The Thirtieth Anniversary of the Soweto Uprisings

Reading the Shadow in Sam Nzima’s Iconic Photograph of Hector Pieterson

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This haunting photograph (Fig. 1) from the 1976 Soweto Uprisings in South Africa is often referred to as the single most important photograph to emerge from the struggle against apartheid (Purtilo 1999:22). According to South African film director Feizel Mandoo, there are particular moments in history that are defined by photographic, celluloid, or television images, such as the world famous photograph of the Saigon girl, naked and burning from napalm (Worsdale 1998; see also Richards 2001). He argues that the iconic photograph by Sam Nzima depicting Hector Pieterson being carried in the arms of Mbuyisa Makubu, with his distraught sister Antionette’ running alongside, is comparable in the way that “it marks history, both social and personal” (Worsdale 1998).

Significantly, though, while marking social and personal histories, this photograph registers critical changes in the ways that these histories are not only remembered, but also continually reframed in the processes of healing and commemoration and in the shaping of a new consciousness in the lives of today’s youth. This photograph shifts from being incorporated into protest material of the 1980s that purposefully flattened the image both literally and metaphorically, to artistic “post-protest” re-articulations of the 1990s that opened up interpretive strategies, pointing to lacunae in the events depicted. The reintroduction of the shadow lingering behind the three figures, which was largely omitted in protest posters and T-shirts, will serve as a symbolic framework for the re-reading of this photograph, which was literally brought to life through performance at the thirtieth anniversary in June 2006.

THE DAY SOWETO WAS SHAKEN

June 16, 1976 is often referred to as the turning point in South Africa’s history (Ndlovu 1998:1)—the beginning of the end of apartheid. According Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu (1998:1), the uprising "exploded into a momentous event" that invigorated the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan African Congress (PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), as well as arousing "world abhorrence of apartheid’s child killers.”

In 1974 W.C. Ackerman, director of Bantu Education in the then southern Transvaal, informed schools that, starting the following year, pupils in Forms 1 and 2 would have to learn mathematics, geography, physical science, and biology in Afrikaans (Mashabela 2006:17; Ndlovu 1998:3). Previously, the language of instruction had been largely English, and due to the fact that few teachers were equipped to teach in a language that was not only unfamiliar, but also associated with the oppressor, grades immediately plummeted (Ndlovu 1998:3). As Mashabela (2006:18-19) writes, “Soweto was shaken,” and despite the fact that members of the Meadowlands Tswana School Board resigned in protest (World 1976a), teachers who did not comply were threatened and even fired. Afrikaans came to be seen as a "killer language" and frustrated by their teachers’ inability to alter the situation, young students formed their own meetings in March 1976 and implemented both slowdowns and class boycotts.

On June 16, an estimated 10,000 to 15,000 students took to the streets of Soweto singing the song “Senzeni nai?” (What have we done?), and displaying placards with slogans such as “Away with Afrikaans” as they made their way towards Orlando Stadium. Before they reached their destination, however, the police...
intervened in Orlando West and opened fire on the unarmed pupils. While the exact sequence of events is unclear, partly due to the confusion caused by tear gas and bullets, the large crowd scattered in all directions, and before long Phefeni Clinic and Baragwanath Hospital were filled with youth perforated with gunshot wounds.

Hector Pietersen, a twelve-year-old boy from Thesele Higher Primary School, who was nicknamed Chopper (Hlongwane, Ndlovu, and Mutloatse 2006:89-99), was hit by a stray bullet at the corner of Moema and Vilakazi Streets. His sister Antoinette Pieterson, now Antoinette Sithole, immediately followed Mbuyisa Makhubu, who was carrying her brother, and as he was about to put Hector into the car, she heard him utter the words, “Oh, he’s finished” (Hlongwane, Ndlovu, and Mutloatse 2006:61). While Sithole has no recollection of her photograph being taken, she now acknowledges that Nzima’s image is “a photo that came to change her life and the memory of her brother forever” (Hlongwane, Ndlovu, and Mutloatse 2006:62).
When Sam Nzima took this photograph, along with five other frames, he was working as a journalist for the World newspaper, which was banned and closed down in 1977 (Finnegan 1988:93). The photograph appeared on the front page of the World that same day; the caption noted that "The schoolkid killed in today's riot in Soweto ... [at] the time of going to press ... had not been identified" (World 1976b). Curiously, this particular edition of the World newspaper is missing from most public libraries in South Africa (Hlongwane, Ndlovu, and Mutloathe 2006:7).

As a result of taking the picture, Nzima faced harassment from the police, and when he was ordered by the security branch to go to the infamous John Vorster Square, he immediately went into hiding and moved to Northern Province (Davie 2001). Due to the fact that his powerful photograph had grabbed attention across the world, raising international outcry against apartheid, Nzima knew that his life was at stake and he abruptly ended his career as a journalist. For many years, Nzima’s name was virtually unknown, and his world-famous photograph has often been attributed erroneously to the high-profile photographer Peter Magubane. While Nzima has since been given rights to these six photographs and is (usually) acknowledged as the photographer, his earlier anonymity not only reflects the danger of being a cultural producer in the apartheid era, but also the presumption that the reproduction of images produced for or subsumed by the liberation struggle precludes any consideration of authorship.

**NZIMA’S PHOTOGRAPH AS AN ICON OF PROTEST**

The Hector Pietersen photograph has been endlessly silk-screened onto T-shirts (Fig. 2), posters (Figs. 3–4) and pamphlets, becoming visually synonymous with protest. Such repetition, however, raises certain questions regarding reception and interpretation: What happens to the individuality of Pietersen, Makhubu, and Sithole as their faces are endlessly printed and engraved, merging them into an iconic trio? What happens to the memories of other students who were not framed by Nzima’s lens? Does the photographic image itself lose its impact as it is incorporated into the repertoire of clenched fists, spears, and guns so typical of the visual economy of the 1980s? As Colin Richards writes, powerful and startling images are also vulnerable:

> What they show can suffer from being seen too much. The forces that drive the production and consumption of sensational images often lead to overexposure, and through this, dulling feeling. Like the technically overexposed photograph, the scene pictured fades, an overweakening version of the historical moment it captures (2001:5).

In an ANC in-house seminar on culture, Albie Sachs responded to what he viewed as the “impoverishment of ... art” driven by the liberation struggle, which purposefully shut out the ambiguities and contradictions that, according to him, are necessary characteristics of powerful art (de Kok 1990:20). In the controversial debate that followed Sachs’s supposedly tongue-in-cheek call to ban the phrase “culture is a weapon of struggle,” most proponents of his view cited the following statement from his paper “Preparing Ourselves for Freedom”:

> In the case of a real instrument of struggle, there is no room for ambiguity: a gun is a gun is a gun, and if it were full of contradictions it would fire in all sorts of directions and be useless for its purpose. But the power of art lies precisely in its capacity to expose contradictions and reveal hidden tensions—hence the danger of viewing it as if it were just another kind of missile-firing apparatus (de Kok 1990:29).

Artist Kendall Geers responded to Sachs by adding that a move away from art being used in direct service of the struggle did not mean that art should be apolitical, for good art is indeed political as it “challenges the ideologies and cultural prejudices of both the viewer and the artist” (ibid., p. 45). He reiterates that visual over-exposure often leads to immunity, and that repetition has a numbing effect on any “emotionally laden subject matter” (ibid.). He writes,

> When artists in this country first began to paint fists, spears, and guns, it was an effective form of resistance. In the same way that when you repeat a word over and over, it loses its meaning, fists, spears, and guns have become clichés, and lost any subversive potential they may have had (ibid.).
While Sachs and respondents such as Kendell Geers and Neville Dubouw attempted to frame culture as being more than the struggle, Rushdy Siers retorted that culture is an expression of lived reality, and for many people the “vivas, raised fists, dilapidated corrugated shacks, mutilated bodies, AK’s, and Amadlas” represented on protest posters were the lived experiences of many cultural producers (ibid., p. 62).

The debate that Sachs’s paper provoked was both dynamic and contentious precisely because it was unleashed at the cusp of both political and cultural change. The visual economy of 1980s art and cultural production did indeed transform during the 1990s, raising the question of what happens to an emblematic image of protest as the climate of resistance shifts and as a homogenous history is conscientiously picked apart. While many of the visual symbols so prevalent in art of the liberation struggle have since become relatively obsolete, a number of artists have continued to use Sam Nzima’s photograph in their artworks,11 and this image is also used today in the context of commemoration. Such recontextualization raises new questions regarding authorship. As Darren Newbury asks:

Should such images produced in the service of the liberation struggle continue to be free for use in the post-apartheid era? … The need to balance the public historical value of these images with the rights, and in some cases economic needs of photographers and their families is an ongoing issue for South African photography and for museums (2005:287).

Remarkably, unlike many one-dimensional symbols employed as cultural weapons, Sam Nzima’s photograph seems to take on new meanings in its recontextualization, suggesting that, even as a documentary photograph, it never did have an unequivocal meaning to begin with. In his essay, “Documentary Without Ontology” Joel Snyder (1984:78) argues that although documentary photographs “are characterized as records or traces of ‘the
Kevin Brand’s Pietà recontextualizes Sam Nzima’s photograph on the wall of the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town. This installation was part of the Faultlines Exhibition that opened on Youth Day in 1996, the 20th anniversary of the Soweto Uprisings.

PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Kevin Brand produced another Pietà on the wall of Musée de Dakar for the 1998 Dak Art Biennale. In this version of the installation the long shadow trailing behind Nzima’s figures seems to suggest that the image is no longer being flattened in service of the liberation struggle. Rather, the shadow can be read as an indication of the multiple counternarratives of June 16 that have recently come to the fore.

PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE ARTIST
world’ or of ‘the facts of the moment’ or of ‘the way things are’—their factual cores need to be challenged. As he writes, “Documentary is a classificatory category that is established by use and not by essential character” (ibid., p. 90). As a cultural icon, Sam Njima’s photograph was, in the hands of anti-apartheid protesters, used as if it were an image of uncontested meaning. Small details and slightly different interpretations were in this context irrelevant, and it is for this reason that it succeeded in conveying a singular message. Today, however, its usefulness lies less in the realm of protest than that of commemoration, and those who continue to tell the story of June 16 are beginning to allow seemingly incongruous meanings to rise to the surface. As Albie Sachs would say, the extraordinary power of this photograph lies precisely in its ability to expose the ambiguities and paradoxes of a particularly horrendous moment in apartheid history.

KEYVIN BRAND’S REINTRODUCTION OF THE SHADOW

Cape Town artist Kevin Brand attempted to dissolve the anesthetizing repetition of Njima’s photograph by producing a fresh translation of it on the wall of the Castle of Good Hope (Fig. 5). This temporary installation, titled Pieta, was part of the “Faultlines” exhibition that opened on Youth Day in 1996. In 1995 the South African government officially designated June 16 as Youth Day, a move that broadened the scope of remembrance, making commemoration, suggests Ndlovu (1998:52), a “highly contested terrain.” As he writes,

What has become apparent is that the ANC has shifted its position, as it no longer uses these commemorations to emphasize resistance put up by black societies during the apartheid years. Their focus now is on national reconciliation and nation-building” (ibid., p. 53).

Just one year later Brand seems to follow suit: By incorporating Njima’s photograph into a site-specific installation in Cape Town, he transforms it from being used as an explicit symbol of protest to an ambiguous, yet powerful, artwork that seems to question nationally the well-being of all of South Africa’s youth as well as their knowledge of the past. According to Sue Williamson and Ashraf Jamal (1996:18), “Brand’s commemoration aims to resuscitate the flagging memory of a younger generation all too willing to forget the atrocities of the past.”

Dispersing the tight pixels of the media image, Brand transforms this photograph into a six-meter-wide assemblage of black, white, and grey duct tape that is scrunched up into little balls. Duct tape is a medium that intimates renovation or temporary repair, suggesting the refurbishment of an iconic image that is first broken down and then temporarily reconstructed. Brand transforms this photograph into an image of enormous scale, urging South Africans to re-look at the discomfort of the photograph, no matter how familiar it might seem after decades of replication. Although monumental in its size and its public location, the fragility of medium is antithetical to the usual characteristics of a monument, turning it into a kind of “anti-monument.”

Brand recontextualizes this image by placing it on the wall of the castle that is staked with British and Dutch flags, thus evoking a broad colonial history. The Dutch East India Company built the castle in the seventeenth century as a refueling station for ships en route to India, and local inhabitants were used as slaves to develop wine farms and cultivate fresh food. Furthermore, during apartheid, the castle accommodated the unscrupulous South African Defence Force. Placed directly below the sign “Leerdam”—one of the Dutch-named bastions of the castle—the installation seems to playfully engage with the Afrikaans word “Leer”—a lesson, a theory, or a religious teaching—a word with poignant connotations in the context of the Soweto Uprisings.
Playing on the iconic status of Sam Ntizma's photograph, Brand titles his temporary reconstruction Pietà, alluding to the Marian image of sorrow and suffering in which Christ's dead body hangs limply in the arms of his devoted mother, just as Pieter-son lies in the arms of Makhubu. By comparing Brand's Pietà to the three-dimensional pieta inside the Regina Mundi church in Soweto (Fig. 6), a church that played a significant role in the liberation struggle and the Soweto Uprisings, one can see how, in both cases, the figures form a distinctly triangular composition. As Sabine Marshall (2006:157) writes in her article "Visualizing Memories: The Hector Pieter son Memorial in Soweto," Photographs often focus on motifs and follow familiar compositional schemata historically developed in the visual arts. Ntizma's photograph mimics compositionally the entrenched Christian iconographic tradition of the pieta, which in turn has informed the sculptural conventions of war memorial sculpture all over the Western world. It expresses innocence and martyrdom, yet also implies the notion of ultimate triumph.

Similarly, Colin Richards (2001:5) argues that it is the compositional form of Ntizma's pieta-like photograph that turns this image into an icon of the Soweto Uprisings.

In Brand's Pietà, Antoinette and Mbuyisa run theatrically across the castle wall in front of the receding mountain known as Devil's Peak, evoking ideas of cosmic battle—Christ versus the Devil. However, as the pixels dissolve and blend into the mottled stones of the wall and as grey clouds begin to enfold the mountain peak, entrenched dichotomies between "good" and "evil" seem to blur. The quasi-religious icon fractures at the foot of Devil's Peak, and the open spaces between the duct tape pixels can be read as the gaps of knowledge about the events of June 16—gaps that historians and curators have recently begun to not only disclose, but also embrace.

In 1998 Kevin Brand produced another version of this installation for the Dak'Art Biennale in Senegal (Fig. 7), this time on the exterior wall of Musée de Dakar. Obviously this later Pietà no longer contains the site-specific reference to the Castle of Good Hope and Devil's Peak, but its significant difference lies in the long shadow that trails behind the trio as they make their way through a seemingly more three-dimensional space. The depth of the shadow contrasts with the largely flattened portrayals of this photograph in the monotonously reproduced protest images of the 1980s that evoked a one-dimensionality that was a necessary component of the single-minded push against apartheid.

Brand's reintroduction of the shadow reminds me of art historian Sidney Kasfir article "African Art and Authenticity: A Text with a Shadow." Kasfir argues that omniscient curatorial authority has the power to flatten out the hills and the valleys, to overlook uneven perspectives. "Is the public really incapable," she asks, "of understanding that African cultures, and the arts that they produce, are not monolithic? Do we really want a 'text without a shadow'?" (Kasfir 1999:94–5). Kasfir cites Roland Barthes, who writes, "There are those who want a text without a shadow ... but this is to want a text without fecundity, without productivity, a sterile text ... The text needs its shadow ... subversion must produce its own chiaroscuro" (quoted ibid., p. 88). As such, reading Kevin Brand's Pietà in the light of Barthes's shadow, one could argue that Brand has reintroduced the hills and the valleys. He has allowed for uneven ground where both dominant and counter-narratives might exist. Such a reading of the shadow is crucial to an understanding of how narratives of June 16 have shifted over a period of thirty years, and how Sam Ntizma's photograph has opened up to multivalent readings, relying, in Joel Snyder's sense, more on contemporary usage than on an ontological documentary core.
COMMEMORATION AND THE HECTOR PIETSON MEMORIAL

While Nzima’s photograph is used today primarily for commemoration, the specifics of what and how it commemorates are far from fixed. In an interview with Sarah Mandrup, Antionette Sithole reveals that when she looks at the photograph of herself and Hector, she is no longer saddened, as she imagines that the girl in the photograph is someone else (Hlongwane, Ndlovu, and Mutiloatse 2006:62). Sithole, who works at the Hector Pieterson Museum as a tour guide, has an intensely personal connection to this photograph, and as such, finds a way of distancing herself from the pain of its original context. In contrast, the photograph is now being used as the key image to jolt an emotional response from a general audience that often has little or no personal connection to June 16. Nzima’s photograph is available for broad public commemoration and/or consumption—including the inevitably facile commemoration of tourists and overseas visitors—as it forms an integral part of an outdoor memorial and cultural tourism site in Orlando West. (For more details on the outdoor Hector Pieterson Memorial site and the Hector Pieterson Museum, see Castle 2003, Reilly 2003, Marshall 2006, and Newbury 2005).

Ten years before this site was developed for cultural tourism, the ANC Youth League erected a granite memorial that is shaped like a gravestone. It displays a rather clumsily engraved replication of Nzima’s photograph (Fig. 8) as well as the words, “In memory of Hector Pieterson and all other young heroes and heroines of our struggle who laid down their lives for freedom, peace and democracy.” Produced in 1992, prior to the ANC’s strategy of shifting June 16 commemorations to the arena of nation-building and hence a more generic form of remembrance, this stone still speaks of “our struggle,” registering, as Ndlovu says, the resistance of black societies during the apartheid years.

In contrast, the surrounding Hector Pieterson Memorial, designed by Mashabane and Rose Associates and opened in 2002, deliberately appeals to a wider, and hence more generic audience. An almost-life-size replication of Nzima’s photograph printed onto aluminum stands behind the granite stone and is surrounded by internationally recognizable signifiers of commemoration such as a memorial wall, a contemplation garden, and a pool of water that is said to represent tears and healing. In terms of design and the use of materials, this site is similar to the Apartheid Museum in Gold Reef City (also designed by Mashabane Rose and Associates) and as Sabine Marshall (2006:153) points out, it is influenced by Lebeskind’s new Jewish Museum in Berlin and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC.

Recognizing the designers’ anticipated audience, Orlando West resident Nombeko Rwaxa suggests that the official commemorations that take place there each June 16, are attended more by visitors than by local inhabitants who were part of the 1976 Uprisings. The engraved text in the contemplation garden clearly demonstrates this shift from the commemoration of the local community to that of a nation: “At this site of national significance, the nation pays homage to the students of 1976 who sacrificed their lives so that the doors of learning and culture would be opened, and South Africa could be free today. Their vision is enshrined in our constitution.” As the articulation of
memory is relocated from "our struggle" to "our constitution" the Nzima photograph at the outdoor memorial site is recontextualized and is used to appeal to a contemporary, national audience. No longer is the audience limited to those actively involved in the liberation struggle, but it includes busloads of school children—South Africa's new generation of "born-frees"—as well as national and international tourists. Sabine Marshall asserts that such commemoration not only honors those who died in the past, but also shapes a consciousness and creates a group identity amongst those in the present. As she writes:

If historians … agree that the history of the past as we understand it at any point in time is largely a social construction, shaped or at least influenced by the needs, ideas, and perceptions of those in the present, this arguably applies to an even greater extent to "heritage," although the precise definition of this malleable term and its relation to history is a matter of controversial debate both in South Africa and internationally. There is no doubt, however, that memorial tells us as much about the present as it does about the past (2006:149).

This move towards the creation of present identities, which inevitably results in a generic form of commemoration, might be read as a flattening of the hills and valleys—as a move away from a fecund text or representation that has a shadow. Marshall in fact argues that the Hector Pieterson Memorial makes no attempt to develop a uniquely African solution to commemorating the past, and that the largely Western conventionality that it employs partially sanitizes history (ibid., p. 164–5). However, in comparison to the Nzima photograph displayed at the outdoor memorial site, the slightly different Nzima photograph displayed inside the actual museum reveals curatorial strategies that are indeed significantly African in their emphasis on oral history. Further, these strategies do allow for chiaroscuro, for the nuanced light and shade that develops from the incorporation of personal testimonies. As the viewer moves from the outside memorial to the carefully constructed inside display, it seems as if she is ushered from a generic use of the Nzima photograph that triggers commemoration in a national and international audience, to a more intimately informed use of the photograph that points towards local narratives and counter-narratives.

12 The ceramic memorial by Johannes Phokela that is dedicated to Tsietsi Mashinini was unveiled at the June 16 Memorial Acre on the 30th anniversary of the Soweto Uprisings. The memorial is shaped like an exercise book and the grouting between the tiles represents the lines on the pages. The book refers not only to the central role that the fight for education played in the uprisings, but, being open, it also suggests a willingness to accommodate the many counter-narratives of June 16.
PHOTO: RUTH KERKHAM SIMBAO, SEPTEMBER 13, 2006

13 By allowing the San Nzima photograph to recede behind one of Mashinini’s speeches, artist Johannes Phokela astutely demonstrates how this iconic photograph can be interpreted in light of other counter-narratives without being erased itself.
PHOTO: RUTH KERKHAM SIMBAO, JUNE 16, 2006
ORAL TESTIMONY AND COUNTER-NARRATIVES

Inside the museum, a marginally dissimilar Nzima photograph (Fig. 9) is displayed upstairs in a section titled “Eyewitness Accounts.” Due to the fact that the photograph is less cropped than the other version, the full shadows cast by the trio are discernible, and the crowd of people visible in the background makes the key figures less dominant (and perhaps less iconic), placing them amidst a multiplicity of experiences. On a wall adjacent to the Nzima photograph three portraits are displayed—two still photography portrayals of Mbuyisa Makhubu and a young boy, Hastings Ndlovu, and a video portrayal of a high school student, Tsietsi Mashinini. It seems apparent that these portraits have been very carefully juxtaposed with the Nzima photograph, and as Darren Newbury (2005:274-5) writes, were it not for Nzima's photograph, the entire museum would not have taken the form that it does. A careful reading of the juxtaposition of these portraits and oral histories with the Nzima photograph reveals remembrance as a contested activity (Ndlovu 1998:50). As Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu states in his book The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-memories of June 1976, “democracy entails an ongoing tension between retaining affirmed shared memories and preserving the possibility that such memories can be open to contestation. In other words,” he says, “most democrats cherish rather than dismiss, the practice of counter-memories” (ibid., p. 54). In a more recent book that commemorates the thirtieth anniversary, Ndlovu together with Hlongwane and Mutloatse (2006:1) writes,

To explore memory across generations is to explore the social relationships through which people build their politics of memory, identity and cultural expression. Hence all memory, whether collective or individual, is by nature selective and changeable. It is constantly evolving as a result of acts of remembering, forgetting or suppression ... The portraits juxtaposed with the Sam Nzima photograph point towards such moments of remembering forgetting and even silencing, allowing astute viewers to recognize the chiaroscuro of the portrayed events.

Hector Pieterse, who was immediately memorialized by Sam Nzima's photograph, became known as the first victim of the Soweto Uprisings. This popular memory was clearly driven by the fact that the Nzima photograph appeared on the front page of the World newspaper and that it became so widely recognized as an iconic symbol of the liberation struggle. However, breaking away from this homogenized understanding of the sequence of events, oral testimonies suggest that, in fact, Hector Pieterse was not the first student to be killed. Rather, Hastings Ndlovu was the first student to be killed. Furthermore, he was the first student to be shot deliberately. (Hastings was apparently singled out by the police as he was viewed as an agitator [Hlongwane, Ndlovu and Mutloatse 2006:69], whereas Hector was accidentally killed by a stray bullet.) While captions to the Sam Nzima photograph often include the “fact” that Hector Pieterse was the first child to be killed on this day, ontologically there is nothing in this documentary photograph that supports such an idea. Njabulo Nkoyane suggests "that is it a common thread in people's history that ... people make claims and after a while these claims become a reality and everybody accepts that as a truth" (Ndlovu 1998:44).

In a Sowetan newspaper article titled "New Book Dispels Myths about June 16 Uprisings," Zikhona Ntsangani discusses the launch of the Hlongwane, Ndlovu, and Mutloatse book and cites PAC member Thami ka Plaatjie as saying:
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Further, the Memorial and Museum must change its name did not actually appear in the speeches at the book launch, but was rather a personal comment picked up by the journalist. As the curator of the museum, Ali Hlongwane, confirms, there have been no serious conversations about a name change, and recognizing the contradictory "truths" that exist, he strategically emphasizes the role of oral history in keeping the museum alive. Instead of shutting down stories that might contradict current museum display, Hlongwane's approach is to keep the museum open to new versions of memory and memorialization, and to incorporate histories that might previously have been forgotten or suppressed.18 Hence the juxtaposition of the Hastings Ndlovu and Hector Pieterson photographs. Further, two samples of guns similar to those used by the police on June 16, are displayed in this space. With pertinent curatorial precision, the guns point towards Hastings Ndlovu and not towards Hector Pieterson, symbolically reinforcing the more recently acknowledged fact that Hastings was deliberately shot in the head. The careful placing of Hastings's portrait, the guns, and the Nzima photograph seems to subtly suggest that it is precisely due to Nzima's photograph that Hastings's death was, at least publicly, overlooked.

Next to the portrait of Hastings Ndlovu is a portrait of Mbuyisa Makhubu, the young man in Nzima's photograph who is often referred to as Hector Pieterson's friend. Makhubu, however, had never met Hector before, and the literature on the Soweto Uprisings discloses little about him, for he too disappeared after June 16. As his mother reveals, the police carried a copy of Sam Nzima's photograph with them, asking Soweto residents if they had seen Mbuyisa or knew of his whereabouts (Hlongwane, Ndlovu, and Mutloatse 2006:73). Contrary to police suspicion, Mbuyisa was neither involved in any political organization, nor in the student march itself, as he had in fact matriculated the previous year (ibid., p. 74). His inauspicious appearance in the Nzima photograph directly resulted in his disappearance. As his mother claims,

By picking up Hector Pieterson and having ... [this action] blown up on the front pages of the newspapers, he had exposed the apartheid regime, showing that it was turning innocent children into cannon fodder. We will not know what would have happened to Mbuyisa had that photo not been taken of him and Hector Pieterson (ibid., p. 75).

Mbuyisa's mother knows that her son fled to Botswana and that he then went into exile in Nigeria, but she has not heard from him since 1978 and suspects that he was killed by the South African police of the apartheid regime (ibid.). Some people speculate that he actually left Nigeria and moved to Jamaica, and is therefore possibly still alive.19 Responding to the silent and in many ways unknown memory of Mbuyisa, Feizel Mamdo produced a documentary video titled "What Happened to Mbuyisa?" (1998) which pieces together various speculative interviews but offers few answers. One Soweto resident who experienced many family members going into exile suggested to me that it is quite plausible that it was the ANC, not the apartheid regime, that killed Mbuyisa. According to her, Mbuyisa's gentle personality and his strong desire to return home probably resulted in the ANC's realization that, as an exile who did not want to accept ANC guerilla training, Mbuyisa would pose a threat to ANC strategies and secrets if he returned to South Africa.20

Attempts to both trace and speculate about Mbuyisa's life (and his possible death) deepen the shadow that trails behind Sithole, Pieterson, and Makhubu. Poignantly, this shadow does not elude the attention of today's youth. In 2002 artist Tshepo Ramutumbu founded an art school for local children in a building across the road from the Hector Pieterson memorial. The group of young, volunteer teachers decided to name the school the Mbuyisa School of Arts and Culture, deliberately opening up the memorialization that visually surrounds them at this particular location. In commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Soweto Uprisings, one of the young teachers, Sabelo Mgenge, produced a drawing based on Sam Nzima's photograph that focuses on a
dreadlocked Makhubu (Fig. 10). According to Mgenge, this figure not only represents the possibility that Makhubu is alive and is living in Jamaica, but also represents Ramutumbu, the founder of the art school, who, he says, demonstrates a comparable compassion for children.21

The third portrait that is juxtaposed with the Nzima photograph is a video portrayal of Tsietsi Mashinini, whose level of involvement in the Uprisings is highly contested. While Mashabele writes that, “the plan for the march ... began with Tsietsi Mashinini at the helm” (2006:33), Sifiso Ndlovu insists that older high school students had nothing to do with the early planning of the uprisings as it was only the younger students who were forced to use Afrikaans as a language of instruction. “Therefore, like the Tsietsies of those early days, they simply went on with their studies in March, April, May and early June 1976 without questioning the status quo” (1998:15). Further, Ndlovu writes,

Historical fiction films such as Sarafina and Cry Freedom and other media wrongly assume that the students of Morris Isaacson High School in Central Western Jabavu played a crucial role in events leading up to 16 June 1976. This is because the dominant leaders of the Soweto Student’s Representative Council (SSRC) were from this high school including its first president Tsietsi Mashinini. This representation is not correct. The SSRC was formed early in August 1976, one and a half months after the actual day of protest in June. Therefore its formation was influenced by the events that took place before and after 16 June 1976 (ibid., pp. 15, 17).

In short, Ndlovu argues (ibid., p. 46) that the efforts of young, ordinary students who were not involved in any political organizations were subsumed under dominant liberation theories and movements of that particular time. In contrast, Alan Brooks and Jeremy Brickhill (1986:91) contend, in their book Whirlwind Before the Storm, that the SSRC grew out of the South African Students Movement (SASM), which, through an Action Committee that Mashinini was a part of (but did not lead),22 was directly involved in organizing the demonstration of June 16. After the Uprisings Tsietsi Mashinini was sought after by the police and a mural inside the Regina Mundi Church depicts him dressed up as a woman. This was apparently one of his tactics of disguise before he decided to flee South Africa and go into exile in Botswana and later West Africa, where he died in 1990.

By placing portraits of Pieterson, Mashinini, Ndlovu, and Makhubu side by side, and by including a number of different and at times seemingly contradictory oral testimonies, the curators deliberately create a space of contested counternarratives. This strategy shifts the Sam Nzima photograph, which is still central to the display, away from a homogenous account of events, to an arguably more realistic account that accepts the complex multiplicity of the activities that led up to June 16 as well as the confusing events of the actual day. Moving beyond museum display, these multivocal responses to the Uprisings came alive at the thirtieth anniversary in June 2006.

THE REANIMATING PERFORMANCES OF THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY MARCH

On the morning of June 16, 2006, a 10km march took place, which started at Morris Isaacson High School in Central Western Jabavu and ended at the Hector Pieterson Memorial in Orlando West. At the point where the march started, a new public artwork dedicated to Tsietsi Mashinini was unveiled at the park (renamed the June 16 Memorial Acre) across the road from Morris Isaacson. (Not all the artworks were completed in time for the thirtieth anniversary, and three sculptures have since been added, one of which depicts a schoolgirl holding up the sign, “Away with Afrikaans”—the same sign that Antonette Sithole says she was carrying (Fig. 11; Sowetan 2006b). Designed by the London-based former Soweto artist Johannes Phokela, the ceramic, wall-like memorial depicts an open exercise book, and the grouting between the tiles represents the lines on the pages.

17 During the 30th anniversary march a group of young people spontaneously animated the Hector Pieterson photograph by acting out the 1976 events that were captured by Nzima. This performance took place outside the Hector Pietersen Memorial and the group marched to the family home of Mbuyisa Makhubu, registering the negligible recognition that Makhubu has received.

PHOTO: RUTH KERKHAM SIMBAO, JUNE 16, 2006

18 Raul Makhubu, the brother of Mbuyisa Makhubu, used a detail of Sam Nzima’s photograph to make a placard that he carried around during the official commemorations on June 16, 2006, in protest of the silence that surrounds Mbuyisa’s disappearance and possible death.

PHOTO: NEO NTOMA, COURTESY OF THE SATURDAY STAR
maponyane/mashinini's uprisings

19 Commemorations of June 16 have been incorporated into "struggle chic" by South Africa's "born-frees." Cartoon by James Durno.

PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE SUNDAY TIMES

20 At the time of the Youth Day commemorations many South Africans from different age groups debated how today's youth should observe June 16. Referencing Sam Nzima's photograph, this cartoon by Sifiso Yalo aptly portrays the key question of the debate: Should the youth solemnly commemorate those who lost their lives on June 16, 1976, or should they be allowed to heedlessly celebrate their freedom by partying?

PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE SOWETAN

(Fig. 12). While the exercise book obviously refers to the central role that the fight for education played in the Soweto Uprisings, the fact that the book is open could also be interpreted as a gesture towards accepting the various narratives and counternarratives regarding this event. The photographic montage focuses on an animated Mashinini who is depicted in various poses as he presents speeches to other students. A plaque behind the sculpture announces that, "At 8 AM on June 16, 1976 Tsitsi Mashinini interrupted the school assembly to lead the first group of students out of the gates and on the march that started the Soweto Uprisings ..."23 This emphasis on Mashinini instigating the 'first' group of students is contested by some.24 However, this artwork as being a long-overdue formal commemoration of Mashinini's prominent role.

Despite these contestations, though, the ceramic artwork dedicated to Mashinini does not attempt to erase other narratives: Receding behind one of Mashinini's speeches is a sketchy portrayal of Sam Nzima's photograph (Fig. 13). In this artwork, Johannes Phokela astutely portrays this well-known photograph as retreating into the shadows of other counternarratives, whilst still being a significant part of June 16 commemorations. A few days before the official commemorations, Nelson Mandela went to visit the Mashinini family and both Madiba and the Mashininis were presented with a small, bronze replica of the Sam Nzima photograph. Artists Kobus Hattingh and Jacob Maponyane molded the statue using computer graphics from the Nzima photograph, and there is apparently talk of a similar, life-size statue being erected somewhere in Soweto, possibly near the Hector Pieterse Memorial site (Tshiesla 2006).

After the unveiling of the Mashinini memorial, President Thabo Mbeki led the march—marked by a discreet, yet ominous police presence—towards Orlando West, tracing the steps of the students of 1976. About halfway, the participants stopped at Mofolo Bridge for a moment of silence, as this was the place where Mashinini is reported to have addressed a large group of students. During the march, Sam Nzima's photograph was still very present, as it had been printed onto the official Youth Day posters,25 which were carried by some of the youth, recalling the way that 1976 students marched with protest placards (Fig. 14). Nzima's photograph had also been printed onto the marshals' badges (Fig. 15) and T-shirts. Some adult participants, who had been part of the 1976 march, wore their old school uniforms or school ties, as well as 1980s protest T-shirts displaying the photograph of Hector Pieterse, while others wore thirtieth anniversary T-shirts depicting Tsietsi Mashinini (Fig. 16). At the Hector Pieterse Memorial and Museum, wreaths were laid at granite the memorial stone and a few speeches were presented. Once all the dignitaries and media had left for the FNB stadium where the large Youth Day events—including a kwaito concert and the president's speech—were to take place, a remarkable and spontaneous fringe performance occurred, reigniting Sam Nzima's photograph.

A group of young people started to march around the Hector Pieterse Memorial, holding up the Youth Day posters as they sang, danced, and raised their fists. Suddenly a few of them grouped together and began to act out the Sam Nzima photograph as they continued to march (Fig. 17). A young man picked up a small boy and carried him in his arms, as if the child were the dying Hector Pieterse. An older woman dressed in a school uniform ran alongside, as if she were Hector's sister, Antionette. Every now and then, the actors would rotate, and a different child would be picked up. The group made its way around the
Hector Pieterson Memorial and then went to dance and sing outside Mbuyisa Makhubu’s family home, before completing the circle around the museum. As such, the group not only honored Hector Pieterson by animating his photograph, but also seemed to recognize the silence in this image—that is, the gap of knowledge about Makhubu’s whereabouts. This small march continued for about half an hour. It was both a serious and a joyful event that demonstrated the ease with which these young people were able to not only recall historical events, but also redefine them on their own terms. By turning the two-dimensional photograph into an actual three-dimensional performance, the youth brought alive the shadow, opening up a space for the narratives and counter-narratives of their own generation.

In her notable book History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa, Annie E. Coombes discusses the visibility and potential invisibility of monuments, arguing that whether or not a monument is noticed is "entirely contingent upon the debates concerning the reinterpretation of history that take place at moments of social and political transition.” Further, she writes, "My contention is that monuments are animated and reanimated only through performance and that performances or rituals focused around a monument are conjunctural” (Coombes 2003:12). Although Coombes is referring specifically to tangible monuments—she discusses in length, for example, the highly contentious Voortrekker Monument—I submit that the iconic photograph of Hector Pieterson is similarly animated and reanimated through performance. During the 1980s when culture was, for better or for worse, viewed as a weapon of the liberation struggle, Nzima’s photograph was animated through performance as it was carried through the streets on protest posters or T-shirts. Since then, the debate surrounding the reinterpretation of the historical events of June 16 has sparked a reanimation of this photograph, and the actual acting out of this image at the thirtieth anniversary epitomizes this dynamic "translation”. According to Coombes (ibid., p. 37), when a monument is reanimated, an active process of "translation" occurs, in the sense, she says, of Gayatri Spivak’s “reader as translator.” This photograph, then, is being translated from the language of the liberation struggle to a still-emerging language of a democratic society, and this process points to the fact that, as Dennis Gibbon suggests, a memorial (and I would add, the process of memorialization) is a "living thing."

During the commemorations at the Hector Pieterson Memorial the Sam Nzima photograph was performed in yet another way. Raul Makhubu, Mbuyisa Makhubu’s brother, staged his own protest by shouting out Mbuyisa’s name as he raised a clenched fist and held up a placard with the cropped portrait of Mbuyisa taken from the Nzima photograph (Fig. 18). The portrait and accompanying words “What happened to Mbuyisa?” created a form that looked like an open book, recalling Johannes Phokela’s memorial dedicated to Tsietsi Mashinini, similarly bringing to mind the notion that a chapter in history, and the personal effects that this had on an individual’s life, has not yet been closed.

The various marches and rallies that took place all over the country on the thirtieth anniversary could be viewed as performances that were reanimating different interpretations or “translations” of the events of June 16. Certainly, on the political stage, it seemed as if commemorations were being advantageously turned into political currency, reflecting Max du Preez’s assertion that in the past ten years, June 16 commemorations have become ANC or PAC political rallies (du Preez 2006:20). The media harped on the fact that Jacob Zuma did not attend the official event with Thabo Mbeki, but held a separate rally at Durban’s Absa Stadium, causing some to assert that this was the launch of his presidential campaign (Papayya and Mdletshe 2006). This vying of political aspirations reflects earlier struggles between

21 The photograph of Hector, Mbuyisa, and Antionette that became almost synonymous with the liberation struggle was reworked by the artist Jonathan Shapiro to suggest that the new struggle for today’s youth is HIV/AIDS.

PHOTO: COURTESY OF ZAPIRO AND THE STAR
different liberation movements; struggles that, Sifiso Ndlovu suggests, overshadowed the grassroots efforts of the young students themselves. As he writes, "Every year, prior to the commemoration of 16 June 1976, one becomes aware of the dogfight between various liberation movements clamoring and posturing for recognition as champions of the uprisings. This is because this day is recognized as the most important turning point in our country's history" (Ndlovu 1998:50).

This scramble for visibility in relation to both the initial events and the performances of commemoration is also reflected in the proliferation and at times commodification of June 16 "souvenirs." Souvenirs are usually viewed as cheap, kitsch mementos that superficially represent a relatively fleeting experience. A visitor with little connection to or knowledge of June 16 can, for example, go to the Hector Pietersen Museum and walk away with a lapel pin that displays a tiny version of Sam Nzima's photograph. However, the wearing of lapel pins and T-shirts and the sale of, for example, "souvenir" postcards becomes complex when these objects are worn or sold by someone directly involved in the June 16 events. Mbuyisa Makhubu's mother apparently used to sit outside the Hector Pietersen Museum selling postcards of the Nzima photograph. While many visitors enjoyed listening to her personal stories of her son, others accused her of exploiting the memory of Mbuyisa. Similarly, when Sithole was once traveling overseas, a Dutch man saw that she was carrying postcards of the Nzima photograph, and he angrily accused her of turning a tragic event into a commercial endeavor.

Paraphernalia related to June 16, and in particular to the image of the dying Hector Pietersen, has become quite controversial, but should not, I submit, simply be disregarded as exploitative commodification, without a consideration of the way objects are animated through performance. The wearing of a Hector Pietersen or Tsietsi Mashinini T-shirt today needs to be interpreted in light of South Africa's history of protest T-shirts during the liberation struggle. Rather than dismissing contemporary commemorative designs as uninformed manipulation of the past, it is important to consider how they have been taken up by today's youth as tools to reinterpret the fight against apartheid by previous generations. Current urban "born-frees" creatively perform their own reanimations of the past—even if, to some, this past appears to be relatively remote.

**URBAN "BORN-FREES" IN THE SHADOW OF JUNE 16**

Contemporary T-shirts depicting past political heroes—often referred to as "struggle chic"—register a pertinent reanimation of the liberation struggle by the "born-free" generation. Significantly, contemporary fashion in South Africa has shifted away from an emulation of European design, and "Afro Chic" produced by designers such as Stoned Cherrie, Black Coffee, Craig Native, and Sun Goddess have taken precedent. As Fashion Week organizer Dion Chang suggests, "Ten years into democracy there's a whole new generation who want to believe in South Africa and want to wear clothes that have a sense of where they come from, so we've stopped copying Europe and America." He maintains that wearing a Stoned Cherrie shirt, for example, makes a strong statement about one's understanding of one's heritage.

When designer Zuza Mbatha saw Stoned Cherrie's design of the Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko on a T-shirt, as well as the many Che Guevara T-shirts, he decided to produce a line of clothing related to the memory of Hector Pietersen. Joining up with Tshepo Moropa and Hector's half-sister Sina Molefi, he formed Abasha Creations—a clothing label that produced T-shirts, caps, and t-shirts that either displayed the Sam Nzima photograph or used text to refer to the Uprisings and to Hector Pietersen (Fig. 19). One of the T-shirts that the fashion trio designed displayed a fictitious version of Hector's report card, demonstrating high marks in all subjects except for the much-hated Afrikaans.

As a *Sunday Times* article titled "White Slick Rick" points out, the wearing of "Afro chic" and "struggle chic" is not constrained by old categorizations of race. Bongani Madondo writes about the cartoon character Rick, a white, "blue-eyed nigga" (Madondo 2006) who wears parachute-sized denims with a waistband fastened at the knees and a sweater with a huge "76" on it, referring to the 1976 Uprisings (Fig. 19). Humorously, Madondo responds...
to Ricky, whose "pals are black, boys rebelling against BEE-li-llionaire dads" by saying, "I felt out of it, very Wasp, too white, as though Rickyboy stole my soul" (Ibid.). Designer Craig Native asserts that his Afro-inspired razorcut denims and other designs are not made with issues of race in mind. As he says,

[1] If the events of 16 June 1976—or any race-related event for that matter—inspire me in any way, it's that we can't show bias to any race or minority group. It's just wrong, and it's in this line of thinking that I design my garments. I don't individualize them for blacks, colord, whites, Indians, foreigners or anyone—my target market is universal" (Winter 2006).

Craig Native's interview appeared in the June 2006 Umsobomvu Youth Magazine that featured a number of designers and singers who were inspired by the June 16 events. The front cover of the magazine featured a photograph of a ramp model carrying a protest placard and wearing a T-shirt with the words "The 1976 Uprising".

While some "born-frees" are creatively incorporating June 16 narratives into urban fashion trends, many adults regard this younger generation as being uninterested in earnestly commemorating the past. Building up to the thirtieth anniversary of June 16, the media presented a number of debates considering how today's South African youth should commemorate this important day. On June 16, the Sowetan produced a front-page feature on this topic with the headline "Lest We Forget" and a Yalo cartoon based on Sam Nzima's photograph (Fig. 20). The cartoon portrayed two versions of the photograph: Mbuyisa, Hector, and Antionette in 1976, as well as an imagined version of this trio as they might have looked and behaved in 2006. Three days later The Sunday Times reproduced a small version of the entire Sowetan front page, describing the Yalo cartoon as follows:

The Pietersen figure has been replaced by a vrot, dreadlocked sod still clutching a bottle. The school uniform has gone, too. In its place, trendy jeans and red sneakers. The well-binged man cradling him in his arms has a cigarette in his mouth. His worker's overalls have been replaced by trendy dungarees and some outrageous jewelry, and he has a rather skollie-looking cap on his head. He's telling the tarted-up babe to his right, "He's passed out again" (Donaldson 2006:2).

In the Sowetan newspaper where the cartoon originally appeared, the caricature was used by the editor to reflect upon three perspectives in the current debate: 1) the youth should somberly commemorate those who died for their freedom, 2) the youth should happily celebrate the freedom they have won, and 3) the youth should stop being hung up about the past and should "get down and party" (Sowetan 2006a). At the end of the article, the Sowetan editor implored the youth not to opt for the third choice—to "get down and party"—arguing that a celebratory tone would be as absurd as if Jews annually celebrated the Holocaust.

The Sunday Times response, however, was a lot more flippant, clearly advocating the desire to revel in the festivities of a public holiday. As Andrew Donaldson writes,

And why not? Better hungover tomorrow than hung up about yesterday... For what is freedom if we cannot enjoy ourselves, eh? What is freedom if we cannot test its limitations and boundaries with some damn drunken behavior? Clearly then the thing to do is get down and party. Way down (Donaldson 2006:2).

Significantly the Hector Pietersen photograph forms the centerpiece of this debate, as it is reanimated into a contemporary scene of designer jeans and sunglasses. On the same day another cartoon appeared in The Star newspaper that also directly related to the Sam Nzima photograph (Fig. 22). The well-known cartoonist Zapiro depicted Mbuyisa, Antionette, and Hector as they looked in 1976, the only difference being the HIV/AIDS T-shirt that was worn by Pietersen. The cartoon was titled "The New Struggle" and was accompanied by the article "The Youth and Aids Challenge" by the premier of North West Province, Edna Molewa. Molewa acknowledges that, being in the wake of struggle icons such as Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada, and Mbeki, it is very challenging for a new generation to discover, define, and act upon its own mission (Molewa 2006). However, she appeals to the youth to take a revolutionary stand against HIV/AIDS and gender violence.

In 2002 the French artist Ernest Pignon-Ernest similarly translated the Nzima photograph in terms of HIV/AIDS. He drew a larger-than-life image of a woman—who replaces Mbuyisa Makhubu—carrying the wizt body of a young adult male (Figs. 23–24). Titled Pietà for the AIDS Generation, this striking image draws profoundly from the Nzima photograph and, through the title, evokes Kevin Brand's installation and captures the breathtaking blow of a new catastrophe that remorselessly adds to the suffering of apartheid. Unlike the figures in Sam Nzima and Kevin Brand's images, the figures in Pignon-Ernest's Pietà do not run. No longer faced with the barrel of a gun, the obvious enemy has been diffused, bewildering the notion of whom one should be running away from. This woman of Marian sorrow stands with her feet planted firmly, displaying the courage to stand her ground in the face of distress. The shadow in this image no longer trails behind moving figures, but lingers around the duo like a thick, dark mist, suggesting that they are already in the shadow of death.

Pietà for the AIDS Generation was produced in collaboration with Jan Jordan and students from the Printmaking Department of the Durban Institute of Technology. The drawing was commercially reproduced and more than one hundred images were displayed around the market and Warwick Triangle of Durban and in Diepkloof, Soweto. With poignantly altered reiteration, Nzima's image once again became a mass-produced poster, evoking the numerous protest posters of the 1980s. This time, however, the posters were not torn down from street poles in acts of censorship, but were instead embraced by the communities in which they appeared (Fig. 24). Virginia MacKenney describes local responses in an Arthrob review:

Pietà-like, the image lacks the didactic nature of so much AIDS awareness visual material. Without text the image is non-prescriptive and speaks of suffering and care in the broadest sense while specifically locating itself in the South African context. Already the local inhabitants of the area have begun to claim the image, some moving their goods so it is more visible, others inscribing "June 16" on it.

A detail of the Nzima photograph appears in the top left corner of the poster, a strategy that Pignon-Ernest uses in much of his work. In this detail, the camera focuses on Mbuyisa Makhubu and Hector Pietersen, leaving Antionette Sithole out of the picture. As if refuting this omission she seems to reappear as the
central figure of the drawing, although the woman in the new "pietà" is not limited to the specific or the singular. Pignon-Ernest claims that this woman could be any mother, sister, or girlfriend, and that his decision to change the male figure to a woman resulted from conversations that he had with a Durban hospital where he was repeatedly told that women were the ones who would solve the problem of HIV/AIDS.

From documentary photograph, protest material, commemorative stone, and museum paraphernalia to designer clothes, the fashion ramp, and site-specific artwork, Sam Nzima's iconic photograph of Hector Pieterson has been reanimated in a number of different ways over the last thirty years. Each rearticulation of this well-known image-be it through two-dimensional design or three-dimensional performance-leaves a shadow behind it, revealing the depth of this powerful image that enables it to accommodate a multiplicity of narratives. Far from relying on an ontological documentary core, the meaning of the photograph subtly changes with different uses, not destroying, but rather building upon other interpretations, creating a fecund, multilingual "translation" or palimpsest.

At the end of the thirtieth anniversary commemorations, when most of the Youth Day posters had been taken down from the street poles, one poster remained that seemed to sum up the supple shifts that the Nzimakaho photograph registers. A handwritten notice had been plastered over a portion of the Hector Pieterson photograph, and the text, which echoes Winnie Mandela's notorious statement, "One Setter One Bullet," subversively went beyond the militant tone of the liberation struggle, marking its relevance for a new generation. This contemporary palimpsest hanging at the corner street of the Hector Pieterson Memorial read as follows:

Each one teach one
One textbook one student
One computer one student
One round one condom
No condom no sex
From intention to action
Amanda ewethu!

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Notes
This paper is dedicated to Nomusa Makhubu, one of my students in the Fine Arts Department at Rhodes University, who is a cousin to Mbuyisa Makhubu. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Boston Museum of Fine Art in 2002 and the College Art Association conference in New York, 2003, and a recent version was presented at the South African Association of Art Historians conference at the Vaal University of Technology. Funding for research conducted in 2006 was provided by the Joint Research Council of Rhodes University, South Africa. I would like to thank the following people who facilitated my research: Ali Hlongwane (director of the Hector Pieterson Museum), Babawwa Ramncwcu (archivist at the Hector Pieterson Museum), Nombeke Bwasa (my host in Orlando West), Tshoep Ramutumutu (director of the Mbuyisa School of Arts and Culture), Gregory Magoma (Vupani Dance Theatre), Robin Kelsey (Department of History of Art and Architecture, Harvard University), Ivy Owen (Department of Anthropology, Rhodes University) and Monique Pelser (Department of Fine Art, Rhodes University).

1 Antoinette Pieterson has since married and her name is now Antoinette Sithole. The family's surname was originally Pino, but was changed to sound more "Colored" as the enforced apartheid system of racial classification gave a few more rights to "Colored" people than "Black" people.

2 In the World (February 13, 1976) a teacher is cited as saying, "You just look at the Junior Certificate and matriculation results and you don't have to look far to realize that Afrikani is the killer subject."

3 The first estimate comes from Rand Daily Mail, June 17, 1976; at the Hector Pieterson Memorial in Orlando West there is a plaque on a large rock in the "garden of contemplation" that suggests that 15,000 students participated in this march.

4 There are two very similar frames that show Makhubu carrying Hector Pieterson, and both of these have been used as protest icons. The other frames show Makhubu putting Pieterson into Sophie Temba's car.

5 After the World newspaper was banned in 1975, it was resurrected as the Post, which was again banned in 1980, and finally it was resurrected as the Sowetan.

6 In 1973 the United Nations had classified apartheid as a crime against humanity, and after the 1976 Uprisings, the UN's Anti-Apartheid Committee summoned the South African government, the African National Congress, and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania to address the event. As Silvio Ndlouvo points out, numerous solidarity movements in the USSR, Europe, Asia, and North and South America responded actively to June 16 (Hlongwane, Ndlouvo, and Mutoatoe 2006:17).

7 Peter Magubane also took many photographs on June 16, 1976, and has since published a number of books and produced various exhibitions based on this work; see, for example, Magubane 1984. In 1986, on the tenth anniversary of June 16, there was a temporary exhibition of photographs by Peter Magubane and other photographers on the site where the Hector Pieterson Museum stands today. The photographs were displayed in metal containers. In 2000 he organized an exhibition of photographs from the Soweto Uprisings at the Port Elizabeth Metropolitan Museum titled "Never Never Again." In 2006 Magubane's exhibition "Witness to 1976" was held at the Apartheid Museum in commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary.

8 According to Lucille Dave (2001) Sam Nzima was given copyright of these images in 1999 when the Independent Group bought the Argus newspapers.

9 In most contemporary media discussions of this photograph, Sam Nzima is acknowledged as the photographer, but there are still instances when his image is used without acknowledgement, such as in the 2006 Youth Day poster.

10 Ingrid de Kok suggests that Sach's call for this ban on this phrase was tongue-in-cheek (de Kok and Press 1990:10).

11 This article discusses the use of the photograph by the artists Kevin Brand and Ernest Pignon-Ernest. Other artists who have referenced this photograph are Rose Kgosse, Alfred Thlova, Siso Kikekane, Senzeni Marzuela (see Richards 2001a). Various artists have also incorporated this work into murals (see Williamson 1989/84).

12 Sabine Marshall (2006:160-61) discusses the difference between a monument and a memorial. While she refers to Arthur C. Danis' suggestion that a monument declares triumphalism and celebration while memorials are about healing and reconciliation, she uses Michael Rowland's assertion that memorials are, in fact, often monuments to show how ambiguous the distinction actually is.

13 Emma Bedford and Tracy Murinin (1998) refer to the site-specific installations on the empty District Six land as being "anti-monumental," as the artworks worked against a vertical, static, and durable aesthetic. Brand's Pieta is, in some ways, still monumental in its size and emotional impact, yet it functions as an anti-monument in its deliberately fragile medium.

14 During the liberation struggle Regina Mundi Church was a safe haven for political discussions that might otherwise have been banned. During the Soweto Uprisings, some Soweto residents who had gone to the Regina Mundi Church were attacked by the police. Bullets destroyed many of the church windows, and the marble altar that was broken during this attack remains damaged as a reminder of the way that worshipers were attacked.

15 I interviewed a number of people who worked nearby this memorial, such as tour guides and sales people, and they all interpreted the conventional symbols of commemoration in very similar ways. Most probably tour guides have been trained to say certain things about the memorial, and people who work at the outdoor market nearby have heard the speeches presented to tourists many times.

16 Personal conversation, Orlando West, June 14, 2006.

17 In a Drum magazine article titled "Abermuth of the Riots," Hector Pieterson is described as the "first victim in the 'War of the Young'" (1976:13). In a discussion of Kevin Brand's Pieta, Sue Williamson and Ashraf Jamal (1996:18) also refer to Hector Pieterson as the first black child to be shot by the police on June 16.

18 Personal conversation, Orlando West, June 15, 2006.

19 Various Orlando West residents whom I inter-
viewed suggested this, including the artist Sabelo Mngene (personal conversation, Orlando West, June 13, 2006).

20 Personal conversation with anonymous Orlando West resident, June 14, 2006.

21 According to Mbuzisa Mazhubu’s mother, her son had expressed interest in one day building a home for homeless children, and whenever he heard a child cry he would be the first one to offer comfort (Hlongwane, Ndlovu, and Mutiloasee 2006:75).

22 The chairman of the action committee was T. Motopanye (Brooks and Brickhill 1980:91).

23 The plaque at the back of this sculpture reveals that his artwork is part of the Sunday Times Centenary Heritage Project.

24 Mlungisi Ndale suggests that Morris Isaacson High School was given unfair prominence in the events that led to the Uprisings. “The assertion that it was the sole or the most important role-player,” he says, “should be challenged. It is an unfortunate distortion and it is time to set the record straight” (Ndale 2006:33).

25 The use of Nzima’s photograph on this poster was quite controversial, as apparently no one had asked Nzima for copyright permission.

26 Sabine Marshall (2006:154) discusses Gibbons’ notion of a memorial and how this compares to a monument. Gibbons argues that a memorial is a “living thing”—something that people can relate to in scale and medium (such as natural elements of rocks and water). To Gibbons, a monument is instead very large—something bigger than life—and something cold. As I have pointed out in note 15, Marshall challenges Gibbons’ clear-cut distinction between and monument and a memorial. I agree with Marshall that these two things are often not easily discernible.


29 Ibid.

References cited


