intervention to regulate the conservation of heritage through the formalisation of heritage management. The range of heritage policies from the colonial to the post-colonial era clearly demonstrates the extent to which the state has evolved and formalised the protection and regulation of heritage resources.

The impact of colonial and apartheid legacies on current approaches to heritage management in post-colonial South Africa needs to be reckoned with and accounted for. Drawing on the experiences of the past, the post-colonial state has the opportunity for redress through an evaluation of the merits and de-merits of state-centric approaches to heritage management.

In previous chapters, I have touched on the benefits of state intervention in heritage management. First and foremost, setting the policy regime and administrative process for heritage management invariably gives the state a measure of responsibility and authority over the protection and regulation of heritage. State intervention also tends to translate into the allocation of legal, financial and institutional support to heritage management. Therefore, it is arguable that political authority and commitment allow resource allocation—both material and legal—to be mobilised and deployed to support heritage management.

The prioritisation of heritage across the colonial, apartheid and post-colonial periods underscores the state's political commitment to heritage management, regardless of the very different biases and political uses of heritage in each period. As Chapters 2 and 3 explained, heritage management in colonial, apartheid and post-colonial South Africa has always served the political interests of the ruling party in question. Even in the post-colonial era, heritage is heavily embedded in the politics of "nation-building" and "national identity", in ways that resemble the construction of apartheid during the previous periods. Indeed, this study has attempted to foreground the way political will and commitment interact with and influence heritage management.

Conversely, the drawbacks of state intervention in heritage management present several limitations. A state-centric approach to heritage management is accompanied by the restrictions inherent in any governance system of authorisation, regulation and ownership. As the earlier chapters have outlined, the formalised European colonial approaches introduced an "authorised heritage discourse", where the state and a few experts claimed authoritarian control over access to and ownership of heritage. The result was a host of problematic practices, such as the introduction of protected areas, which placed heritage resources beyond the reach of members of the public.

This study confirms that heritage management and the uses of heritage by the state rely on policy and legislation for legitimacy and validation. Policy and legislation give the state the power to serve as the custodian of heritage management in South Africa. Even so, the state often lacks the capacity and resources needed to effectively manage its heritage, as argued in Chapters 3 and 4. In particular, state institutions such as SAHRA

are grossly underfunded. The evidence presented in Chapter 3 regarding the weaknesses of the state's heritage-management programme attests to general poor funding and resource allocation to heritage institutions, rendering them unable to carry out their responsibilities according to their legislative mandate. Heritage management tends to shift between registers of private and public domains, or "official" and "non-official" domains; therefore, its governance cannot be confined solely to a single individual party without the involvement of other parties. In practice, local communities and other stakeholders beyond the state play a critical role, and share responsibility, in the governance of heritage, as illustrated in Chapters 4 and 5.

Often the state encounters limitations related to accessing and controlling heritage that is in private land and property. In South Africa, it is unsettling to note the number of state-proclaimed heritage resources that are still in private ownership and tied to property rights under the new Constitution. Constitutionally, property rights and private land ownership are heavily protected, with any violation of these rights deemed a crime. Accordingly, issues of access, land and heritage remain sensitive and difficult to resolve today. Regardless of these challenges, the overall outcome is that policy and legislation have come to legitimise the central role of the state in the regulation and control of heritage.

Governmentality and state-centric approaches to heritage management not only underpin the configurations and re-configurations of the past in the present, but also demonstrate the state's reinvention and reinterpretation of the past, especially its realignment of certain aspects of the past to post-colonial needs and expectations regarding heritage. The outcomes of this research show that state intervention in the governance and regulation of heritage has a direct bearing on official heritage, and that this intervention plays an integral part in the broad process of constructing public memory. The desire to control heritage practices and intellectual activities in the colonial and post-colonial contexts reflects a complex relationship between state, public-sphere, academic and heritage institutions. State-centric approaches to heritage show the extent to which heritage is tied to the institutionalisation and legislative control of the past.

Governmentality and Plural Pasts

In several directions, the heritage landscape in post-colonial South Africa is characterised by old colonial and apartheid symbols, juxtaposing new post-colonial symbols such as the “Legacy Projects” discussed in Chapter 3. The idea of “oppositional discourses”, “co-presence” and “plural pasts” accentuates the dynamic and complex cultural heritage inherited from previous regimes. The current juxtapositioning of old and new heritages, such as the Voortrekker Monument (old apartheid heritage) and Freedom Park (new postcolonial heritage), underpins the contemporary approach to heritage management.

The new cultural configurations of the democratisation of heritage in the post-colonial state are characterised by the “add-on effect”, equally accommodating old colonial and new post-colonial heritage and practices to achieve diverse representation and inclusiveness. This approach is consistent with the spirit of reconciliation and unity that came with the negotiated settlement for a non-racial democratic South Africa, dubbed the “rainbow nation”. The “add-on effect” is popular and is synonymous with museum displays and exhibition in South Africa—part of a symbolic approach to promoting social cohesion and reconciliation through heritage management. The “add-on effect” implies that the old and outdated museum exhibitions are not replaced or displaced by the emerging new exhibitions of the post-colonial state, as with the exhibits celebrating ten and twenty years of democracy staged at the Castle of Good Hope, Iziko Museums and Ditsong Museums. These contested public displays illustrate the malleable nature of heritage and the notion that the past cannot be completely ignored or obliterated in accommodating the future.

The legacy of past regimes in post-colonial South Africa confirms that the construction of heritage has been entangled with the politics of inclusion and exclusion of certain pasts or even the privileging of specific narratives over others, as part of the process of selective amnesia. However, an integral part of the post-colonial discourse of nation-building in the new South Africa has been the attempt to democratise heritage by recognising cultural diversity and diverse representations, and yet simultaneously to promote unity and social cohesion in the present.

The co-presence of plural pasts in the present is consistent with Mandela's post-1994 vision of a government of national unity, and the later promulgation of the populist slogan of "unity in diversity" (i.e. promoting unity while recognising difference in cultures) by the Department of Arts and Culture. The popularity of the juxtaposition of old colonial and new post-colonial heritage reflects a broader global trend in which heritage finds expression and appeal in multi-layered narratives, the co-presence of plural pasts, and oppositional discourses of accommodating different forms of heritage.

The relationship between old and new monuments, including the dependency of new monuments on old monuments, is not a new phenomenon in postcolonial South Africa. In fact it has become increasingly common, especially in Western liberal democracies, to acknowledge, rather than deny, burdensome legacies and contentious episodes of the past.[440] Historically, it has been observed that when Afrikaner Nationalists came to power in 1948 they carefully refrained from destroying the older monuments erected by Anglophone South Africans. In the interests of unity and nation-building, they preferred to add their own monuments to the record, in some cases even showing particular caution not to offend the British.[441] As part of the apartheid system of white domination and black subjugation, however, none of the heritage symbols representing the black majority were promoted or conserved.

It was only post-1994 that the democratic state promoted cultural diversity, including state prioritisation of the heritage of the previously oppressed black majority. Marschall has observed that "new monuments and statues are necessary to 'tell the other side of the story'; to expose suppressed histories and preserve narratives of the past previously written out of the official historical record; to counter biased interpretations disseminated through the existing symbolic landscape; to celebrate the identity and achievements of societal groups previously marginalized; and lastly to acknowledge suffering and pay tribute to individuals or groups who lost their lives through acts of resistance."[442]

[440] Tomaselli et al. 1996.
[441] Tomaselli et al. 1996; Tomaselli and Mpofu, 1997.
[442] Marschall, 16.

The emergence of the liberation heritage project draws on the colonial past. In effect, the legacy of colonialism and apartheid serves as a reference point for the framing of the project, as a counter-narrative to the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles for freedom. As a deliberate attempt at redress, state prioritisation of the liberation heritage project recognises and valorises a suppressed past. These histories confront the legacy of the former repressive regimes, in order to pursue restorative justice and honour and recognise the legacy of the political struggle for freedom from colonialism and apartheid.[443]

At the technical level, the problem with such an "add-on" approach hinges on the state's lack of resources and capacity to finance and maintain old and new heritage resources in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999. In practice, the problem runs deeper: the approach does not necessarily address the real issues of transformation in the heritage sector, such as ownership, equity, access, creativity and innovation in heritage institutions, archives and museums. For instance, there seems to be resistance to change on the part of senior heritage officials, who were employed in the apartheid era and who are still occupying the same posts in the post-colonial era. These officials still occupy positions of authority and are involved in decision-making processes concerning public displays and exhibitions in heritage institutions—including the selection, design and curation of these exhibitions.

Instead of concerning itself with redress issues as part of the decolonisation process, the add-on effect has given rise to public dissent over colonial and apartheid heritage. The current public dissent expressed through the destruction of colonial and apartheid monuments and statues, spurred by the inception of the #RhodesMustFall campaign in 2015, put to the test grand notions of social cohesion and the attainment of co-presence of old and new symbols. As Marschall has observed, "the relationship between old and new monuments is rendered more complex on account of its being overlaid by subliminal and sometimes overt tensions within the post-apartheid commemorative project itself … contesting voices indicate the surfacing of new fault lines and hegemonies, thus reflecting the culturally diverse and ideologically fragmented nature of post-apartheid society, but

[443] Draft Concept Document of the National Liberation Heritage Route Project, 2005. www.nhc.org.

also perhaps signalling the emergence of public debate and contention in civil society as beacons of a successful democratic order."[444]

It is a fact that colonial and apartheid effigies—monuments, statues, the built environment, museum objects and artefacts—still dominate the heritage landscape, and still portray an untransformed and skewed representation of heritage and the past in the postcolonial state. Moreover, it would appear that these dominant colonial symbols still epitomise a fragmented and untransformed South Africa, even after 22 years of democracy. Representations of the repressive past fuel public denunciation of old colonial heritage and drive enunciations of a new post-colonial heritage (e.g. the National Liberation Heritage Route project), as illustrated in Chapter 4. But even though policy regimes are potential apparatuses for change, they are not necessarily instruments for eliminating inequalities in heritage governance. More importantly, policy regimes serve as instruments for "reinforcing and expanding the exercise of bureaucratic state power[,] with the state being the monopoly".[445] The manifestation of heritage in oppositional discourses further highlights the notion of heritage erasure, where certain pasts are deliberately omitted or distorted or excluded while other pasts are included and privileged in the present.

Inevitably, the dichotomy created by "oppositional discourses" or "counter-narratives" sometimes poses a challenge to the popular democratic effort of utilising heritage to unite the fragmented people of a country such as South Africa under the banner of national identity. However, the liberation heritage project is not immune from using the constructed colonial and apartheid categories of race and ethnicity, given that the liberation struggle was predominantly fought along racial lines and by means of a separatist discourse. Most importantly, I believe the success or failure of this project rests in attaining credibility by ensuring a diverse representation of liberation experiences in South Africa. By being attentive to these issues, the project will adhere to a constitutional pillar of the country's Bill of Rights—namely, that of advancing equality and inclusivity, which is what the National Liberation Heritage Route project has set out to achieve in the first place.

[444] Marschall, 21.
[445] Smith L, "Uses of Heritage", 2006, 255.

Governmentality and Community involvement in Heritage Management

One of the consistent concerns of this study has been the close appraisal of the relationship between the state and local communities in heritage management, especially given the intense contestation of state and local community claims to the past. Throughout the evolution of heritage management over the years, the role of local communities has intensified the debate on heritage regimes and the politics of inclusion and exclusion. Throughout the colonial and apartheid periods, and even in the current post-colonial period, local communities have been largely excluded and marginalised from meaningful participation in heritage management. This exclusion is largely the result of a state-centric and institutional approach to heritage, administered through restrictive laws and other measures of "authorised heritage discourse". The central objective of conservation policies and measures in the past has been to protect the environment and the national heritage, in the process often restricting public access to protected sites. The colonial legacy that sought to place heritage beyond the reach of local communities is one that the post-colonial state has inherited and is struggling to address.

The fundamental distinction between the new post-colonial policies and the old colonial and apartheid-era policies is that current heritage policies and practices make explicit reference to the participation of the public in heritage management. According to the National Heritage Resources Act (1999), "Heritage resources form an important part of the history and beliefs of communities and must be managed in a way that acknowledges the right of affected communities to be consulted and to participate in their management."[446] In the post-colonial era, the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996) and the National Heritage Resources Act (1999), among other pieces of legislation, emphasise public participation in heritage management, but in practice local communities are still marginalised.

There are several flaws in the nature and scope of public participation in current heritage management, as discussed in Chapter 3. I still maintain that the scope and nature of public participation provided by the state are not adequate, especially when it comes to

[446] NHR Act, 1999, Section 5 (4) under General Principles for Heritage Resources Management.

community involvement in decision-making processes about their heritage and past. The stakeholder engagements that have been discussed in this thesis demonstrate the extent of state intervention in determining the conditions for public participation.

The study has shown that public participation through stakeholder engagement has become merely a ceremonial process tied to official administrative and compliance measures of governance, necessary for meeting certain performance targets of the state. The extent of community involvement and participation in heritage management is largely subjected to the terms and conditions prescribed by the state as part of popular official events involving “stakeholder engagement” or “imbizo”. It has become something of a norm that local communities are treated as passive participants whose engagement is used to prop up the number of stakeholders consulted and have certain positions, objectives, plans, programme or projects more easily endorsed, as demonstrated in Chapter 4.

In this context, heritage management tends to be dominated by a “top-down” authoritarian state-centric approach that tends to exclude and disregard the “bottom-up” local community approach to heritage conservation. As discussed in Chapter 3, scholars argue that these approaches are often in conflict, and often compete for recognition and legitimacy. However, the top-down state-centric approach is regularly privileged and legitimised through political and policy instruments. This approach assumes that the state takes a leading role as the guardian of heritage, and that the governance and promotion of official heritage are largely dominated by institutionalised programmes.

The developments of the post-colonial era in South Africa suggest that, outside of official frameworks, local communities have been able to carry out specific activities that empower them to make claims and enforce change. Chapters 4 and 5 foregrounded local communities’ involvement in heritage-making and the ways in which local communities actively participate in the definition of their heritage-scape. This approach highlights how processes of heritage-making should be seen as part of the everyday cultural practices through which cultural citizenship is asserted and discursively constituted, and through which the dominance of the state in defining and controlling heritage practices is challenged. The counter-heritage practices suggested by Mataga seek to challenge the

top-down authoritarian approach pursued by the state and advance a bottom-up approach that includes even oppositional heritage as part of official heritage or "authorised heritage discourse". Indeed, as much as heritage management is about governmentality, state rule and state intervention, characterised by inclusion and exclusion, heritage also remains a crucial aspect of citizens' hold on government in modern times.[447]

In other words, rather than seeing heritage as purely a form of political organisation for state purposes, we may, as Shepherd has suggested, understand the huge investment in heritage by different political regimes over the decades as a direct result of its social use and efficacy for diverse groups. As a result, the value of heritage practices lies in their ability to operate as "principal sites for negotiating issues of culture, identity and citizenship ... a way of mediating and nuancing alternative modes of citizenship in the postcolony ... standing at the point of negotiation of key social rights and entitlements."[448]

Returning to the marginalisation of local communities, another point to consider is the systematic obliteration and displacement of indigenous and traditional knowledge about heritage management, which is embedded in the local community. The evidence presented in Chapters 2 and 3 illustrates the clear domination of European practices over local and traditional systems of protection. In Chapters 4 and 5 it was observed that, broadly speaking, "old and outdated colonial policies are not accommodative of new and contemporary forms of heritage, including typologies or categories of heritage such as the liberation heritage".[449] Hence the suggestion for an integrated approach to heritage management.

Historically, the fact that state-prioritised heritage has been subjected to contestations across colonial, apartheid and post-colonial South Africa reflects the dissent and dissatisfaction of certain factions in society, who feel their narratives have been either

[447] Mataga 78.
[448] Shepherd, 2008, 124.
[449] A report of the Regional Workshop on the African Liberation Heritage that was organised on 16–18 August 2011, jointly by the Department of Arts and Culture (South Africa), the National Heritage Council (South Africa) and the Africa World Heritage Fund, Pretoria, Roodevallie Conference and Meetings Hotel, 2011, 26.

misrepresented, under-represented, or completely omitted altogether. Communities still make use of their pasts in the contemporary context. As Pikirayi has contended, "such usable pasts are a necessary public empowering tool, where those in positions of control often manipulate the public in order to protect their own views of the world."[450] In South Africa, and elsewhere, these usable pasts derive from the historical and cultural losses suffered by communities due to colonisation, land dispossession, racial segregation and other gross human rights violations and injustices, much of which are still fixed in public memory.

Community involvement and participation in heritage management provide space for alternative narratives through the interpretation and reinterpretation of heritage resources. Community involvement offers a form of counter-heritage against the dominant official narrative of the state. Counter-heritage practices and knowledges are an integral aspect of heritage management, since they often represent the alternative narrative and approach of local and indigenous communities. As part of the counter-narrative and counter-heritage practice in the postcolonial era, former Minister of Arts and Culture Mr Pallo Jordan has strongly contended that local knowledge can also be used to reinterpret heritage resources that are still subject to dominant colonial interpretations.[451]

Consistent with the theme of local community participation and counter-heritage practices is the recognition of intangible heritage, or living heritage, as it is popularly known in South Africa. Colonial and apartheid policies, as discussed in Chapter 2, primarily prioritised material or tangible forms of heritage and excluded intangible aspects of heritage in conservation. Chapter 3 presented a discussion of the recognition of intangible heritage within the post-colonial heritage laws, such as the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996), the National Heritage Resources Act (1999) and the National Heritage Council Act (1999). Furthermore, the introduction of the National Policy on South African Living

[450] Pikirayi I, "What can Archeaology Do for Societies in Southern Africa", 2008.
[451] The Department of Arts and Culture, A progress report on status of transformation in the heritage sector, 6 May 2005. Also captures a speech delivered by the former Minister of Arts and Culture, Mr Pallo Jordan, at the Heritage Colloquium organised at Kopanong Conference venue in March 2005.

Heritage marks a significant milestone in this sphere of heritage. This shift is consistent with the global recognition and popularisation of intangible heritage through the proclamation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. The promotion and safeguarding of intangible heritage through these various pieces of policy and legislation has not only revolutionised the governance of heritage but has also provided space for expanded heritage interpretation through the observation of practices and oral traditions by local communities, including the recognition of indigenous and traditional forms of knowledge.

Although these policies are resolute in their recognition of intangible heritage, in some instances intangible heritage is still defined in relation to the tangible forms of heritage set out in the National Heritage Resources Act (1999). Section 3 of the Act states that the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) has a mandate to manage heritage resources (both objects and sites), to which oral tradition or living heritage is attached. In this context, it is possible to infer that intangible heritage is perceived through disciplinary-based constructs of tangibility, such as “sites”, “monuments”, “objects”, “things”, and so on.[452]

One crucial outcome of involving of communities and alternative narratives in heritage management is that they establish new forms of engagement that challenge state and official practices of the governance of heritage. The concept of state-prioritised heritage developed in this thesis is central to understanding the complex relationship between the state and local communities, especially in relation to the professional aspects of heritage management and the processes of knowledge production. All of this helps us to rethink and reconfigure the nature of the relationship between official agencies, “experts” and local communities, as it has been outlined in the “authorised heritage discourse”.

The Politicisation of Heritage

The continued politicisation of heritage in the postcolonial state illustrates the function of heritage choices and selective amnesia, with state-prioritised heritage privileging certain pasts at expedient moments. This situation manifests in a politics of inclusion and

[452] Galla, 1994.

exclusion of select heritages to advance certain political goals of the nation-state. Drawing from the different political and policy regimes in South Africa, heritage management has never been an innocent task, but is rather influenced by social and political objectives, as are the technicalities of conservation. The formalisation of heritage management has resulted not only in the institutionalisation of heritage, but also in a form of political currency.

The consistent formations of heritage in each period illustrate the power of heritage to transcend political imagination and become a series of tangible symbols inscribed on the landscape, symbolising and memorialising the regime in power. It for this reason that I have emphasised the fact that heritage is not only about the technicalities of heritage conservation but also about the usefulness of heritage for the state in entrenching and popularising certain dominant political ideas. This trend is prevalent in state prioritisation of heritage, especially in the framing of “official heritage” by the state during colonial, apartheid and post-colonial South Africa.

The evidence gathered in Chapters 3 and 4 illustrates the magnitude of state prioritisation of heritage in framing public memory and affirming state control of the past. Throughout the colonial, apartheid and postcolonial eras in South Africa, heritage has been used as a political resource to rally the population behind the formation of a national identity.

At this juncture it is important to highlight that the uses of heritage in times of regime change, and its manipulation to increase state control, suggest the extent of the authoritarian position of the state, and its ownership claims to the past, in creating a suitable and desirable context to promulgate political ideas. Heritage management engages with the regulation and construction of cultural and social values embedded in heritage resources. It is unavoidably entangled with governmentality and the politics of the nation-state.

While both the colonial and apartheid regimes used heritage to forge a national identity exclusively for the white minority, heritage management in post-colonial South Africa has sought to frame a national identity and promote national unity and recognition of diversity. Making reference to public history, Winter has challenged the term “all-inclusive South

African identity". Winter argues that culture and identity should not be treated as fixed and static entities in the first place.[453] In any case, at the heart of state prioritisation of heritage lie subjective heritage choices, which tend to negate the prospects of an "all-inclusive South African identity" or a "rainbow nation." State prioritisation of heritage at expedient moments further demonstrates the extent of state claims to the past, including the selective amnesia pertaining to the inclusion and exclusion of certain pasts. This pattern gives rise to "subjective heritage performance", with certain pasts or heritages privileged in line with the objectives of the political regime in power. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 presented evidence of how political power and policy instruments have been used within certain political conditions to privilege select heritages and pasts. A form of selective amnesia has been evident in heritage management throughout the colonial, apartheid and post-colonial eras in South Africa. State intervention in heritage management, including through political authority, policy and legal instruments, validates the endorsement of select heritages or pasts.

Ironically, the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 cautions against "heritage uses for sectarian purposes or political gain".[454] Atkinson (2005) observes that "powerful groups often promote 'sectarian claims upon the past' for their own ends".[455] Meanwhile, the National Heritage Resources Act, in accordance with the democratic principles of post-colonial South Africa, stipulates that "heritage resources have the capacity to promote reconciliation, understanding and respect",[456] and thus contributes to the development of a unifying South African identity. The scaling up and prioritisation of certain select pasts or heritages not only attest to the reality that heritage is not immune from political manipulation, but also reflect the choices inherent in heritage management. The enunciation of the liberation heritage project as part of the post-colonial discourse speaks to the popularity of liberation history in the contemporary and current heritage landscape. Most importantly, the status of the liberation heritage project as state-

[453] Winter J, 1995, 62. In "The Action of the State in the Production of Cultural Heritage: The Treatment of a Cultural Icon as Bearer of Values, Identity and meaning 2at Groot Constantia in Cape Town", by Liebman, 2012, 28.
[454] The National Heritage Resources Act of 1999. www.polity.org.za and www.sahra.org.za.
[455] Landzelius, 2003, 208.
[456]The National Heritage Resources Act of 1999. www.polity.org.za and www.sahra.org.za.

prioritised “official heritage” exposes the selective amnesia involved in privileging select heritages, and the ways in which heritage is subject to the politics of inclusion and exclusion.

The extensive political rhetoric used at expedient moments in the liberation heritage project places it at the epicentre of South African politics. The liberation heritage project, as an integral part of state-prioritised heritage in the post-colonial era, reflects the prevalence of heritage choices in the current political, policy and administrative regime. It therefore cannot be argued that the liberation heritage project is like any other purely conservationist, technicist or scientific project, left only to the decision-making powers of technocrats and experts in heritage management. In reality, state prioritisation of the liberation heritage project reveals the indivisible link between heritage and politics. It is clear that political hegemony is intrinsic to heritage management.

The liberation heritage project provides a lens for critically engaging with the deep-seated and complex issues around heritage management: namely, the application of political power and state authority. Also, the prioritisation of the liberation heritage project serves as a site for reflection on the recent shifts in heritage management ideology, practice and experience in South Africa. Finally, the liberation heritage project offers valuable insight into the decision-making process followed by politicians and public-policy-makers in heritage management.

What the liberation heritage project does is map the discourse around political essentialism: for example, by wading into political idealism as a departure point, rather than addressing the purely technical rationality of conservation in heritage management. Most importantly, the prioritisation of the liberation heritage project illustrates the extent to which heritage is mobilised as part of a broad political agenda for transformation in South Africa. As part of this mobilisation, state support of the liberation heritage project is guaranteed through legislative protection and the allocation of resources. Foucault’s theory of governmentality encapsulates how power is exercised at such politically expedient times: where the concept of government is broader than management by the

state, it also involves the regulation of populations through multiple institutions and technologies.[457]

Heritage Futures and Emergent Developments

Heritage futures and emergent developments involve the global perspective on current trends in heritage, including the integrated management approach. UNESCO member-state countries, especially in Africa, have embraced the integrated management approach, since it presents the prospect of integrating issues of conservation alongside the developmental needs of the society, such as economic and infrastructure development. However, there has been slow progress in the implementation of this approach, with the colonial legacy still influencing formal and official practices of the conservation of heritage sites and protected areas.

In framing the new integrated management approach to heritage management, it is crucial to consider redress measures for past imbalances, such as restrictions on public access and limited public participation in conservation work. Heritage work in any society brings to the fore the social dynamics of local communities, including their demands and interests, and their contemporary needs. As this study has shown, the involvement of local communities relates to issues of access and resources, such as land, jobs, economic opportunities, as well as issues of ownership of, and claims to, heritage and the past. This study suggests that an in-depth understanding and appreciation of community dynamics is necessary for mapping a holistic and integrated approach to heritage management, which includes the conservation and socio-economic-development needs of the society. Conservation does not occur in a vacuum, but rather takes place within society, amid the local community and its needs. A holistic and integrated approach to heritage management recognises this fact.

A series of progressive discussions at the 40th anniversary celebrations of the 1972 UNESCO Convention on world heritage sites in September 2012, followed by a series of initiatives by the Africa World Heritage Fund, has resulted in a sharp focus on unlocking

[457] See Mitchell, “Neoliberal Governmentality in the European Union: Education, Training and Technologies of Citizenship”, 2005, 1.

the economic potential of heritage through tourism and enterprise development, and the importance of local community participation in achieving this objective. Clearly, the focus is no longer on conservation for the sake of protecting heritage alone, but on conservation that also addresses local community needs and challenges, especially poverty and access to economic opportunities.

Similarly, contemporary developments in the governance of heritage, especially after 23 years of democracy in South Africa, also highlight the expectation that heritage conservation respond to the current need for economic development. In short, "[w]hile it is vital to conserve and protect the country's heritage, social and economic needs in a developing state cannot be ignored."[458] Chapters 3 and 4 outlined some of the expectations surrounding heritage. These chapters illustrated how heritage management is expected to integrate and respond to the socio-economic needs outlined in strategy documents like the National Growth Path, the National Development Plan, and the National Outcomes of the State. It is disheartening to note that a contested and relevant issue like the link between heritage conservation and economic development remains inadequately addressed in current debates in the scholarship and the academy. Yet, in practice, the governance of heritage is already being confronted with the new challenge of responding to "bread and butter issues" such as economic development and job creation. Studies conducted by the National Department of Tourism have revealed that "local communities residing in close proximity to heritage sites are likely to participate and commit to government efforts of heritage management, only if conservation of heritage translates into job creation and economic empowerment for sustainable livelihood".[459] In effect, society's claims to heritage transcend any sentimental value about preservation to touch on the material benefits that can be accrued. Proclaimed world heritage sites such as the Robben Island Museum and the Cradle of Humankind have, since their inception, initiated programmes to support local community involvement in conservation and socio-economic development, including opening opportunities for small to medium micro enterprises (SMME) from local communities.

[458] Sibayi, 45.
[459] The National Heritage and Cultural Tourism by the National Department of Tourism, 2012, 4. www.ndt.gov.za.

The liberation heritage project is especially focused on using the economic potential of heritage resources to foster job creation and economic empowerment and alleviate poverty in local communities. Because the liberation heritage project is still being implemented, it is too early to comment on the success of this state-funded initiative, and on whether it will yield its intended outcome of economic development. Broadly, this study recommends further in-depth research on the crucial subject of heritage conservation and economic development, since there seems to be a missed opportunity in the literature surrounding this matter.

Another important aspect of the integrated management approach to heritage management involves the promotion of diversity and inclusiveness, as part of the post-colonial discourse. This study proposes that an integrated management approach include diverse narratives and interpretations of heritage resources, in line with the principles outlined in the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996), the National Heritage Resources Act (1999) and the National Heritage Councils Act (1999). The contestation surrounding heritage precisely underpins the need for the recognition and promotion of cultural diversity, as opposed to homogeneity and uniformity. For instance, at the nation-state level, the integration of "living heritage" into the ambit of heritage management marks a significant milestone, with intangible aspects of heritage now juxtaposed with tangible forms of heritage as part of an integrated conservation management system. Indeed, the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) advocates an integrated heritage management system that takes into account diversity, including "the promotion of living heritage and indigenous knowledge systems".[460]

At the international level, the recognition of intangible heritage through the publishing of the 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage is an equally significant milestone. This study has sought to contribute to ongoing local and global efforts to, first, promote the importance of conserving intangible or "living" forms of heritage and, second, incorporate intangible heritage effectively within the ambit of heritage management.

[460]The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), draft National Living Heritage Policy, 2007. www.sahra.org.za.

The acknowledgement of living and intangible heritage speaks to the importance of local community conceptualisations of heritage, including memory, oral histories, cultural practices, vernacular languages, indigenous knowledge and traditions. This research argues for greater recognition of and respect for the role of the local community in heritage management, which would include the meaningful involvement of local communities in the formal and official conservation-management processes of the state. The involvement of the local community should be seen as complementary and fundamental to the state's efforts and attempts at the effective management of heritage resources, as envisaged in the National Heritage Resources Act (1999). Similarly, some scholars propose that there be harmony between state policies and traditional systems of protection:

> [S]tate-based law ought to be internalised through and into community-based (customary/traditional) laws … state-based laws on the management of immovable heritage need to be changed to reorient the relationship between state and community-based legal systems … the two systems must be brought into a complementary and symbiotic relationship rather than one of antagonism and competition.[461]

This outcome would go beyond the contestation of ownership claims surrounding heritage and engender a collective sense of ownership concerning the care and management of heritage. In this regard, the role and responsibility of the local community are absolutely crucial, especially in strengthening efforts towards the sustainable use and management of heritage resources.

I believe that state prioritisation of heritage should adopt an integrated management approach, taking into account all the crucial aspects of inclusiveness and broad participation, as well as promoting diversity in representation. Transformation of the heritage landscape and sector will not be complete without due consideration and recognition of cultural diversity, and broad representation consistent with the democratic principles, geographic spread, demography, and multiculturalism that South Africa

[461] Munjeri D, "Introduction to International Conventions and the Charters on Immovable Cultural Heritage", 2008, 18, In "Cultural Heritage and the Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa", www.iccrom.org.

encompasses. While the issues of selective amnesia and heritage choice remain prominent within contemporary heritage practices, the future of heritage (or “heritage futures”) should strive for the attainment of a diverse representation of heritage, including the recognition of multi-layered past and history.

In conclusion, all these forms of state prioritisation of heritage have far-reaching implications for heritage management at political, policy and administrative levels in South Africa. Examining state prioritisation of heritage helps in developing the argument beyond the normative disciplinary study of heritage to the very practices and regimes of heritage governance in a nation-state. Looking at heritage in practice invariably points to the intersecting contexts that inform the governance of heritage.

This study has aimed to stimulate a critical dialogue and generate progressive ideas, especially among state officials involved in policy formulation and strategy development around heritage management. It is crucial for state officials to constantly evaluate the merits and demerits of state intervention in heritage management, in order to improve the quality of their interventions in the governance of heritage resources. In addition, the attention I have given to the case study, the National Liberation Heritage Route project, suggests that there is potential value in developing further in-depth studies and comparative work on liberation heritage in post-colonial countries. It is thus my hope that the present study has taken a first step in addressing a topic that has to date not received sustained attention, and that the work presented here may prompt further research into this important field.

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APPENDIX 1:

TENTATIVE LIST SUBMISSION LIBERATION HERITAGE ROUTE

2008

By the Republic of South Africa

Submitting State Party Agency

National Heritage Council
SOUTH AFRICA

Domus Building, No.57 Kasteel Road, Lynnwood Glen, South Africa,

Tel: (012)348-1663/ 8223 Fax:(012)348-2833 e-mail: nhc@nhc.org.za Website: www.nhc.org.za

STATE PARTY: Republic of South Africa **DATE OF SUBMISSION:** 30 November 2008

Submission prepared by: National Heritage Council

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NAME OF PROPERTY: Liberation Heritage Route (South Africa)

State, Province or Region: South Africa; Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Free State, Northern Cape, North West, Eastern Cape, Western Cape and KwaZulu Natal Provinces.

Latitude and Longitude, or UTM coordinates

Modelled along the Australian convict sites (Australia's Tentative List), the serial nomination of South Africa Liberation Heritage Route will consist of series of sites that in combination express the key aspects of the South African Liberation experience and the Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of global history. These attributes will also be reflected in other nominations from Southern African Development Community (SADC) which include Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

In the ongoing process the sites identified are:

1. **Robben Island:** 33*48'11.33S/18*21'49.41E – A recognized world Heritage property renowned as a place of banishment and incarceration of freedom fighters who are the current political leadership of South Africa.
2. **University of Fort Hare:** 32*47'17.87S/26*50'45.26E – The first Black University, famous as the learning centre of development and scholarship where most political leadership of both South Africa and Africa were educated, e.g Nelson Mandela (South

African), Seretse Khama (Botswana), Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe), Charles Njonjo (Kenya) and others.

3. **Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication (Kliptown - Soweto):** 26*16'10.70S/27*51'54.62E – A site in memory of Mr Walter Sisulu, but most of all for being the venue where the ANC's Freedom Charter was tabled at the Congress of the People in 1955.
4. **Nelson Mandela Sites** such as; Qunu – 31*46'59.08S/ 28*37'02.11E – Home of Nelson Mandela where he spent his childhood; Mandela House (Soweto) – 26*17'43.23S/27*51'11.83E - Home of Nelson and Winnie Mandela, renowned heritage site associated with the liberation history;
5. **O.R Tambo Sites such as Oliver Tambo Garden of Remembrance -** 26*08'58.33S/28*02'27.01E - **and Oliver Tambo Birth Place (Eastern Cape) -** 31*46'59.08S/ 28*37'02.11E
6. **Ghandi Square -** 26*18'12.22S/27*42'16.73E
7. **Regina Munde Church -** 26*15'10.24S/27*52'18.81E
8. **Mapikela House -** 27*55'12.56S/24*1'24.65E
9. **Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe House**: 28*43'29.50S/24*42'48.90E - Home of the founder and President of the Pan African Congress (which has been in opposition to Apartheid), where he was placed under house arrest.
10. **Braam Fischer House -** 27*45'22.68S/24*44'34.63E
11. **Steve Buntu Biko House, Kwa Nongqongqo Prison, Church at No. 15 Leopold Street (King Williams Town) and Zanempilo Clinic**: 32*52'32.35S/27*23'23.56E – These are places associated with the freedom struggle led by Steve Biko
12. **Samora Machel Memorial -** 29*45'60.08S/ 28*37'02.11E
13. **Gert Sibande Memorial -** 29*34'62.07S/ 28*43'02.09E
14. **Constitution Hill**: 26*08'37.64S/28*02'59.01E - Once served as a Goal where the Rivonia trialists were detained and now it is a living museum.
15. **Chief Albert Luthuli Museum (KZN):** 29*55'05.63S/30*57'39.70E - Home of the first African Noble Peace Prize Laureate, who endured the leadership of the national liberation struggle and received global recognition.
16. **Hector Peterson Memorial:** 26*15'10.24S/27*52'18.81E - A memorial of the hundreds of students who were shot protesting against the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instructions in 1976.

17. **Sharpeville:** 26*31’45.14S/27*52’23.78E – It is associated with the burning of passes as a protest against the Pass laws (under Apartheid), and the shooting that followed thereafter.
18. **Sol Plaatjie House:** 28*45’22.68S/24*44’34.63E – Sol Plaatjie devoted most of his life as a politician, writer and journalist to the course for the struggle of African people against the injustices and dispossession during the colonial and Apartheid periods.
19. **Liliesleaf Farm:** 26*08’58.33S/28*02’27.01E – A historical place of the liberation movement where the ANC leadership (Nelson Mandela, Denis Goldberg, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi and Raymond Mhlaba) were arrested.
20. **Avalon Cemetery:** 26*16’35.28S/27*51’04.59E – A place where many combatants of the struggle are buried.

This is not the total of all sites. As this is work in progress more sites are to be identified and included.

Justification of Outstanding Universal Value:

The South African struggle for Liberation begins with regional wars of resistance against colonial domination, followed by a coordinated national struggle for freedom underpinned by the formation of national movements. The creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, which excluded the majority indigenous Africans, was a catalyst for the formation of the national movements. The national struggle climaxed during the Apartheid era (1948 – 1994) where gross human rights violations were prevalent. Apartheid was declared by United Nations as a crime against humanity, and therefore the struggle against Apartheid became a universal struggle for Human Rights, freedom and democratic values, as enshrined in the UN Charter (Article 1) and in the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948),** as well as the under UNESCO Constitution which **inter alia** states, ‘since it is in minds of men that wars begin, it is those minds that the defenses of peace must be constructed’. The struggle for Human Rights, Freedom and Democracy took a “liberation” form when adopted by the Organization of African Union (OAU) culminating in the “liberation struggle” that encompassed most countries of Southern and Eastern Africa, in turn resulting in the attainment of freedom and independence in those countries (e.g. Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola and others).

In October 2005, the following Southern African Development Community countries who were largely involved in the liberation struggle sponsored **Draft Resolution 33C/29** at the 33rd General Conference of UNESCO: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, joined by Cote d'Ivoire. On the recommendation of the Commission for Culture (Commission IV) the 33rd General Conference unanimously adopted "**Roads to Independence: African Liberation Heritage"**, essentially recognizing this type of heritage as of universal value and significance.

The *raison d' etre* for that Resolution was premised on:

1. African Liberation Heritage as a common heritage of shared global values (Human Rights, Freedom, Democracy etc)
2. Promoting dialogue amongst nations and cultures
3. Developing and promoting a culture of peace
4. Contributing to the memory of the world
5. Generating data and data bases that raise awareness.

The proposed South African nomination should thus be viewed in this context as the first instalment of a transnational serial nomination. The nomination while embracing South Africa, is part of the Southern African Development Community, serial nomination. In terms of **Decision 29 COM 18A** (Durban, July 2005), " this nomination can be registered exclusively within the ceiling of the bearing State".

The proposed nomination takes on board the Decisions of the 32nd Session of the World Heritage Committee (Quebec City, Canada, 2-10 July 2008), item 10, " Global Strategy for a representative, balanced and credible World Heritage List (WHC 08/32COM /10B) as well as the **African Position Paper on the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention** adopted by 29th Session of the World Heritage Committee (Durban, 2005) the Sixth Ordinary Session of the African Union Summit of Heads of States held in Khartoum, January 2006. More importantly, the submission will address issues elucidated in paragraph 7 of **World Heritage Committee's Decision 32 COM 10 B** specially providing a list of existing serial properties on WH List and calling for State Parties to submit by the time of the 33rd Session of the World Heritage Committee

in June 2009 a list of "all known-potential future serial nominations". SADC countries are in consultations to submit such a future transnational serial nomination.

Criteria met:

(ii) (iii) (vi)

Nominated properties shall therefore:

(ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;

(iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;

(vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.(The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);

Statements of Authenticity and/or Integrity

The South African Liberation Heritage Route constitute of a series of sites linked together by a common historical narrative of the liberation struggle and experience. The sites that have been identified, including the aforementioned sites, consist of historical evidence of events and activities associated with the liberation history. Some sites such as Robben Island, University of Fort Hare, Constitution Hill and graves of prominent leaders at Avalon Cemetery are still intact in their original form (as their physical fabric has not diminished in form, quality and aesthetics) and present authentic elements in terms form, use, motif and meaning inscribed on the physical fabric. Some sites are well documented while others are not, however there are several research initiatives nationwide aimed at recording and documenting the sites in order to develop a comprehensive data bank or information portal.

Certain popular sites such as Robben Island, Mandela House, Constitution Hill, Sharpeville, Liliesleaf Farm and others which often attract visitor attention, bear rich information sources in the form of written text and recorded oral narratives which provide context and depth into the history of the sites. At policy level, the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999, makes specific provision for the protection of historical sites through a formal process of grading and declaration. In practice the legal status of some of the sites particularly historical structures and buildings that have been formally declared as heritage resources possess conservation management plans, in order to ensure effective in situ conservation. While some historical structures and buildings which are dilapidated form part of the restorative and rehabilitation missions by professional bodies.

Comparison with other similar properties:

As per the Australian convict sites which express key aspects of Australian convict experience and the universal impact it had, the South African Liberation Heritage Route, as part of African Liberation Heritage, expresses a far wider phenomenon involving millions of people as they struggled for emancipation from oppression. The universality of those values is reflected in the many Resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, as well as the UN Commission on Human Rights, and also Advisory Opinions of the International Court of Justice. The new nomination will include Robben Island which is already inscribed on the World Heritage List, and which will retain its status and not be subsumed by a larger, serial nomination or transnational nomination **(para138 of Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention)**

The proposed nomination in both the South African context as well as in the context of the 12 SADC countries demonstrates exchange of values, dialogue among people, cultures and experiences. In this way, the nomination is comparable to Struve Goedic Arc. This route (Arc) brings together 10 countries (Belarus, Estonia, Finland. Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Moldavia, the Russian Federation, Sweden and Ukraine). The idea and values that brought them together are captured in the scientific notion of "triangulation" discovered by Fredrick George Wilhelm Struve. Similarly the notion of "Liberation" was borne out of SADC experiences and is also captured in

the Organisation of African Union (OAU) Declarations (OAU has been succeeded by the African Union – AU).