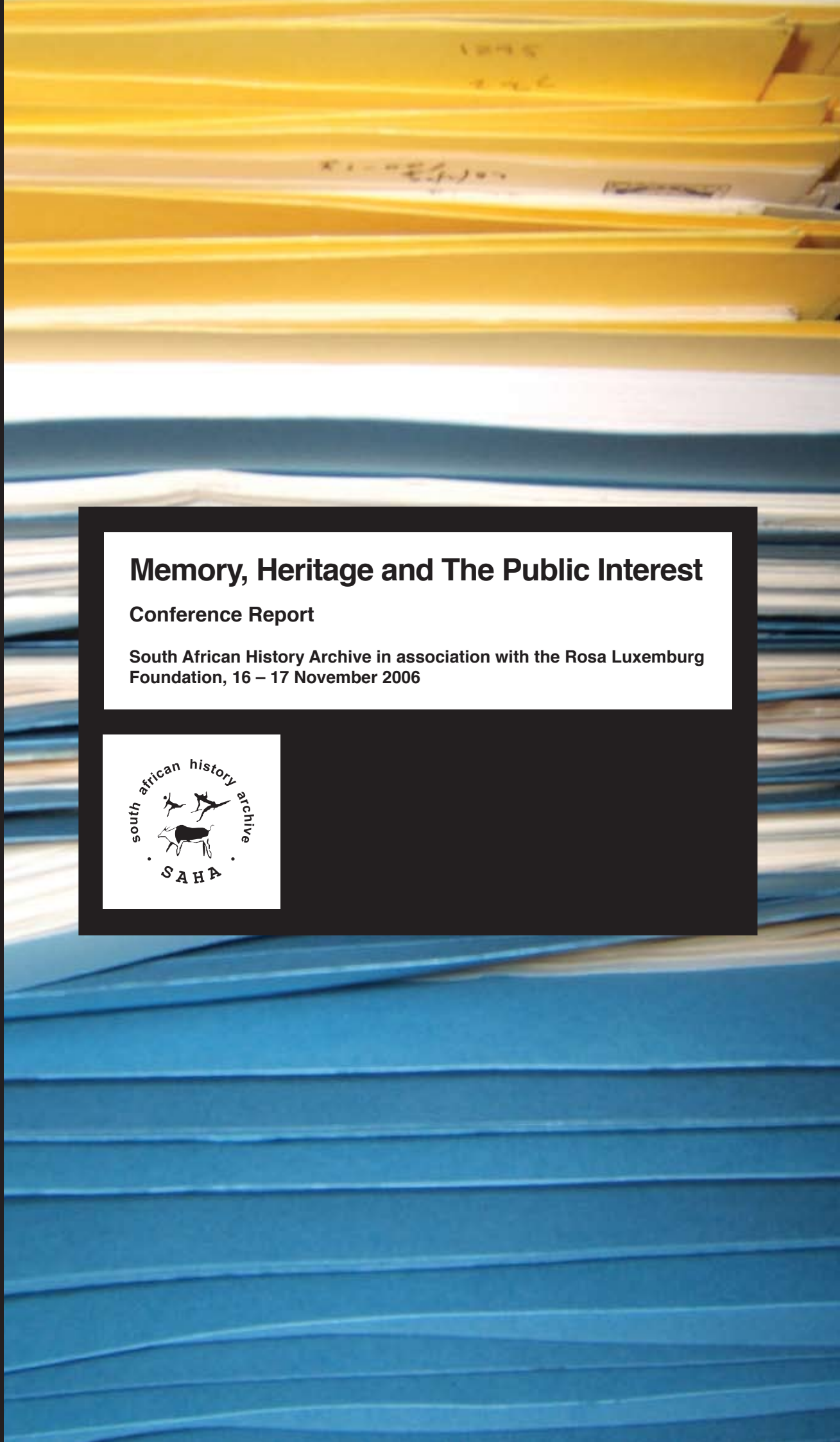

Memory, Heritage and The Public Interest

Conference Report

South African History Archive in association with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, 16 – 17 November 2006

south african history archive
SAHA

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Conference Report

Thanks to the **Rosa Luxemburg Foundation** for their generous contribution towards funding this conference, to Conference participants, and to our host institution, the **University of the Witwatersrand**

Text by Tymon Smith
Edited by Piers Pigou

The South African History Archive (SAHA) is an independent human rights Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) dedicated to documenting and supporting past and contemporary struggles for justice in South Africa. SAHA's founding mission is to strive to recapture our lost and neglected history and to record history in the making. This informs our focus on documenting the struggles against Apartheid, as well as those that accompany the making of democracy. With its physical positioning at the University of the Witwatersrand, there is a special endeavour to weave the collections into processes of education for democracy.

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INTRODUCTION

Archival records can never provide a full account of the past and are best interpreted as fragments of that past that help us to interpret what has transpired. They are a roadmap to greater knowledge and insight. What we remember and how we remember it is greatly influenced by what records are preserved, how accessible they are and how they are presented. This is commonly influenced by power relations in society. A past characterized by inequality and repression does not, without proactive intervention, lend to a balanced archival representation of that past. South Africa's transition has provided an unprecedented opportunity to re-assess what records we have and how they are used, an opportunity to re-conceptualise and to 're-figure' the archive; in other words we now have a space to look anew at how aspects of our history have been represented or not as the case may be.

This publication represents the South African History Archive's ongoing commitment to foster engagement around the refiguration, utilisation and improved accessibility of archive in South Africa. The transition to democracy has provided unprecedented opportunities to rectify the limitations and distortions manifest in available archives from the apartheid era. SAHA and the Rosa Luxemburg foundation agreed it was necessary to look at some of the efforts that are underway to address this legacy as it impacts on the interrelated concerns of memory, heritage and the public interest, which provided the title and theme of the conference.

The conference brought together heritage, museum, archival and education practitioners to explore what work is being carried out in South Africa in terms of increasing access to and interfaces with historical information as well as facilitating the emergence of new historiographies.

This conference, convened over a day and a half, heard presentations and deliberated on a range of past, current and prospective approaches that are intended, or could be developed, to accommodate the divergences between messenger institutions and targeted groups. This dialogue is part of a longer-term process for heritage organisations intended to better understand the unique challenges and needs of their various constituencies and to develop meaningful methods for the exchange of information with those constituencies.

This report provides a reflection of the five sessions convened:

- SESSION ONE
  Repackaging Historical Material: Exhibitions, Tours and Physical Spaces

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- SESSION THREE
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The report includes an overview of the introductory address by Xolela Mangcu and a copy of the preliminary reflections of the conference drawn together by Professor Carolyn Hamilton from the Graduate School of Humanities at the University of Witwatersrand.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS by Xolela Mangcu[1]
Public Deliberation and Political Culture: Freeing Up The South African Archive

Opening his address with a reference to an incident described in the beginning of Milan Kundera's *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* in which a fictional Eastern European Communist leader is erased from a photograph. Dr. Mangcu emphasised the importance of memory, citing a famous quote from the book; "the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting."

Dr. Mangcu emphasised the important role of the archive in public deliberation, referring to Hannah Arendt's essay *Truth and Politics* in which she wrote that, "to be sure, state secrets have always existed; every government must classify certain information, withhold it from public notice, and he who reveals authentic secrets has always been treated as a traitor. With this I am not concerned here. The facts I have in mind are publicly known, and yet the same public that knows them can successfully, and often spontaneously, taboo their public discussion and treat them as though they were what they are not – secrets."

Referring to these secrets as 'unwelcome factual information', Mangcu cited several examples of such denialism; the existence of the concentration camps and Siberian prison camps by the people of Germany and the Soviet Union respectively, the denial that South African troops occupied the black townships, and more recently the pervasiveness of the HIV/AIDS pandemic by many South Africans. A further example of 'unwelcome factual information' was provided by Phumla Gqola in the Ruth First Memorial lecture in which she described the 'unwelcome fact, at least to many men, that women of this country live in a state of siege – unfree to live and move about as they will.' Such 'unwelcome facts' Dr Mangcu mused are often left out of the archive.

Consequently, Mangcu stressed that what is left out of the archive is just as important, if not more so, than what is included in it. Furthermore, he warned against viewing the archive as static and immutable, but challenged us to imagine the existing archive as only one possible permutation the archive, that it is, as with the construction of identity, an ongoing, evolving and essentially political process.

Moving on to examine the de-essentialisation of identities as a means for exploring the possibilities of de-essentialisng the archive, Mangcu noted the manner in which the South African liberation movement successfully de-essentialised identities and gave them political meanings. Within the liberation movement the notion of Black identity was never constructed simply as a matter of skin colour, but rather as a political and ethical construct. Black people were defined, in the words of Steve Biko, as 'all those who are by law and tradition discriminated against, and identify themselves as a unit towards the realisation of their aspirations.' This exclusivist character of the movement was often mistaken for essentialism, whereas the current discourse in South African political circles tends to use the two terms interchangeably within the context of power relations. This Mangcu asserted was a misuse which has had disastrous repercussions not only in Africa, but also in other places such as the Middle East and the Balkans.

In relation to the archive Dr. Mangcu noted that, "Just as factual truths about the past are often invoked to make meanings of the present and the future, the archive in the present can be assembled in ways that bolster such essentialism to construct particular understandings of ourselves in the present." In Mangcu's view the archive needs to guard against becoming a tool for the perpetuation of "…the racial and cultural nativism that has come to pass for political discourse." Referring back to the work of Hannah Arendt who wrote that, "Facts, like the materials that make up an archive must first be picked out of a chaos of sheer happenings…and then be fitted into a story that can be told in a certain perspective, which has nothing to do with the original occurrence".

Dr. Mangcu cited Archbishop Desmond Tutu's description of this phenomenon in which he said, "My identity is linked very intimately to my memory…What I know is what I remember, and that helps to make me who I am. Nations are built through sharing experiences, memory, a history. That is why people have often tried to destroy their enemies by destroying their histories, their memories, that which gives them an identity." Mangcu noted that the destruction of the archive is a means of destroying the evidentiary material which props up memory, which inevitably has an effect on how the memory of the nation is constructed.

Moving on to examine theories and applications of narratives around identity and their relevance for the future of the archive, Mangcu referred to the work of Benedict Anderson and his notion of identities as imagined; Despite

[1] Dr. Xolela Mangcu is a visiting fellow from The Constitution of Public Intellectual Life Research Project, located at the University of Witwatersrand Graduate School of Humanties. www.public-conversations.org.za A full copy of Dr Mangcu's address is available on SAHA's website – www.saha.org.za

the fact that the process of constructing identities is also a process of imagination, this does not make such identities any less real. The collective imagination happens within the public sphere, leading Mangcu back to the work of Hannah Arendt and an exploration into the principle of courage in the public sphere.

A fundamental issue at stake in the debate around the public sphere is how new collective identities are constructed and what archival material underpins such construction. Is there a shared experience that we can use to construct such a collective identity? For Arendt, this collective photograph is located in the act of public deliberation; Freedom itself comes from the very act of appearing in public, an act that requires an enormous amount of courage. The courage to speak truth to power in the public sphere is epitomised by the example of Zackie Achmat and the Treatment Action Campaign's sustained engagement with government policy and practice around issues of HIV/AIDS. It is this courage which Dr. Mangcu encourages and which he urges all of us to take forward into all aspects of public life. This must, he argues include freedom of access to all archives, "starting with the unwelcome factual truths of our times".

SESSION ONE
Repackaging Historical Material: Exhibitions, Tours and Physical Spaces

*The session was chaired by **Emilia Potenza** (The Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg www.apartheidmuseum.org.za). Inputs were made by **Bonita Bennett** (District Six Museum, Cape Town www.districtsix.co.za), **Luvuyo Dondolo,** (Heritage Department, Amathole Municipality, Eastern Cape www.amathole.gov.za/departmetns/heritage) **Chris du Preez** (Red Location Museum, Port Elizabeth) and **Judy Seidman** (SAHA Posterbook Collective).*

Bonita Bennett focussed on two main challenges facing the outreach work of the District Six Museum; firstly the development of different ways for people to experience the museum space and secondly, the museum's engagement with the community of District Six and the broader community of Cape Town. Bennett's presentation also focussed on the differences between the challenges now faced by the museum compared with those it faced in its initial phase when the project focused on the mobilisation of memory in support for a land restitution claim. Bennett emphasised the importance of memory and its conservation in the context of redevelopment and the changing landscape.

The museum has made an effort to locate the story of District Six within the broader history of forced removals in the Cape Town area and provides the casual observer an overview of the history and narrative of District Six. The exhibition is constructed to encourage observers to engage with the physical space itself through the use of soundscapes and a floor map on which former residents have inscribed their family names on the spaces depicting where they used to live. There is also a memory cloth on which people have written their experiences of living in District Six, and to comment on their experience of visiting the museum itself. The museum is also increasingly developing its identity outside of the physical space of the museum through engagement with people who had lived in District Six and had yet to engage with the available exhibitions in museum. These networks of association provide the space for the vibrant work of the museum today and include the 24 families who have returned to live in District Six, as well as those who are not returning but retain strong connections to the story and memory of District Six. In addition the museum has reached out to those who remained in District Six, an often forgotten community.

Initially, the museum provided a space for the mobilisation of support for the land restitution claims submitted by those who had been forcibly removed from District Six, during the apartheid era. Part of the land restitution process has been finalised and the museum has shifted is focus to deal with the conservation of memories from the affected areas. As the old landscape of District Six makes way for new developments, (which will also see additional families being moved back into the area), the museum needs to provide a space for the community to preserve its collective memory. The museum has used inscription as a method of overcoming the changes to the physical landscape and to provide a means for preserving the memory of the area's original inhabitants. This has been done through walks and explorations of the current landscape and through engagement with the ways in which institutions have played a role in the development of the community. The museum is not involved in the actual physical rebuilding of the area but it strives to preserve the original spirit of District Six through an engagement and understanding of the role that institutions have played in keeping memories alive and how that memory can be rebuilt into the changing post-apartheid landscape of the area.

The museum has undertaken on-site oral histories with former residents who have often been taken to sites of buildings and places that no longer exist within the physical landscape but which are brought to life through the memories of those who once lived there. Physical inscriptions have also been conducted on the landscape with people inscribing their wishes and dreams on memorial sites within the community as a way of bringing those memories back into the landscape. The museum has sought to engage with young people who have no connection or apparent interest in the story of District Six, and attempts to demonstrate how issues at the heart of District Six's history have contemporary relevance in terms of social exclusion and inequality.

The museum has also initiated performance programs, which use the physical space of District Six as a theatre for the performance of memory and identity.

Luvuyo Dondolo's input focussed on the East London Museum, the Africanisation of museums and their practices, how museums deal with human remains and the legal instruments in place to safeguard human remains.

The Amathole Municipality has no museum of its own, and Dondolo used the example of the nearby East London Museum to critique museum exhibition methodology which relies on policies of assimilation and exoticism in the presentation of heritage objects. Dondolo pointed out that such objects are invariably are

decontextualised and museums also fail to utilise approaches which incorporate indigenous knowledge systems. The incorporation of indigenous knowledge within the museum space would allow for the Africanisation of these spaces and would enable audiences to reflect on other intangible aspects of museum objects. Dondolo pointed out that exclusionist tendencies on the part of museum curators in South Africa raise questions not only for heritage and history, but also for identity and the relationship between the representation of history and the production of identity.

In the light of such concerns the question then needs to be asked as to what would constitute an African concept of the museum. Dondolo supports an African conceptualisation of the museum that would extend beyond the physical building to include African belief systems, ethos and ways of life. The wisdom of elders forms an important resource for the understanding of the concept of an African museum in this regard. Families, clans and communities are key actors at the centre of knowledge production within such a conceptualisation. The African concept of the museum is also underpinned by principles of ubuntu and is the agency of social values, history, heritage and identity linked to African philosophy.

There are many examples of where current museum practice falls short in terms of incorporating African conceptualisation. Dondolo critically engaged with the egregious nature by which museums engage with the issue of human remains. The treatment of human remains a controversial subject and invariably neglects appropriate consultation with local communities. This has historical routes, but is also evident in more contemporary practices. Dondolo referred to a 1993 incident in King William's Town where human remains were unearthed during the development of a block of flats. These remains were kept in the Amatole Museum until they were buried in 2006 after a lengthy investigation to establish their origins. In Dondolo's view the fact that the remains were kept haphazardly in boxes in the office of the curator of the museum is unacceptable from a heritage perspective and raises questions about museum practices. It was in the context of this incident and the associated questions it raised about heritage issues that the Amatole Municipality established its heritage department. The department sought to broaden links with the community so as to inform them of what was happening with regard to such incidents and to assist in the performance of traditional cleansing ceremonies.

Dondolo believes that there is a need to review the Heritage Resources Act as it fails to address a number of issues relating to the protocols of dealing with human remains and the safeguarding of intangible heritage. The Act does not adequately address the issue of public participation. The Act also fails to address issues around intangible heritage, as demonstrated by the absence of traditional systems of knowledge incorporated within the exhibitions. Dondolo called on heritage practitioners to be more proactive and sensitive to these issues in their work and for heritage initiatives to position themselves in relation to economic and social development.

Chris du Preez spoke to the challenges arising out of his experiences in the establishment of the Red Location Museum in Port Elizabeth. Located in New Brighton, one of the oldest townships in Port Elizabeth the museum officially opened its doors to the public in November 2006. This followed on numerous awards won by the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality for the project.

The Red Location was a centre of resistance and civil obedience in the struggle against apartheid, beginning with protests initiated by ANC stalwart Raymond Mhlaba in 1952. Initially proposed as a sight for memorialisation in 1995, the Red Location faced opposition to the establishment of a museum as the community voiced their preference for housing over that of a museum. The community effectively used the establishment of the museum as a bargaining chip to promote housing development.

It is within this heritage landscape that the brief for a new museum of struggle was crafted. A national architectural competition was launched in 1998. The brief for the project called for contestants to reflect on the history of the community and to promote culture, education and the arts. The competition was won by Johannesburg architects Jonah Hero and Heinrich Wolf. The winning design for the museum attempts to capture the structure of representation that suffered due to the passing of time. A striking feature of the building is the inclusion of twelve corrugated containers inside the main building structure; these containers underpin the notion of memory. The philosophy behind these 'memory boxes' is that they avoid collapsing history into a single narrative and provide instead a space for many voices to be heard. Considered conceptually brilliant, the design of the museum poses both opportunities and challenges as an operational and functional museum space.

The building was completed in 2005 and the newly appointed museum staff tasked with developing content for the new facility. This task was made more difficult in light of the need for the content to work in conjunction with the structure itself. Further challenges included issues of procurement, budgetary concerns, capacity and municipal policies and procedures.

In March 2005, a mausoleum was erected within the museum complex to commemorate struggle icons Raymond Mhlaba and Govan Mbeki. The consequent controversies shifted focus away from the museum to the mausoleum and discussions around the reburials of these struggle heroes. In early June 2005 a workshop was called to look at technical, management and content development issues relating to the museum and its relationship with the surrounding community. The museum team opted for an open exhibition model, which ensures that the exhibitions are not permanent but rather linked to an ongoing narrative that seeks to redefine the museum's context within the present.

The problems faced by the museum can be linked to a broader analysis of problems faced by other projects within the heritage sector of the Nelson Mandela Bay area where content is often sidelined in favour of structure at the initial stages of conception.

Judy Seidman's[2] input focussed on how the poster collection generated by the anti-aparthied struggle is part of people's identity and on the need for developing new methods of organising and utilising the archive so as to overcome the conception of posters as hidden history. Seidman used a slide show of existing posters from the collection as part of her presentation.

The SAHA poster collection compromises over 4 700 individual posters. The collection forms a large part of the resistance culture of South Africa and Seidman's input used the posters to address the question of hidden memories.

Seidman contends that political posters of the struggle era were never intended to be hidden and were consciously constructed to represent the voice of the people. While posters within the context of the struggle were often hastily assembled for immediate distribution and in the knowledge that the street life of such posters was limited Seidman believes that postermakers were consciously attempting to express the basic beliefs and concepts of the people in those times. In the light of this intention Seidman argues that certain intangibles were built into the designs of the posters in fundamental ways. Referring to a quote by Albie Sachs commenting on murals in Mozambique in which he wrote that, "Revolution is a highly conscious act. It permits the unthinkable to be thought, the inconceivable to be imagined and the unspoken to be shouted out loud," Seidman argued that many poster-makers aimed to express the basic concepts and beliefs of the movement through a medium that spoke louder than words.

Seidman looked at the way the poster collection fits into the archive and how they are used and can be used. The traditional manner in which posters are treated relates to their position within a discourse around what qualifies as art. Because of their functionality, posters are often seen as falling outside the boundaries of traditional conceptions of art and they are therefore treated as ephemera providing visual markers of particular events at certain places and moments in time. Seidman contends that the traditional way in which posters have been treated as archive has tended to silence what was in its genesis a very powerful voice.

Little has been done on the part of poster archivists to address the question of audience. Seidman argued that the audience needs to be redefined to include members of the communities in which the posters were created and about whom they speak. Used in this way, these posters can become a powerful tool for identity and recognition. Part of Seidman's work as the poster archivist at SAHA has included identifying target audiences to whom the posters can be presented.

The manner in which posters are collected and stored tends to focus on databases made up of very basic information consisting of physical descriptions that fail to adequately contextualise individual posters, making it difficult for people to place them in their historical milieu.

The question of intellectual property rights is also central to the poster archive. Speaking as a former poster maker herself, Seidman emphasised that posters were by their very nature intended to be public property, and were never intended to be private. Nevertheless, the interests of individual artists need to be addressed so as to avoid exploitation There are, however, considerable difficulties in tracking down the creators of many individual posters. Many posters involved more than one maker – and this also emphasised the collective nature of what was intended. Within an understanding of the poster as a public object, Seidman argues that poster material should be available for dissemination, where possible, free of charge. The current system, which works according to international copyright protocols, is therefore a hindrance to the effective utilisation of the poster archive.

[2] Judy Seidman's *Red on Black – The History of the South African Poster Movement* was published by SAHA and STE Publishers in June 2007.

SESSION TWO
Repackaging Historical Material: Print and Audio-Visual Media

The session was chaired by Verne Harris (Nelson Mandela Foundation). Inputs were provided by ***Stephan Gerd-Rüdiger****, (Director of South African office of the Rosa Luxembourg Foundation www.rosalux.de),* ***Bevil Lucas*** *(Community House, Cape Town)* ***Baruti Amisi*** *(Centre for Civil Society, Durban www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs)* ***Mandla Hermanus*** *(National Library of South Africa www.nlsa.ac.za) and* ***Neil Napper*** *(Storyteller Group).*

Gerd-Rüdiger's input focussed on the difficulties he encountered in the preparation of a book entitled, *German Contemporary History 1945 to 2000*, and an accompanying CD-Rom prepared with Clemens Burrichter and Detlef Nakath.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany in 1990, several publishing houses produced memoirs of German politicians. Social scientists also produced an array of material on the history of the East German Democratic Republic (GDR). However, funding for social science work dried up and the history of the Federal Democratic Republic (of West Germany) was largely ignored. Following the opening of the GDR archives, a wealth of documents were made available to social scientists, historians and researchers. This was an unprecedented phenomenon in German history, as never before had the public been able to access these files, which provide a comprehensive insight into the economic, social and historical nature of the GDR. Some sections of the archive were not made available. These included: records of the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which require a thirty-year waiting period, the Foreign Secret Service of the GDR, the majority of whose files were destroyed over the period from 1989-1990. In addition, certain private archives and economic archives were not made available. While the opening of archives of the GDR signalled an important move towards improved access to information in the unified Germany, the majority of files relating to contemporary studies from the former West German state remain bound by a thirty-year waiting period. While contemporary studies of West Germany during the 1950s and 1960s exist, there is silence regarding the subsequent period of West German history as the waiting period on files relating to this period restricts the ability of social scientists and researchers to utilise authentic archival material.

Despite requests by social scientists that these files be made available, there has been a silence on the part of German politicians to reform government policy relating to access to the archive. Historians have been calling for equal access to West German files since 1994 but to no avail. This has led to an archival asymmetry within Germany. Gerd-Rüdiger called for an end to this situation and stressed the need for equal access to all archives as a means for producing balanced and well-researched accounts of German history.

Gerd-Rüdiger presented the book and CD Rom as an alternative product of German contemporary studies. The handbook compiled the work of over 40 historians and social scientists to present an overview of contemporary history and pointed a new direction forward for the future of research into the history of Germany.

Bevil Lucas' input focussed on the production of two Compact Discs that profiled two specific moments in the history of the South African labour movement, namely the Durban and East London Strikes of 1973.

The CDs were produced as part of The Labour History Project, a joint project between the Labour Research Service in Cape Town (www.lrs.org.za) and Khanya College in Johannesburg (www.khanyacolelge.org.za). This was a multi-media product intended to popularise the historical development of the trade union movement in South Africa. The project narrowed its focus on specific moments that the organisations felt best captured the history of the labour movement. The Durban and East London Strikes of 1973 were chosen as two moments that were similar but differed in so far as the Durban strikes were largely factory based while those in East London were not only factory based but also impacted on by forced removals and bus boycotts which were happening in the area at the time. The project applied itself to presenting these histories in ways that would speak to second language speakers, school pupils and academics.

The project began with an extensive field survey of the available archival material relating to the strikes. Following this, the project began a process of locating some of the people who had played a role in the strikes. Access to workers and trade union activists proved to be difficult; in Durban, many were either retired or unwilling to participate due to ideological differences with the current trade union organisations. In East London, the process of access was made somewhat easier by local political leaders and other contacts. The CD-Rom compared the narrative of interview subjects to that presented in the media and other printed material.

The East London production included a booklet packaged with the CD-Rom to enable those without access to computers to be able to look through the booklet as an alternative source of information. The question of language also presented challenges. In Durban this problem was overcome through a partnership with a radio production NGO called Worker's World Radio Productions who produced the CD-Rom in a radio documentary format for distribution to over 30 community radio stations across the country in five different languages. Due to financial considerations it was only possible for an English language version of the East London CD to be produced.

A further challenge was presented with respect to capturing the songs used in the struggles and history of the workers' movement. Many of these songs were not written down or recorded and a decision was taken to use more contemporary workers' songs as representations of these past struggles.

The final product was designed to be a tool that could be used to educate those interested in the history of the workers' movement.

Baruti Amisi from the Centre for Civil Society focussed on the development and dissemination 'CCS Wired', an electronic collection of written and audio-visual representations of contemporary Durban protests and other struggles for social justice in the post apartheid South Africa.

The CCS is based at the University of Kwazulu Natal, Howard College in Durban. The Centre's mission is to advance socio-economic and environmental justice by developing critical knowledge about and dialogue with civil society organisations through teaching, research and publishing. CSS relies on peer reviewers who assist with publications and provide commentary on presentations made by CCS staff. The CCS publishes hard copies of its research material as well as providing online electronic versions free of charge to the public.

The second phase of the CCS project focuses on issues of social justice and the struggle to deepen democracy through research and social mobilisation. The number of research themes has been increased in this phase in the light of the large number of protests that have been recorded by the police around South Africa in recent years. 'CCS Wired' covers a wide range of struggle ranging from protests around eviction and HIV/AIDS to land struggles.

The first version of the DVD was made with a very limited budget and the production quality of the second versions has been significantly improved. 'CCS Wired' will be distributed free of charge.

Discussion

Verne Harris commented that the content of the three initiatives had been well covered but that little had been said regarding the particular constraints of digital repackaging nor the issues of dissemination and reaching audiences. Initial questions were thus focussed on editorial and content questions. However, questions were also raised about the cost of certain CCS products and the broader question of avoiding exclusivity with regards to distribution of products. Panellists admitted that this problem still poses a serious challenge to distribution but that several new avenues including the establishment of relationships with the educational sector and the provision of online versions free of charge to the public. Of course, the problem of access to the Internet still limits the accessibility of products to the majority of South Africans. In order to overcome this problem it was suggested that the idea of public and school libraries as community information centres should be explored as a means of increasing access. The idea of popular archives in communities was also put forward as a means of increasing access to archival resources.

Mandla Hermanus from the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town gave an outline of the role and function of the National Library, an institution entrusted with the preservation of the literary heritage of South Africa. It is supposed to keep copies of all books and publications produced in South Africa as well as copies of all books and publications by South Africans or relating to South Africa published outside the country. The library has campuses in Pretoria and Cape Town.

The first problem facing the library has been how to improve public awareness of the existence and objectives of the National Library. In response, a heritage and information department was established for the purpose of promoting the literary heritage held in the archives of the National Library throughout South Africa and the world. The program has included exhibitions, seminars, conferences and workshops that promote the National Library. The institution also hosts information literacy workshops to educate users in the use of the card catalogue and archiving system employed by the National Library.

To improve awareness, the National Library has also partnered with radio stations. The first initiative was launched with a community radio station based in the township of Khayalitsha in Cape Town. The first series of programs looked at the written history of the Xhosa and relied on input provided by phone-ins from listeners. The responses by listeners pointed to the rich material provided by other sources such as oral history and music. The programs were successful in raising awareness of the National Library. The library is now looking to increase the spread of its radio program through a partnership with the SABC and the development of a project that would allow for listeners to visit the actual sites mentioned in the radio programs.

Using slides of work from a number of historical comics that he has produced over the years, **Neil Napper** described his experiences over the last fifteen years with the Storyteller Group in the field of educational comic books.

Napper began his work in comics in the late 1980s. After conducting research into the educational potential of the format and with the help of a group of likeminded colleagues, three initial stories were produced over the period from 1988-1990, none of which made it past the conceptual phase. However future projects were more successful and from early on the Storyteller Group was concerned with inserting an awareness about the processes of history making into their work, utilising oral history methodologies and incorporating them into the fabric of their stories. The Storyteller Group produced a number of comics dealing with subjects ranging from the struggle for basic services to adaptations of South African works of literature. In 1996 changes in educational funding patterns led to the closure of the group.

Napper emerged from this experience convinced that it was the genre of historical comic stories that had the most potential to make the greatest contribution to improving awareness. Well-researched, well- executed illustrations have in Napper's view, an unsurpassed ability to draw readers into the historical space and to reach younger readers in a familiar and accessible manner. His work continues to make use of devices that seek to draw readers' attention to the constructed and interpreted nature of the work so as to encourage them to think critically about how history is made and represented.

In conclusion Napper outlined a new project titled, 'The Allegory Project: Imagining the Real'. Developed in response to the challenges facing history in South Africa, the project proposes an imaginative response that seeks to use the power of allegory as a means for dealing with historical material through the use of metaphor and allegory in the genre of famous works such as *Animal Farm.* This project would allow for an approach to history through a methodology that focuses on process and ideas rather than the details of actual factual events. The project aims to provide South Africans of all ages with critical insights into some of the key dynamics that have shaped the history of the country over the past four centuries through a popular, allegorical medium initially produced as a series of comic stories with the ultimate intention of forming the basis for an animated television series that will provoke audiences to critically engage with issues around South Africa's past. The project aims to engage academics, writers and students in a research based, product-focussed process based at SAHA.

SESSION THREE:
Educational Efforts Using Archival Material

*The session was chaired by Piers Pigou, director of SAHA. Inputs were provided by **Omar Badsha** (South African History Online www.sahistory.org.za), **Michele Friedman** (SAHA), **Yazir Henri** (Direct Action Centre for Peace and Memory, Cape Town) and **Luvuyo Ndzuzo** (Robben Island Museum www.robben-island.org.za).*

Omar Badsha began by pointing out the massive changes that archives and modes of knowledge distribution have undergone in recent times and while South Africa has begun to engage with these, there are still major challenges that need to be overcome.

The South African History Online website has its origins in discussions held in the 1990s with older members of the liberation movement. The website was intended to provide a means for keeping the history of the movement and the country alive in the wake of the perceived failure of the government to take serious steps towards addressing issues around the teaching and presentation of liberation struggle history. Political mobilisation had taken place against the backdrop of a struggle to preserve the history that was not to be found in apartheid textbooks and discourse.

The challenge of how to put history across continues to be one that the website is faced with especially with regard to the questions of language, communication and the need to identify target audiences. The SAHO website focuses mainly on schools and students. It had support from the department of education, particularly during the ministerial tenure of Kader Asmal. SAHO has compiled an alternative history curriculum on its website covering Grades 4-12 and the rest of the information on the website relates to this curriculum which is now in its first phase of development. The information is currently directed towards providing a resource for teachers and SAHO plans to reorganise material for presentation to students directly.

The website is envisioned as part of a broader project that will involve community participation. This would see the development of a number of websites so as to provide a broader history extending beyond the capabilities of a single website. With this in mind SAHO attempts to build partnerships with community groups, academics and libraries to achieve this goal.

SAHO's National Oral History Project, now in its second year involves young people in the production of history through encouraging them to write about their own local histories and then publishing their efforts on the site. Ultimately the project would like to see the winning entries of the Oral History Project turned into ten minute documentary films that will be available on the website.

SAHO also publishes a multitude of documents and other items on its website and the site boasts the largest single collection of biographies of actors involved in the liberation struggle. The long term objective of the website is to build a nationwide partnership of contributors that would enable SAHO to facilitate the presentation of material rather than the production of that material.

Michele Friedman's input focused on an outreach program based at SAHA, which aims to use material from the SAHA archive as a valuable resource for teachers in the classroom. Part of the motivation for this program was the result of a change of thinking within the Department of Education regarding the history curriculum. In 2003 the department began the process of initiating a National History Examination based on a study of sources rather than rote learning. However, Friedman felt that the Outcome Based Education (OBE) approach had been introduced too abruptly and that teachers had had insufficient preparation to equip themselves with the skills needed to implement the new history curriculum. This feeling of inadequate preparation was compounded by the limitations of many existing history textbooks in terms of available source material.

Taking these restrictions into account it was felt that SAHA was in a unique position to overcome these problems by using the wealth of material in its archive. SAHA was also able to overcome restrictions facing textbook writers in so far as the material belonged to the organisation and was therefore not restricted by copyright considerations. A project titled 'SAHA in the Classroom' was launched to develop a series of teacher guides and learner booklets on of South African history between 1976-1994. The project intended to bringing new and exciting archival material into schools that had previously not been accessible.

Material development has focused on the 1980s where SAHA's collection materials are strongest. Each booklet includes information on SAHA so as to increase awareness of the organisation and its objectives.

Each booklet combines a wealth of sources with questions and exercises directed towards the objectives of the curriculum. Sources are presented in their original forms as actual documents rather than extracts or transcriptions. Importantly, each source booklet is accompanied by a facilitator's guide which links the sources to the learning outcomes prescribed by the curriculum and examines in detail the questions contained in the source booklet and the expected outcomes and skills which the questions address. The facilitator's guide provides suggested answers to help teachers in their assessment of learner responses.

The project has been welcomed by teachers and SAHA aims to increase the scope of the project in the future, focussing on other areas of history and processes such as the TRC.

Yazir Henry's input focussed on the problems that the Direct Action Centre for Peace and Memory faces in its struggle to utilise the memories of people who were involved in the struggle against apartheid in the Cape Town area. Particular attention is given to those who have suffered psycho-social trauma in an effort to build a popular archive that works against the colonial narrative emphasised by the structural archive of the city itself.

The Centre aims to utilise the memories of these people as a means for educating young people in a manner that seeks to get them to think critically about the past and its relationship to the present social conditions that prevail in the city. Using this subjective locus the Centre encourages a relationship with history that is constantly shifting backwards and forwards between past and present. The personal experience thus serves to mediate as a body politic of memory that creates a voice that speaks with sections of the city that have very little voice.

Using minimal resources the Centre has drawn on the history of struggle in order to develop strategies for reminding the city of its unwelcome factual truths. The work of the Centre is thus dedicated to a struggle for the recovery of the memory of marginalized sections of the Cape Town community. This is happening within a context where the location of communities symbolises the removal of those communities from the historical narrative that has been constructed in the post-apartheid era. Working in communities where there are few markers of the historical incidents which have shaped their histories and faced with a city centre that still bears the markers of a colonial history and encourages people to visit these sites, the Centre seeks to counteract this memorialisation process through the creation of an organisational model that allows for actions that highlights these contradictions.

The Centre conducts visits to sites and attempts to offer an alternative view of the historical process by presenting alternate histories, at the same time highlighting the discrepancies between the city's support of development and the social conditions of the everyday people of the city.

By focussing on stories that highlight cycles of victory the Centre attempts to counteract the master narrative of colonial history that is to be found within the structural archive of the city by reminding people that hope can be found in these alternate histories. The Centre continues to face the challenge of remembering hope and victory and at the same time promoting a greater understanding of the consequences of the struggle on the people who fought in it.

Luvuyo Ndzuzo is involved in the Robben Island Museum's outreach program. His input focussed on the museum's outreach work and the challenges that it presents.

In the past people were afraid to mention the name of Robben Island for fear of repression by the state. Writings on the island have also contributed to misconceptions about the island and its history.

In the course of his research Ndzuzo found there to be a contradiction between the memories of those who were on Robben Island and its public perception. Ndzuzo found that many former prisoners were not bitter about the fact that they had lost large portions of their lives to time spent on the island. In fact many prisoners tended to highlight the positive aspects of their time on the island with regard to the opportunities that their time provided them with to improve their education. The perception amongst people on the mainland was markedly different with many people associating Robben Island with brutality, pain and hardship and seeing it as a place of criminals were unwanted people were removed from society. Today there is a perception that Robben Island is a sensitive issue that cannot be taught in the classroom because of its political connotations. Others tend to over-romanticise the island.

The Robben Island outreach program attempts to remember the island as a symbol of the triumph of the human spirit and to reflect the courage and determination that bridges the gaps between the contesting perceptions and memories of the island and its place in South African history. To this end the museum has produced a play called *The Island and the Apple Box* about the history of the island. The play seeks to tie in with the national education curriculum and present the Robben Island story as a cross-sectional story that has relevance to multiple learning areas including history, life orientation and science. The museum is also engaged in a process to have the play performed in all nine provinces simultaneously by 2010.

SESSION FOUR
Digitisation and the Web

The session was chaired by Sam Jacob from SAHA. Inputs were provided by ***Christine Gohsmann*** *(Rosa Luxembourg Foundation, Germany)* ***Dale Peters*** *(Digital Imaging of South Africa project, University of KwaZulu Natal http://disa.nu.ac.za),* ***Pramesh Lalu*** *(University of the Western Cape) and* ***Craig Matthews*** *(IDOXA Productions, Cape Town).*

Drawing on the experiences of the DISA project (to digitise archival materials relating to the liberation struggle) over the last 10 years **Dale Peters**' input focused on some of the challenges facing the project with regard to user services and the managing of online information. DISA's experience poses challenges to current archival practice with regard to digitisation and the web.

Digital libraries have become popular and well established over the course of the last ten years but they still represent considerable investment in the unknown and so are treated with a certain amount of caution. Digital libraries are fairly new in South Africa and DISA has found that information professionals are hungry for information about different examples and different experiences, which investments are good and cost effective and the new roles that are emerging in an increasingly networked digital age. The new generation of digital libraries has acquired more competence and DISA aims to integrate digital materials into collections and develop appropriate policies, capabilities and the technical skills necessary to meet the growing demand for digitised images.

The DISA project began 10 years ago with funds from the Andrew Mellon Foundation and set out to test digital technologies and investigate new technologies and develop skills required for the management of the new digital archive. . Using a demonstration of the current website (www.disa.org.za), Peters demonstrated how the current site operates and the size of its archive and the easy accessibility that the site allows for researchers to archival material. One of the outcomes of the assessment process has been the development of a usability study. A number of policies, strategies and guidelines around the processes that DISA uses to select material is also available on the website to assist those considering developing their own digital projects.

While DISA has done some work towards developing the capacity of its partner organisations and institutions in the development of digital skills, there is still a lot of work to be done. DISA aims to utilise a program of federated content whereby their website would link users to the sites of organisations and institutions which hold the archival material available on the site. These objectives are tempered by the lack of capacity of the partner institutions which do not currently possess the ability to manage the information themselves.

The usability study has allowed DISA to develop resources for managing archival resources. These digital packages provide a coherent collection of resources accessible via the Internet. In order to realise the potential of this digital package access must be provided free of charge, information must be accessible to all users: both novice and expert, a critical mass of meaningful content must be created and made available under open access. The provision of selected records has also highlighted the importance of providing contextual information around archival material

The response that DISA has found amongst librarians and archivists has been one which sees the digital archive as a threat rather than an aid to access of information. DISA does not aim to create a definitive archive that represents the ultimate narrative of South African history. Rather it is the intention of the project to point people in the direction of information and other interesting resources that lie elsewhere on the Internet.

In order to achieve this, fundamental transformation is required of the current archive. The resources that libraries and archives carry should, in Peters' opinion, match the needs and characters of the communities that they serve. Freed from the constraints of the physical spaces occupied by libraries and archives, digital archives can be more adaptive and reflect communities more effectively and should encourage the contribution to the archive by users so that the relationship between users and archives is dynamic rather than static. The core of the digital archive should thus be an evolving base, which weaves together the professional selection presented to users with the wisdom which users themselves bring to the archive. In order to achieve this, a new information model for the access of archives is needed, one which moves beyond search and access, to one that facilitates the creation of a collaborative space and contextual information environment, a model which allows the consumer to interface as a contributor.

Despite the emergence of digital archives over the last ten years, the success of commercial search engines has had a significant effect on the ways in which digital information is presented on the Internet. Search and access over a set of resources or 'googleisation' while important is not sufficient. Digital archives need to distinguish themselves from search engines by the manner in which they add value to digital resources through the establishment of context around resources and the introduction of a new model that expresses the relationship of users to content. The digital library thus becomes a space for collaboration and accumulation rather than simply a space for the location and access of information.

Christine Gohsmann spoke about the Archive of Democratic Socialism in Germany and its efforts to promote and popularise its holdings which contain extensive political material including parliamentary documents.

She began with reference to the annual conference of German archivists which had chosen as its theme the subject of archives and the public. The conference was held in the wake of the recent implementation of the Freedom of Information Act in Germany. Delegates discussed a range of topics, such as the relationship between archives and the bodies responsible for them, appraisal methods and various methodologies for making records available to the public, Internet opportunities and strategies for the developing public relations in the light of modern approaches to marketing. The issue of open access was also discussed.

Following this conference the Archive of Democratic Socialism decided to increase its activities on the Rosa Luxembourg Foundation website. The Archive plans to use the website to provide the public with information on its holdings as well as other information relating to the archive's work and relevant events, conferences etc.

The Archive is responsible for archiving the records of the PDF (now renamed *Linke* Left Party) The archive stores more than 530 metres of documents arranged into the following working groups: holdings of the party executive, holdings of the parliamentary group of the Left Party, holdings of the party executives of the Left Party in individual federal states (similar to South African provinces), holdings of the parliamentary groups of the party in the European Parliament, personal papers, posters, photographs, movies, videos, audio recordings, newspaper clippings and records of the work of the RLF. More than half of the archive's holdings have been collected by officers of the Left Party. The archive is constantly involved in issues of storage etc so as to avoid a situation where records are destroyed in order to make space for new holdings.

The archive facilitates access to its holdings, and sources are made available for different target groups. Many researchers have approached the archive for information about Rosa Luxembourg herself but because the archive does not keep her personal papers they have instead built a library of books relating to her in as many languages as possible. The Archive is also engaged in collecting representations of Rosa Luxembourg in order to provide material for exhibitions relating to her and her comrades. The archive also supports the work of the foundation's scholarship program by introducing students to the archive and the research opportunities that it provides. The archive provides tours for scholars to inform them of the archive's work and holdings. The archive also runs a volunteer program, which is staffed by students from around the world. Gohsmann also uses her work as a lecturer in Applied Sciences at Potsdam University to popularise the party archive amongst students of the information sciences interested in becoming information professionals.

Pramesh Lalu's input drew on his paper *The Virtual Stampede for Africa: Digitisation, Postcoloniality and Archives of the Liberation Struggles of Southern Africa* which is the result of his interest in the colonial archive and the problems arising out of a consideration of the events surrounding the killing and decapitation of Xhosa chief Hintsa in 1835 and the subsequent return of his head to South Africa in 1995. Lalu's return to the colonial archive is an attempt to understand how this archive operates and the ways in which it puts into play its claims of evidence. Lalu's assessment of the colonial archive is also intended as a means for exploring issues around the present archive and presenting possible strategies of intervention.

Lalu cautioned about archive being used to entrench misperceptions through representations of transformation as events. He warned that the formation of a digital archive on the liberation struggle in South Africa might facilitate this reductionist reconceptualisation. Lalu highlighted three key problems; Firstly, that most digital initiatives have missed the opportunity of engaging the problematic of the archive that reflects the mounting debates that have unfolded in South Africa about the politics of collecting. Lalu felt that many digital projects were completely out of synch with the debates happening around the archive; Secondly, most digital projects are products of deals made between university administrations and international donor agencies and organisations. For Lalu, this leads to the displacement of notions of effective knowledge with commodified notions of information and empty phrases about 'research excellence.' Thirdly, and most significantly for Lalu, most digital archives reproduce the normative frameworks of the Cold War.

Lalu suggested several strategies for intervention. He suggested a thorough assessment of the challenges presented by the technologisation of knowledge and its production. He further proposed a fundamental reassessment of how archive is understood and utilised.. Apartheid affirmed the idea that the archive was not merely a storehouse of documents but rather an apparatus placed in the service of racial subjection. Lalu argued for a re-conceptualisation of the archive beyond the idea of a prosthetic device of power. Rather the activity of the archive should be constellated around the radical singularity of the event by which Lalu means the ability to break with the referential frame of power that dominates our conception and approaches to the archive. For Lalu the question of digital archives needs to be located within the politics of intellectual production; a politics forged in the efforts to displace the incredulous meta-narratives of the Cold War. Lalu felt that despite the importance of opportunities presented by technological advances, many digitisation projects were technologically determined and tended to 'fetishize' technology. .

Lalu argued that the question of the archive in postcolonial Africa is one which activates the tensions that once defined the struggles against different forms of domination. The archive is a network of knowledge and power that is fraught with political difficulty. The creation of the post-apartheid archive has converged with the need for rewriting the national history. The archive is a site where the politics of history is rendered meaningful and effective and the archivist is not a technician but rather a historian.

A filmmaker of twenty-five years experience, **Craig Matthew** began the DOXA project as a means for addressing questions relating to the archive resulting from his own efforts to organise his archive of personal material accumulated over the course of his career. The project has designed a digital interface that seeks to place historical events within the temporal and physical landscape in which they occurred through the use of high-resolution satellite photographs and panoramic photography in presentations that allow users to experience history in space and time. Demonstrating some of the projects which DOXA has produced over the last two years, Matthew showed how the interface works to integrate a variety of media in order to represent multiple narratives of events and places, both temporally and spatially.

The presentation focussed on the evolution of the interface and its appeal to a cross-generational audience through the use of a three-dimensional landscape format in which content is imbedded in a manner allowing for a multiple interactive engagement with historical events and objects that places events and objects within their physical contexts thereby allowing for a re-conceptualisation of the archive as more than a collection of documents and objects divorced from their environments and context. DOXA is currently involved in developing the potential of its product for streaming on the web and the development of the product for use as an educational model.

SESSION FIVE
Oral History Approaches

*The session was chaired by Peter Lekgoathi from the Wits History Department. Inputs were provided by **Phil Bonner, Sello Mathabatha** and **Noor Nieftagodien** (History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand). Further inputs were made by **Anthony Manion** (Gay and Lesbian Archive www.wits.ac.za/library/gala), **Angela McIntyre** (Missing Voices project, Historical Papers Department, University of the Witwatersrand www.wits.ac.za/histp) and **Renate Meyer** (Centre for Popular Memory www.popularmemory.org).*

Phil Bonner's input focussed on challenges associated with the gathering of oral histories about apartheid, and the imprint of apartheid on memory. Bonner described apartheid as the great leveller of black society with the eradication of mixed areas and the restriction of African self-employment and capital accumulation in the towns. The space for individual autonomy and self-expression, which had existed on the margins of the old order, was curtailed in apartheid's quest to impose deadly uniformity on African society. The experience of apartheid was profoundly dehumanising, debilitating and humiliating. This experience has not been passed on through the generations and has been reduced to lists of laws and the grand narrative of resistance. The lives of ordinary people who lived under it have been excluded and there is an aversion amongst students of the post-apartheid generation to the subject of apartheid. Oral testimony provides a means for bringing this history alive and making it relevant. However, this testimony needs to be actively sought out by oral historians. The story that often emerges is formulaic in character and this provides a challenge for oral historians to seek out testimonies that provide us with an idea of what the past did to people through the use of life histories rather than target questions so as to recover the daily history of life under apartheid.

Bonner also noted that there are pasts that have been obliterated. A variety of other memories about South Africa's past have been blotted out by apartheid, particularly those forms at variance with its central precepts and practices. It is here that apartheid achieved one of its notable successes; not only removing various racial groups from meaningful contact with each other and entrenching mutual ignorance and lack of comprehension of each other's values and ways of life but also effacing memories of other multi-racial and multi-class pasts. This naturalised apartheid, establishing it as the predominant narrative of South Africa's past and allowing for the internalisation of the society's myths and founding premises. Racial mixing was a much more prominent feature of South Africa's pre-apartheid past than most of us understand, happening not only in iconic places such as District Six but across the country as a whole. This minority history of racial mixing needs to be re-appropriated by historians in order to present a picture of the past which reaches beyond the period of apartheid. Examples of this history have been uncovered in oral history projects in places such as Alexandra and Kliptown but they can be found all over the country. Apartheid cannot thus be seen as the predominant experience of South Africa's past, it needs to be seen in the context of this pre-apartheid history of racial and cultural mixing.

A further area of research, which has been pushed to the sidelines, is the role of women in pre-apartheid South Africa and the pivotal political role that they played in shaping and organising communities before they were shackled by the oppressive restrictions of apartheid.

Sello Mathabatha's input dealt with his experiences of conducting oral histories in the Ekhurleni district and the contradictions between his expectations and the realities faced in the field.

Oral history is traditionally seen as a means of placing the experiences of communities into an understanding of themselves through contemplation of their past. The process also reveals the ways in which identities are constructed by communities in relation to the presentation of their histories.

Mathabatha's research focussed on the townships of Duduza (adjacent to the town of Nigel) and Kwathema (adjacent to the town of Springs) on the East Rand. He began with a discussion of some of the limitations of the oral history process. These include issues of memory, chronology and language before moving on to a brief background of the towns and townships in which he had conducted research.

Mathabatha's research found that the diversity of languages and cultures to be found in these areas is the result of the history of these towns as mining economies supplied by migrant labour. The two townships shared much in common with regard to the period of increased struggle against apartheid in the 1980s. Oral history has provided an important means for telling the histories of these communities.

However, there have been practical challenges to the conducting of an oral history project. Issues such as inter-party politics, power struggles and divisions within communities affect the ability of the oral historian to conduct

research. Divisions created by apartheid have also left their mark on social relations within these communities. The scarcity of resources also plays a part in limiting the process as people often expect remuneration for their participation, which the project is unable to provide.

Mathabatha found that the situation is compounded by poor communication in the application of heritage development by the consultants appointed by municipalities.

Noor Nieftagodien spoke about and reflected on some of the issues arising out of a review of the work that the History Workshop has been engaged in over the past twenty years. The work of the workshop has seen the accumulation of a wealth of oral archive material that represents an important resource for future research. The history workshop faces a number of challenges with regard to this archive. Firstly there is the question of what happens to the material collected in the course of the workshop's research once these projects have been completed. Secondly Nieftagodien acknowledged that while the history workshop has made important strides with regards to presentation and organisation and preservation of its interviews there remains the broader question of access and public utilisation of the workshop's archive.

Nieftagodien then moved on to examine in more detail the experiences of two of the workshop's projects, namely the Katlehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus and the Alexandra Local History Project. Both of these projects arose out of urban renewal projects initiated by local government. Despite the socio-political problems associated with urban renewal projects Nieftagodien pointed out that it was still important to acknowledge the fact that communities saw history and heritage as important ingredients in the development of these communities.

The Alexandra project collected more than 100 life history oral interviews. The workshop also found that there was a huge demand by people in the area to tell their stories, a demand that due to limited resources could not be completely met. In comparing the kind of life histories collected in the course of the two projects, a number of important issues arose.

Until recently, in many of these projects, it was quite difficult to separate the life stories from a broader hegemonic political narrative. This was understandable to some extent in the light of the kinds of projects and the political moment in which they were conducted. The production of a hegemonic, nationalist narrative involving the sidelining of certain stories meant that it was difficult for the workshop to disarticulate the personal from the political. Nieftagodien argued that the personal stories had become subplot in a broader narrative, which took the formation of the ANC as its opening act and the first democratic elections in 1994 as its closing point. In recording these stories it was often found that people used broader political signposts as the markers of their own personal histories. While this is understandable, it points to a tendency for people to perceive their own personal histories through the prism of the political. The workshop thus found it hard in these projects to create a disarticulation between the broader political narrative and the personal. Nieftagodien felt that this collapsing of the political and the personal had finally begun to fall away in more recent projects. There is now a process of self-disarticulation taking place whereby people seem to be beginning see their stories outside of the political prism. Nieftagodien felt that this was a particularly exciting process.

Nieftagodien raised the issue of the difficulties that the workshop has experienced in interviewing women. The workshop has tried to implement quotas in order to ensure that women are represented. However, the tendency of researchers to interview through the prism of the political and within the meta-narrative of the formal history of organisations leads to the closing of doors with regards to the obtaining of these interviews.

In conclusion Nieftagodien felt that the new trend towards personal narratives perceived outside of the political prism had opened up new and exciting fields of research for oral historians. The process of disarticulation between the personal and political is also a reflection of the changes taking place in the country and it provides a rich opportunity for oral historians to map new, unexplored territories in the field of oral history in South Africa.

Discussion

A number of significant issues were raised in response to the presentations of the history workshop. Questions were raised as to what passes for history and whether or not there are programs under way to map the contemporary post-1994 history of South Africa. While the History Workshop admits that this is still a challenge that remains to be adequately dealt with, its preferred method of using the life history approach as the dominant interview technique in its projects goes some way to overcoming this as it covers the lives of its subjects up to the present day. The need for the collection and establishment of pre-colonial history was also emphasised.

Further questions were raised regarding the ethical considerations necessary for researchers to bear in mind when dealing with people who have traumatic memories of the past and the workshop acknowledged the critical importance of these considerations when conducting interviews.

Bonner stressed that the history workshop was also moving towards the conducting of interviews beyond the well-mapped territory of the best-known places, struggles and people within the historical narrative of the country towards a more inclusive and extensive investigation of other kinds of histories.

The History Workshop is also working towards overcoming the problem of access to its archive through the implementation of an electronically indexed collection that would facilitate access its holdings.

Angela McIntyre's *Missing Voices* project has predominantly focussed on the members of the SADF's 32 Battalion founded during the Angolan War in the mid 1970s. The project focuses particularly on the histories of the Angolan veterans who made up about 90% of the battalion. While most of the project is focussed on 32 Battalion, McIntyre has also interviewed a few members of Koevoet, the police counter-insurgency unit based in the Caprivi and veterans of SADF's 31 Battalion. The project has produced in the region of 120 interviews, mostly conducted in Portuguese, the lingua franca of the majority of the veterans.

32 Battalion had its origins in the political turmoil of Angolan independence. One of the narratives that McIntyre has been keen to explore is how the predominantly BaKongo speaking young men who joined the battalion originally came from the independence movement before landing up in the service of the apartheid government. The precursor to 32 Battalion was an ad-hoc unit called Bravo led by Colonel Jan Breytenbach who had been sent into Southern Angola to regroup the remnants of the defeated FNLA into a force, which could occupy as much Angolan territory as possible prior to the first elections after independence. While Colonel Breytenbach was leading Bravo group into Southern Angola the South African Defence Force was in the process of forging alliances with UNITA unbeknownst to Breytenbach and his men. As a result the FNLA veterans who formed the core of 32 Battalion had an uneasy relationship with UNITA throughout the history of South Africa's involvement in Angola. The activities of 32 Battalion were not widely reported but McIntyre argued that the unit was both instrumental and expendable, a duality emphasised when, following the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, they were mis-deployed as a police force unit in the townships in South Africa in the context of rapidly shifting accountability.

Arguing that the historical narrative of recent South African and Angolan history are dominated by labels and ordered by hierarchies that assign importance to particular events, McIntyre stressed the importance of the narrator in constructing the interviews. After explaining the project to her subjects, McIntyre then asked them to begin telling their stories at the point, which they felt served as the beginning; a life history rather than set question approach. This allowed the interviews to begin with an act of self-definition.

There were often common sites of memories linked to incidents and places that recurred in interviews with the veterans. The relationship between memory and place differed between white veterans and their Angolan counterparts. For the Angolan veterans, McIntyre found that places assumed an unparalleled prominence in their stories due to their histories of displacement from Angola to South Africa where they currently face the prospect of forced removal from Pomfret, the town in the Northwest Province in which they currently reside.

McIntyre found that the problems of access to subjects that she encountered in her research were related more to issues of the present rather to sensitivity around events of the past. The beginning of the project coincided with a period of intense pressure by the South African government on the people of Pomfret to relocate. The government had begun to withdraw services, close roads and the police station in its efforts to forcibly remove the people of Pomfret. McIntyre felt that this attitude was the result of a prevailing narrative within the political structures of the post-apartheid government towards 32 Battalion as a group, which had fought against the liberation struggle, seeing the community as a security threat that did not deserve the support of its former adversaries. The present impoverished conditions of the Pomfret community in the wake of its struggle with the government thus provided much of the narrative that interview subjects chose to focus on before dealing with the issues relevant to the project. However, McIntyre soon realised that this was a lens through which Angolan veterans had chosen to view their past; a very different lens than that used by their white counterparts who tended to view their exploits in the battalion through the prism of heroism and courage rather than within the context of a narrative of betrayal and disappointment increased by their status as a politically disenfranchised group within post-apartheid South Africa.

Renate Meyer provided an overview of some of the recent projects conducted by the Centre for Popular Memory, the current incarnation of the former Western Cape History Project, which has been in existence for the

last twenty years. The Centre recently took the decision to change its method of operation through the division of its research into four arms: training, research, dissemination and archiving. The Centre seeks to incorporate all four of these arms within the focus of each of its projects and provide outcomes in all of these areas.

The Centre has also begun the process of digitising its collection of over 2000 hours of audio and 500 hours of video for the purposes of dissemination and preservation.

The Centre's projects include an oral history project on the experiences of residents in Gugulethu during the 1980s and the impact of these events on the parents of children involved in these struggles. Following the collection of interviews, the Centre then plotted themes to organise the material that they had gathered. These themes were then used to produce exhibition panels, which were presented to the interview subjects for critique and input. Following this input the Centre then worked this feedback into a final product, which was distributed amongst a selection of schools and museums in the Western Cape.

The Centre has also set up a digital database on the internet using open access software to provide access to all audio material organised with a searchable index with transcripts and video available to users free of charge.

The Centre has recently begun to use video as a means for producing oral history content. A project on the history of Langa township was produced for the Langa museum and a further project title *Street Stories,* which explores the landscape of three arterial roads in Cape Town through the experiences of people living and working along these roads. A similar project has been conducted in relation to the city itself. While the full interviews are available in the Centre's archive, the short documentaries produced as the outcome of the project, serve as an introduction intended to spark interest in the project and introduce people to the centre and its archive.

Meyer's input concluded with a screening of selections from the documentaries.

Anthony Manion's input focussed on GALA's approach to oral history and dissemination.

For GALA oral history provides an important means of providing an archival record of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) community, which reflects its diversity and allows the archive to dig below the surface and uncover the hidden histories of the most marginalized parts of this community.

GALA preserves these testimonies with the aim of making the data available to scholars and researchers from all disciplines as well as to the LGBT community itself. These testimonies compliment GALA's written and archival record and are central to creating memory and developing identity. The oral histories provide the basis for much of the products produced by GALA. The archive's oral history projects are also linked to community development and public outreach wherever possible.

The problem of applying western ideas of collecting oral histories and western notions of LGBT identity in relation to diverse South African groups has led GALA to explore alternative methods for accessing the oral archive. Caroline Hamilton's essay in *Refiguring the Archive* has provided GALA with the theoretical basis for some of its oral history projects. Hamilton suggests that the emphasis on fluidity and processes involved in the telling of narratives, recording is insufficient on its own and needs to be linked to an interior world.

GALA's sangoma project has been significantly influenced by this theoretical approach. The project aims to collect the oral histories of a group of same-sex identified sangomas whom GALA has developed a relationship with over the past six years. Manion suggested that the project is grounded in a dialogue between two opposing notions of archive: the western eurocentric archive in which oral histories are transcribed and preserved and the notion of sangoma's themselves as fluid living archives in which the narratives are tied to place, ritual, artefacts and performance. The documentation needed to capture this fluidity is therefore ethnographic and includes both audio and video recordings. With regard to its approach to the collection of these oral histories GALA favours the use of community insiders employed and trained to conduct interviews with the members of the group.

GALA also attempts to move beyond the process of merely collecting oral histories. In the case of GALA's HIV/AIDS project, the oral histories collected have been used to provide lessons for the community through the production of a play and the production of two comic books. In 2003 GALA completed an oral history project documenting the experience of a diverse group of gay and lesbian South Africans, which has formed the basis of two linked projects. The first of theses consists of a resource book for life orientation teachers and a series of workshops conducted with teachers aimed at sensitising teachers around issues relating to homosexuality. The second project arising out of this project has been a travelling exhibition conducted in partnership with the

Apartheid Museum, which promotes tolerance of difference and was framed around the 10th anniversary of the South African Constitution in 2004.

Discussion

The discussion raised questions about the place of the investigating subject in the process of oral history and the way in which the oral historian as an historical subject brings their own set of pre-conceptions to bear upon the process. The lack of self-consciousness in the production of oral histories was also noted as an area that needs to be addressed as a means of placing this relationship within the production of oral history products. The issue of the relationship between the investigating subject and their relationship to interview subjects was also raised in relation to the question of how much life-history personal testimonies should be allowed to be presented outside of a broader historical framework and the necessity for an approach that reflects on issues around the politics of collecting. The question of exclusion was also raised and the necessity of presenting a totality of historical experience that speaks to and includes all South Africans was highlighted as an important consideration in the production of future oral history projects.

WORKSHOP IN REVIEW
Emerging Themes and Trends, Opportunities and Challenges
Professor Carolyn Hamilton[3]

The duty of providing an over view of a conference is a challenging one. For one thing, some of the most exciting breakthroughs sometimes happen in the informal spaces of the conference, in getting to know new colleagues, making contacts and networking, in crucial points raised over lunch, and expounded on in the lift –in at least one case an unusually lengthy opportunity for informal exposition. No one person is party to all this richness, and for each of us it comes to make sense in a different way. Nonetheless the sharing of general observations at the end can sometimes be enormously significant. I come away from this conference believing it to be something of a watershed. I will try to spell out why I think this. These are at least some preliminary thoughts.

The powerful combination of archivists, memory activists and researchers, and its significance today

I think that the mix of practitioners assembled at this conference is particularly significant: (1) professional archivists and museum personnel, speaking from the space of the repository; (2) researchers of various kinds, engaged in production of historical products- comics, public history, academic history, school materials, websites; performances, and so –the array and variety covered at the workshop was impressive; and (3) memory activists of all kinds.

I think this particular combination is the first significant point of the conference and is reminiscent of the meetings of the enormously significant History Workshop movement of the late 1970s and 1980s. Indeed, some of the language framing the concerns of this conference is almost exactly that of History Workshop in its first decade. History Workshop in that time was pre-eminently an effort in founding a new historiography (note the singular form of the word there) and was noted for its highly active, or let us say the activist quality of the associated popularization and outreach effort. History Workshop focused on the histories and experiences of marginalized communities, inaugurated the field of oral history, and sought to reach marginalized communities through audio-visual products, popular texts, educational materials and so on. The appetite for history in the 1980s was enormous: many of you will remember that the history classroom was at that time the most radical space in education; people's history was prescribed reading in revolutionary cells, and the numbers of history students in the universities soared. History attracted the young intellectuals of the time like no other area. The production of alternative materials was the imperative of the time. Dissemination and consumption flowed relatively effortlessly. Not surprisingly a significant number of the attendees at this conference developed their sense of an understanding of the political significance of history at that time in that context, carrying it forward into this context.

It would seem an appropriate time to acknowledge a life time of work by Phil Bonner, as one of the founding members of History Workshop - as an acutely sharp and sensitive labour and social history researcher, committed to the excavation of the life stories of ordinary people, and as endlessly energetic in outreach work linked to these topics of research. So much so that he is present here today some thirty years later in the company of many whom he trained and collaborated with in the intervening times. It is also appropriate here to acknowledge the sustained contribution of Omar Badsha, across much the same sweep of time, also working consistently at the interface between historical research and popular outreach.

If History Workshop dominated in the 1980s, a concern with Heritage prevailed across the 1990s (the use of the decades as a period markers is a bit rough and ready, and primarily to facilitate discussion), subject to a radical interrogation emanating out of, pre-eminently, the History department at UWC. It was a radical critique partnered by a powerful intervention in the form of the Heritage and Museum Diploma which UWC inaugurated in partnership with Robben Island Museum and UCT, a diploma geared towards the training of a new generation of heritage professionals. And a number of the younger people in this room who were not trained by Phil Bonner in the 1980s developed their competencies in that context.

[3] Carolyn Hamilton was a longstanding member of the board of SAHA and of the board of GALA, She served on the first Robben Island Council and is currently engaged in researching the relationship between archive and contemporary public deliberation. She is based in the Graduate School for the Humanities at Wits.

Current Conditions

But this time, the now, is not the 1980s and the political moment is not that of a challenge to apartheid. Equally, we are beyond the heady days of the first post-apartheid decade. And it is our challenge to begin to specify and understand the differences of the contemporary situation, and what they mean for the production of new historiographies and what the conference organizers term "outreach missions". For one thing, we need to understand and grapple with the current absence of a manifest hunger for history, or its confinement to certain spaces, points raised in a variety of different ways by many of the contributions to the workshop, and in repeated interventions from the floor. The idealisms animating both of the endeavours described above, from the 1980s and 1990s, are ready for new scrutiny, for testing against current conditions and perhaps some revision. The core ideals and linked set of animating ideas, I think, remains, intact. That is why we are assembled here, representing the efforts of more than two decades of concern with the history of marginalized communities and a commitment to - and here I am going to stay with an older language-outreach, all underpinned by an understanding of the political and social power of understandings of, and mobilizations of, the past.

The organizers began the work of specifying the difference of the now in the title which they offer for the conference. "Memory, Heritage and the Public Interest."

Heritage

There is quite a lot to be said about the state of heritage today, that marks it off as different from the immediately post-apartheid era. In this summation I only have the space to deal with some aspects. There were many allusions in the course of the workshop to the current challenges, including inadequate funding, lack of political will and so on. Others will have much to say here. The point that struck me the most forcefully was that we are now in position where we are obliged, painfully, to confront the disarray and, in some instances, virtual collapse of many -though not all - official heritage institutions and bodies, despite the individual talent located in them. The particular circumstances of national and provincial archives within all of this are of special concern. It is not the right place here to open up discussion of why this is happening and what its effects are. But that is an analysis that must take place. Likewise, in some instances where these bodies do appear to be acting effectively, they do so only within a very narrow area. The reasons for collapse, disarray or a narrowness of interventions are complex and demand our attention. Collapse, disarray and narrowness all place significant responsibility on those who are concerned about the issue of the past and public interest to resume an activist position. The convening of us in this workshop I am beginning to understand as an invitation, or an opportunity, for us to do that.

Memory and Archive

In the 1980s and 1990s the term "memory" was used primarily to identify a form of historical material that was excluded from the formal archive. The trend was to record memory, usually in the form of oral testimony, and to use that to augment the formal, usually documentary, archive. In the 1980s the recovery of memory was a key act of resistance. In the 1990s memory was formally recognized as part of the archive through policy and legislation in the area of heritage. In the now, we may wish to reconsider what "memory" might mean, and what its powers might be in a context where so much that was once consigned out of the archive as "mere memory", is now entrenched and secure, in the archive. Which memories are still excluded and why? Might the term "memory" now come to refer to a past that eludes archival fixing but that requires narration? (This is a difficult point to think about: one way of getting at it is to think about a past, such as the middle passage slave past, or the distant African past, of African Americans, about which there may be no actual memories, but deep yearnings for commemoration.)

Another point of difference that marks the now, is the central position in all of this of archive, not as inert repository but as a site of power. It is no accident that this meeting is convened by an archive, not an academic institution. Archive was not the object of political and theoretical interrogation in those two preceding eras. Nor was "historiographies" used persistently in the plural form as it is today. A strong version of a particular historiography dominated in the 1980s, that of political economy; in the 1990s, a form of reflexivity dominated, that opened up to current interest in endless possibilities for different stories, researched and narrated in endless different ways by anyone who so wishes. To open to that diversity should not be conflated with a mindless relativism. Some arguments will be stronger than others, and some makers of those arguments will present those arguments more forcefully and persuasively than others, and only some will survive the twin hurdles of research critique and political agendas to make it into history textbooks. But it is the current openness in the field of history, and the corollary recognition of the power of the archive, which drives contemporary questions about the openness and the capacities of the archive. There is much more to be said about the matter of the new

centrality of archive and the problematics of heritage but in the interests of driving a bigger argument I am going to move on.

Public Interest

Let's turn now to the matter of the public interest (and note that the term "public interest" was not part of the discourse of History Workshop, and only appeared, not well-specified in the discourse of the 1990s as public history. There are very good reasons for this: in the 1980s in so far as the concept of public was linked to government it was deemed illegitimate in and of itself; in the 1990s, the notion of public was, perhaps appropriately, subordinate to the complex imperatives of the birth of a new nation): but, at this time, twelve years into the life of the new nation it is appropriate to draw attention to the depth and pervasiveness of the conflation of two concepts, those of "national interest" and "public interest." (Here I wish to draw our attention to Noor Nieftagodien's comments about the current moment as a time in which we can, and should, probe the dominance of the hegemonic national narrative. It is also significant I think, that Christine Gohsmann drew our attention to the coupling of "Archives and the Public" in a recent conference in Germany).

The instances of conflation of the national interest with the public interest are legion, but the primary site of conflation is government itself, not unsurprisingly. The short, perhaps crude, argument goes like this: as the elected representatives of the majority of South Africans, government has a mandate to speak on behalf of the people and to make national policy. The conflation and the point of contest happens in the next rhetorical manoeuvre. Thus, proclaims government, it speaks in the public interest. But is the public interest co-terminous with the national interest, and for the particular purposes of this conference, is the public interest in relation to history, historiography and archive, co-terminous with national interest? Just as the sectors represented here today must wrestle with this question in relation to the practices of archive and history, so too in other cognate spaces: media practitioners face the identical question, as do cultural practitioners and many others. It is perhaps the question of our time and it is begin to have an insistent and irresistible presence.

The answer, implicit in many of the conference offerings is, I think, a resounding, NO. I think it would now be enormously fruitful to lift that implicit "no" out into the realm of explicitness and to try to grapple with its significance. To do that we have drive for a better understanding of the current conditions under which we engage in archival and historical activity. It was not enough in the 1980s to provide an historical understanding of the making of apartheid; there was a much needed corollary effort in understanding why official history took the form it did, why and how certain stories were suppressed and so on. Althusser and Gramsci provided the key theoretical tools. Today Althusser and Gramsci remain relevant, I have no doubt about that. But they are not adequate to conceptualizing the public domain in which archival and historical practices are currently conducted.

Firstly, we should note that the current moment engages ideas not only of community but also of public. The state uses both ideas, as do the institutions of civil society, including many of the projects presented at this workshop. The concept of community does a great deal of legitimation work: interventions are motivated for as being in the interests of the community; community consultations are cited in motivations and in conclusions. But, as we all know very well, community is a slippery term that requires carefully specification in every instance of its usage, (a specification that all too often drops away). Communities, numerous conference contributions noted, need histories and archives, and they need the power that having histories and archives confers. This then is the rationale for many of the outreach missions discussed. In this discourse, the community is often both the "source" of historical "memories," collected by "researchers " (typically themselves not of that community), which are then transformed through the collection and research processes into "archives" and "history, " "repackaged" in a "popularly" accessible format, and returned to the community, now repositioned as "target audience." Our conference noted numerous instances of the resistance of the community both to being sources and targets. (Think here of the (very different) accounts given by Chris Du Preez, and Sello Mathabatha.)

"Public" is an equally slippery term, is sometimes used interchangeably with community, and equally requires specification. We often operate with an idea of "the public" as "out there," waiting to receive something (government pronouncements, schooling, the news, a variety show, etc.). That unitary public is, unlike community, not assumed to have shared interests, but it is assumed to have a discrete existence. However, recent developments in the field of literature in particular, alert us to the idea that these ideas may need revision. Those developments show in interesting ways how particular texts (whether written, visual, performed etc.) call particular publics into being, and how ideas circulate beyond the circulation of the texts themselves, within those publics. (If anyone is interested in pursuing this point let me note here that I found Michael Warner's book, Publics and Counter Publics, especially illuminating.) This prompts us to think about how different archives and different historical texts can be understood as calling different publics into being, and how they might precipitate ideas into circulation into those publics.

The matter of community interests and the dynamics of how publics operate are germane to pressing issues of dissemination and take-up that surfaced repeatedly in the workshop. Giving attention to the concept of public allows us to begin to break out of the potentially paternalistic framework implied when history, archives and community are seamlessly joined together. It pushed us to look not only at mechanisms of dissemination and delivery, to grapple with the constitution of publics, and the mobilisation of ideas of public interest, the desires and motivations that lead to an engagement with archive and history.

Phil Bonner tackled this question through his attempts to address what he conceptualized as a lack of interest in history today. His first answer concerned the importance of giving attention to the richness of lived experiences, the power of the shock of recognition of past realities. His cameos were compelling and his point came across with force. However, it is not perhaps, a sufficient answer. The hunger for history must surely depend on the level of recognition of the contemporary significance of an engagement with history. His second answer began to push in this direction, and is worthy of sustained attention and further development. He intimated that what he called the "blotted out" histories provide the possibility of imagining the present and the future differently. My suggestion is that the radical potential of this observation may be best realized if we understand this as not necessarily best related to current communities and the business of "giving them a history", but rather, that it has greater power if we understand, and learn to harness, the potential of such historical accounts to call new publics into being. I was struck forcefully by Bonita Bennett's clarity in declaring that District Six had no need for further activities of dissemination. While she did indeed continue to use the term community, it seemed to me that the District Six Museum had called a particular public into being, that it was busy servicing, and engaging with it, most effectively, in the business of imagining itself outside of, but far from unaware of, the current hegemonic national narrative.

The conference recognized in all sorts of ways the importance of specifying our current conditions and our guiding theoretical frames. Quite a bit of this revolved around invocations of the idea of the public sphere.

Premesh Lalu provided an important kick-off point here with his proposition that the post-apartheid public sphere is dependent on the ability to step out of the shadows of preceding conceptions of the archive and the forms of 'governmentality' they uphold. Some workshop goers are probably sharply aware of how debated the concept of public sphere is. Leaving aside the question of whether the seminal thinker in this area, Jurgen Habermas, got it right or not, we can agree that the current notion of democracy assumes the existence of a public sphere in which all citizens participate in deliberation. Government has actively convened something that looks very much like a Habermasian public sphere, positively bristling with institutions and policies designed to facilitate deliberation by the citizenry: the constitution, freedom of access to information, human rights commission, the gender commission, the list is endless, and I think it includes institutions like SARA, or the original Board of the National Archives. However, certain apartheid legacies and contemporary political compromises have facilitated the reach of power into that carefully convened public sphere, leading to the corralling of public deliberation and the silencing of critical voices. (Think here of how the independence of the Board of the National Archives has been compromised and how its ability to act in the public interest has been corralled).

I think we could make a strong case for the notion that unwanted memories are exiled through the way in which the public sphere is actively convened and corralled. The revolutionary images of the poster collection on display at the workshop would make DTI officials sweat in their beds at night, as would the associated values of shared and open public intellectual property that Judy Seidman argued inhered in their production. Though it must be said that those same DTI officials would love the opportunity to explore the medical powers of the tree that one comrade remembered growing in an Alexander yard, and used by her grandmother to treat their colds. The point is that the meaning of indigenous knowledge is tightly controlled in the contemporary public sphere. We heard about the powerful possibilities of dissemination, or perhaps to use the perspective that I have been suggesting, the calling of publics into being, through community radio stations. Radio is an area explicitly supported by a range of policies designed to extend public deliberation. Those same policies are used often to close down dissenting radio stations and to exclude unwanted memories. (No time here to cover this in detail, but Mandla Hermanus' presentation, and some of the incisive commentary that followed, certainly offered a window on this.) Likewise. Sello Mathabatha's account alerted us to the way in which local heritage agencies operate to give a particular shape to local histories and neatly circumscribed heritage sites eliminate ambiguity and dissent.

In various ways the operation of power in the convened public sphere compromises public deliberation, as does the manner of the convening itself, while the consigning away of critique deflects critical debates from the convened public sphere. There are chilling indications in all the institutions, and in the media, of substantial silencing, self-silencing and the evasion rather than the confrontation of the fetters of the convened public sphere. Currently our pursuit of the public interest in relation to archive and history is located in diverse, splayed

capillaries, in which various kinds of radical critiques of cultural values, norms, identities and the fragmentation of our historical consciousness, take place. These are critiques that are potentially disruptive of the convened public sphere and yet critically important in the recognition of mutual humanity and the possibility of future goodness. But they are largely unrealised in the public sphere.

This brings us back to Xolela's opening comments about the demand for courage in the archive. Every citizen bears a weighty ethical responsibility to engage in active deliberation. (There are, of course, immense challenges in a country like South Africa were inequalities are so marked, in creating the conditions that enable active deliberation.) To engage in critique is to take risk as it almost always involves power, with critique coming from those who are less powerful, directed at those who are more powerful. To speak then, one must be secure in one's citizenship. And to be silenced or to self-silence is to be denied, or to deny, one's citizenship and to open up the possibility of the denial of our common humanity. The stakes in public discursivity are immensely high, and the archive and history are prime sites of the materials of that public discursivity.

There are three primary domains where this is most vividly demonstrated and they all appeared at this conference: (1) that of discussions around identity (here I would like to draw your attention to the current project of the site which is hosting this workshop review - www.public-conversations.org.za - It is a project designed to facilitate and promote ongoing public conversation around the topic of Identity and Archive. The lecture by Van Zyl Slabbert to which you received an invitation is part of this project. It is the last in a series of lectures which include offerings by Kwame Anthony Appiah, Benedict Anderson and numerous others): (2) discussions around the apartheid past, as represented primarily in the archive of the TRC, and (3) discussions of the nature, content and thinking around the freedom struggle. (I have not as yet had time to digest the import of Premesh Lalu's proposition that we may wish to constellate the activity of archive around the radical singularity of an event, viz. the freedom struggle) And they are deeply intertwined domains.

The impressive oral archive to which Noor Nieftagodien referred, and countless other visual, sonic, object and landscape archives, are huge resources for those silenced histories and for the broadening of discussion around the three central topics of current discourse that I noted above. However, I would like to suggest that the convened public sphere is corralled in such a way that they will stay in boxes in offices, in dispersed projects and will fail to garner cumulative force in the public domain unless we begin to promote them in active public deliberation. This is, I would like to suggest, not the same as community outreach. I, for one, take from this workshop an enhanced sense of the political importance of exploring what it means to go beyond ideas of community outreach, to make central the question of the relationship between archive and public deliberation.

South African History Archive

Piers Pigou
SAHA Director
William Cullen Library
University of Witwatersrand
Johannesburg
South Africa

Tel no. 011 717 1941
Fax no. 011 717 4137
Email director@saha.org.za
Web. http://www.saha.org.za

rls
Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung

Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung

Southern Africa External Office, Johannesburg

Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan
Regional Representative
Sable Centre (9th Floor)
41 De Korte Street
Braamfontein
Johannesburg, South Africa

Tel no. +27 (011) 339 3130
Fax no. +27 (011) 403 2344
Email info@rls-sa.org.za
Web. http://www.rosalux.de/engl/home.htm