



## SAHS CONFERENCE 2024 PROGRAMME

### WEDNESDAY, 26 JUNE 2024

TIME	B LES 101	B LES 102	B LES 103	B LES 104	C LES 301	C LES 302	C LES 305	C LES 306
08:30 – 13:00	Conference Registration and SAHS Membership Renewal B Les Foyer							
08:30 – 10:30	<p>Opening &amp; Welcome (B Les 101) Dr Faeza Ballim (HoD, Department of History, University of Johannesburg) and Prof Kammila Naidoo (Dean, Humanities, University of Johannesburg)</p> <p>Keynote(s) Chair: Nafisa Essop Sheik (University of Johannesburg)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Khumisho Moguerane (University of Johannesburg)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sarah Emily Duff (Colby College)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Isabel Hofmeyr (University of the Witwatersrand)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pamela Khanakwa (Makerere University)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Sekibakiba Lekgoathi (University of the Witwatersrand)</b></li> </ul>							
10:30 – 10:55	Tea/Coffee B Les Foyer							
10:55 – 12:55	Panel 121 <i>Homelands, apartheid and transition in South Africa</i> Chair: Laura Phillips  Lucas Mangope and Setswana Nationalism, 1961-1994 <b>Mojuta Motlhamme</b>	Panel 122 <i>Race, research and history writing in South Africa</i> Chair: Isabel Hofmeyr  Black Researchers, Legal Knowledge, and the Ethnological Project	Panel 123 <i>History and biography from Zimbabwe I</i> Chair: Geraldine Sibanda  The Life History of Jackson Phiri: Migrant Musician from Malawi	Panel 124 <i>Doctors, Writers, and Traditional Leaders of KwaZulu-Natal I</i> Chair: Muziwandile Hadebe  An Academic in Exile: Political Friendships and the Gang of Eight	Panel 125 <i>Families in crisis?</i> Chair: Sarah Emily Duff  NT: Contraception and decline in fertility among Xhosa women <b>Zola Mbinda</b>	Panel 126 <i>Curing crisis? Medicinal consumption and treatment regimes in Africa I</i> Chair: Annell Daries  WNLA's Yellow Fever vaccine roll-outs, 1941-1960 <b>Refilwe Raphadu</b>	Panel 127 <i>Justice, law and inheritance in southern Africa</i> Chair: Erin Hazan  African cosmology, Superstition and Justice in Southern Rhodesia c.1890-1937	Panel 128 <i>Children, labour and emancipation in the Cape colony</i> Chair: Chris Holdridge  Adult children of bondage: Recaptured African 'childhoods' and labour at the

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<p>Bantustans' Independence and International Recognition: Bophuthatswana's Advancement into a Nation-State, 1977-1992 <b>Keabaka Tsholo</b></p> <p>The ANC and the Homelands in Transition, 1990-1994 <b>Hilary Lynd</b></p> <p>Equal but unequal, remembering the days of Bophuthatswana in the Temba Hammanskraal Region <b>Amanda Mangena</b></p>	<p><b>Elizabeth Thornberry</b></p> <p>Architectures of Race in South Africa: Bantu Studies, and the teaching of Bantu Philology at UCT and SOAS, 1916-1928 <b>Abdud Badroodien</b></p> <p>History at the Precipice Once Before: Reevaluating JH Soga as a historian in his time <b>Cynthia Kros</b></p> <p>They Were Researcher's Too! Black Women in Social Research in Apartheid South Africa <b>Sibusisiwe Nxongo</b></p>	<p><b>Zoe Groves and Ushehwedu Kufakurinani</b></p> <p>Exhuming Ndabaningi Sithole's fossilised history – Mnangagwa's political (own) goal <b>Alexander Rusero</b></p> <p>Hustlers, politics and society: Masango Matambanadzo and Zimbabwe's chronic crisis <b>Lotti Nkomo</b></p> <p>Lovemore Madhuku and the NCA's Struggle for Constitutional Reforms in Zimbabwe at the Turn of the Millennium <b>Tinashe Munyarari</b></p>	<p><b>Jill Kelly</b></p> <p>Mazisi Kunene: History is About Writing Timeless Masterpieces <b>Sandile Ngidi</b></p> <p>Reflections, reexamination and reimagining home from exile in Ngubane's Ushaba: The Challenge to Blood River <b>Sbonelo Radebe</b></p>	<p>The 'Developing' Subject: Re-reading the Theron Commission Report, 1960-1976 <b>Janeke Thumbran</b></p> <p>'Mom's Move for Justice Movement': Mothers Against Gangsterism in the Cape Flats, c. 1960-2024 <b>Micah Dyerer</b></p> <p>United or Broken Family: Of Labour migrant Returnees and the Family Unit in Botswana, c.1970 to the Present <b>Unaludo Sechele</b></p>	<p>Prescribing places: pharmaceutical provision and consumption in the changing urban landscape of Johannesburg, 1894-1939 <b>Alexandra Stone</b></p> <p>Anahaemin, Penicillin and Marmite for "African anaemias"? Clinical trials in Kenya and beyond, 1940s-1950s <b>Perside Ndandu</b></p> <p>Speed to race: Cycling circuits and performance enhancing drugs in apartheid South Africa <b>Peter Swanepoel</b></p>	<p><b>Nyasha Blessed Bushu</b></p> <p>Witchcraft, Chiefs and Healers: The Role of Traditional Leaders in Resolving Witchcraft-Driven Violence in Zimbabwe <b>Samuel Chikowero</b></p> <p>Death and Belongings: A History of Women's Property, Spirits, and Deceased Estates in Southern Rhodesia, 1880–1980 <b>Mellisa Kaliofasi</b></p> <p>Bridges to a better system: crisis histories in the making of post-apartheid property inheritance <b>Maxim Bolt</b></p>	<p>Cape Colony, c.1807 – 1834 <b>Benjamin Crous</b></p> <p>Child runaways as labourers in an emancipation era Cape, 1830-42 <b>Karl Bergemann</b></p> <p>Freedom, agency and childhood in the post-emancipation Cape colony <b>Rebecca Swartz</b></p> <p>Colonial Cape Town and the Indian Ocean World in the Era of Slave Emancipation <b>Wayne Dooling</b></p>
<p>12:55 – 13:40 LUNCH</p>							
<p>Panel 131 <i>South African history and/in images</i> Chair: Neil Parsons</p> <p>Postcard Photographs: Coloniality, Mobility and the Native Spectacle in Eastern Cape Postcards, 1895-1940 <b>Sinoxolo Cossie</b></p>	<p>Panel 132 <i>Land, belonging and the environment in southern Africa</i> Chair: Khumisho Moguerane</p> <p>Survival of the Armed?: Land, Environment, and Conflict in Mafeteng District, Lesotho Since the 1960s <b>Godfrey Hove</b></p>	<p>Panel 133 <i>Monuments and memory in southern Africa and beyond</i> B Les 103 Chair: Cynthia Kros</p> <p>From Rhodes Must Fall in South Africa to Take Down Nelson in Barbados: Heritage, Memory and Monuments <b>Allison Ramsay</b></p>	<p>Panel 134 <i>Histories of women in Zimbabwe</i> Chair: Shokahle Dlamini</p> <p>A Socio-economic History of Women Informal Traders in Harare, Zimbabwe, c.1965-2022 <b>Rumbidzai Chitaukire</b></p>	<p>Panel 135 <i>State-building in the shadow of colonialism and empire</i> Chair: Dineo Skosana</p> <p>The Provisional National Defense Council and Tourism Development 1981-1992 <b>Yobo Opare-Addo</b></p> <p>Apartheid and Worldmaking after</p>	<p>Panel 136 <i>The lion's Pride: More-than-human history for a world in crisis I</i> Chair: Basetsana Tsuwane</p> <p>Killing for survival? Zimbabwe's elephant management policy, c.1965-1990 <b>Eddington Maseya</b></p> <p>Why History Matters in Conservation:</p>	<p>Panel 137 <i>Crime and punishment in South Africa</i> Chair: Elize van Eeden</p> <p>A Grand Scam: Social networks, trust and the Kriem Poni scheme <b>Gita Davids</b></p> <p>Not Until the War is Over: South Africa's Penal Reform</p>	<p>Panel 138 <i>Tradition and change in 20th-century KwaZulu-Natal</i> Chair: Prinisha Badassy</p> <p>Gandhi's Phoenix Settlement: A Journey Through Time, 1904 to 2024 <b>Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie</b></p>

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	<p>May we never lose that sense of humor: Casey Motsisi's Soweto Years <b>Robin K. Crigler</b></p> <p>Ukuhlonipha as a photographic methodology: Bra Andrew Tshabangu's refusal of documentary photography conventions <b>Mzwanele Tshishonga</b></p>	<p>'Until ... we find ways to give more land to the peasants, we are sitting on a time bomb': Land Reform, Peasant Livelihoods and the Environment, c.1992 to 2005 <b>Peter Uledi</b></p> <p>'Belonging to the Land': Strategic Essentialism, and Livelihoods Among the San People of South Africa <b>Nikiwe Lucricia Veshe</b></p>	<p>Memory, Monuments and Mishaps: The Unruly Making of the Women's Living Heritage Monument in South Africa <b>Shireen Hassim</b></p> <p>Different meanings, different values. The preservation of Providential Pass in Masvingo, Zimbabwe <b>Tendai Zihove</b></p>	<p>Gender and war: Tanda women, Nationalism, and the Liberation struggle, 1963-1980 <b>Josphine Nyabiko</b></p> <p>Songs of the soil: Intoning women's participation in Zimbabwe's violent election campaigns <b>Rejoice Mazvirevesa Chipuriro</b></p>	<p>Empire: How race and racism reordered the twentieth century social organisation in Southern Africa. <b>Samukelo Ndlovu</b></p> <p>How the Past Shapes the Future: Historical and Contextual Developments of Botswana Identity <b>Silindile Nanzile Mlilo</b></p>	<p>Conflict and Culture in Human and Elephant Co-Existence <b>Sandra Swart</b></p> <p>Code Crane: the blue crane as a flagship species for modern conservation in South Africa, c. 1990 to 2024 <b>Anna De Villiers</b></p>	<p>Movement and World War 2, 1939-1945 <b>Erin Hazan</b></p> <p>Historical shifts in the South African Security Industry, c. 1980-2020 <b>Jacques Mulder</b></p>	<p>Prince vs Prince: indirect rule and the contestations for the throne of the Zulu Kingdom, 1913 – 1971 <b>Mphumeleli Ngidi</b></p> <p>Investments of late apartheid: International capital and the remaking of a sugar settlement in KwaZulu-Natal, 1968-1996 <b>Bernard Dubbeld</b></p>
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15:10 – 15:35 Tea/Coffee  
B Les Foyer

15:35 – 17:05	<p>Panel 141 <i>Political biography and autobiography in southern Africa</i> Chair: Lindie Koorts</p> <p>Herbert Msane and the ICU, 1920-1930 <b>Thapelo Mokoatsi</b></p> <p>A long walk to Johannesburg: Hastings Kamuzu Banda examined in autobiography <b>Emma Orchardson</b></p> <p>The rise of trade unionism and political activism in Qwaqwa from 1985-1994: A biography of Sarah Moleleki <b>Lerato Mtshengu</b></p>	<p>Panel 142 <i>Mining in South Africa: Past, present and future</i> Chair: Jan-Bart Gewalt</p> <p>Forging the Future: Coal Mining in Mtubatuba, Northern KwaZulu Natal and its Impact on the Local Community, Economy and Ecology, 1960s - 2020 <b>Patrick A. Nyathi</b></p> <p>Negotiating 'survival': Zama-zamas and the diamond mining economy in the Northern Cape Province, South Africa, after 1994</p>	<p>Panel 143 <i>Youth politics and liberation in southern Africa</i> Chair: Tshepo Moloji</p> <p>The origins and ideological orientation of Masupatsela a Walter Sisulu: an influence from the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)? <b>Mohau Soldaat</b></p> <p>Students in (the) Transition: Student Movements and South Africa's Democratic Transition <b>Anne Heffernan</b></p>	<p>Panel 144 <i>Histories of sexuality in southern Africa</i> Chair: Jonathan Botes</p> <p>Universalizing the Particular: Conceptual Frameworks of Rape in the Cape, 17-20th centuries <b>Chet Fransch</b></p> <p>Mozambican men's and boys' sexual relationships in the migrant system in South Africa and Zimbabwe, ca 1870-1950: Re-evaluating the evidence and arguments <b>Marc Epprecht</b></p>	<p>Panel 145 <i>Forests, Oceans and Protest: Reading Worlds of Resistance in the Long Nineteenth-Century</i> Chair: Wayne Dooling</p> <p>Writing Rebellion from the Transnational World of the Nineteenth-Century Cape of Good Hope <b>Nicole Ulrich</b></p> <p>Green Walls and Fynbos Islands: Reading a Forest Archive for Animal and Human Fugitives in the Southern Cape Colony, c. 1856-1922 <b>Craig Paterson</b></p>	<p>Panel 146 <i>The South African war and its consequences</i> Chair: Charl Bignaut</p> <p>Plundering to eat – the Manchester Regiment's experience during the South African War <b>Dawid Mouton</b></p> <p>Social Darwinism and dawning nationalist sentiments among Afrikaners after the Anglo-Boer War: A historical-analytical view of the years 1902-1914 <b>Bronwynn van Tonder</b></p>	<p>Panel 147 <i>Water and infrastructure in South Africa</i> Chair: Faeenza Ballim</p> <p>Linking Disconnected River Basins: The Construction of the Orange-Fish Tunnel <b>Mark Hackney</b></p> <p>Damming (the) evidence: infrastructure development, forced removals and frustrated claims on land <b>Debbie Whelan</b></p>	<p>Panel 148 <i>International anti-apartheid histories: Britain, Canada and New Zealand</i> Chair: Lungelo Ndzimande</p> <p>'There Must be No Interference with the Free Choice of the Consumer': markets, boycotts and anti-apartheid in Thatcher's Britain <b>Rob Skinner</b></p> <p>Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement led by Black Canadians against apartheid <b>Arshad Suliman</b></p>
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## WEDNESDAY, 26 JUNE 2024

		<p><b>Tapiwa Madimu</b></p> <p>Losing the Lustre: The End of Gold in South Africa <b>Duncan Money</b></p>	<p>Youth and ZANU- PF Socialist Politics in Post-Independent Zimbabwe: The Legacy of the Youth Brigade Movement, c.1980-1989 <b>Tinashe Munyarari</b></p>	<p>Youth Problems: Love, Sex, and Youth Culture in Mozambique's Socialism and Democratic Transition, from late 1970s to early 2000s <b>Caio de Araujo</b></p>	<p>Reading for Rocks: Convict Labour and Deep Time in the Cape Colony <b>Chris Holdridge</b></p>	<p>Africans and the Boer migration to Argentina – a revisionist revisitation <b>Johan Wassermann</b></p>		<p>Flour Bombs and Divided Countries: The 1981 Springbok Tour to New Zealand and the Global Anti- Apartheid Movement <b>Derek Charles Catsam</b></p>
<p>17:45 for 18:30</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Book Launch: Neil Roos, <i>Ordinary Whites in Apartheid Society: Social Histories of Accommodation</i> (Wits University Press)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Venue: Love Books, 53 Rustenburg Road, Melville</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Discussants:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dr Stephen Sparks (University of Johannesburg)</li> <li>• Dr Anell Daries (Stellenbosch University)</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>RSVP essential: Sithembile Thusi <a href="mailto:sithembilet@uj.ac.za">sithembilet@uj.ac.za</a></b></p>							

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TIME	B LES 101	B LES 102	B LES 103	B LES 104	C LES 301	C LES 302	C LES 305	C LES 306
08:30 – 13:00	Conference Registration and SAHS Membership Renewal B Les Foyer							
08:30 – 10:30	<p>Panel 211 Book discussion: <i>Morafe - Person, Family and Nation in Colonial Bechuanaland</i> Chair: Khumisho Moguerane</p>	<p>Panel 212 <i>Histories of translation, tradition and governance</i> Chair: Paul Landau</p> <p>Conversion, Classification and Commodification: The role of missionaries in the imperial and colonial project in South Africa during the nineteenth century in the Highveld <b>Mhlangabezi Mbala</b></p> <p>The Marvel in the Sky of the Horn of Africa :1934-1950 <b>Abdirizak Muhumed</b></p> <p>Of agency and purpose: Mapping Xitsonga in written texts <b>N’wa-Phaphama Madali</b></p> <p>Traditional Leadership as a direct and indirect institution in South Africa’s rural development <b>Shaun Jim Seema</b></p>	<p>Panel 213 <i>History and biography from Zimbabwe I</i> Chair: Zoë Groves</p> <p>‘We contributed more than the armed guerrilla fighter’: The lived experiences of a mujibha during the Zimbabwean War of Independence <b>Jephias Dzimbanhete</b></p> <p>Technocrat, International Civil Servant, Liberation War Hero, and Politician - The Many Faces of Bernard Thomas Gibson Chidzero <b>Geraldine Sibanda</b></p> <p>Comrade Magidi: The Life History of a Foot Soldier <b>Fananidzo Muchemwa</b></p> <p>Voices of the Struggle: A Biographical Exploration of the Zimbabwean Liberation War from the Perspectives of a Fighter and a War Collaborator <b>Neil Maheve</b></p>	<p>Panel 214 <i>Curing crisis? Medicinal consumption and treatment regimes in Africa I</i> Chair: Perside Ndandu</p> <p>The Waiting Room Revisited: Medical and Health History in South Africa <b>Catherine Burns</b></p> <p>Lennon’s medicines for babies in Soweto, 1970s-1990s <b>Lebohng Seganoe</b></p> <p>‘Womb healing’: Infertility and phytomedicine in 20th c Lagos <b>Cinderella Ochu</b></p> <p>Women using nyaope in Johannesburg: Spaces and cultures of heroin consumption, provision and crisis in post-1994 South Africa <b>Gibson Nzimande and Thembisa Waetjen</b></p>	<p>Panel 215 <i>Teaching, schools and universities in South Africa</i> Chair: Anne Heffernan</p> <p>Frustrated Ambitions: Teacher Associations and segregated schooling in the Transvaal, c. 1920-1956 <b>Fathima Zahra Mayet</b></p> <p>Theology 150 &amp; Beyond: A Socio-Political History of Stellenbosch University’s Theology Faculty c.1963-2023 <b>Charlize Hermans</b></p> <p>An Institutional History of the University of the North (Limpopo) <b>Reatile Moncho</b></p> <p>Opportunities and Obstacles to Educational Equality: Morris Isaacson High School in the Democratic Era <b>Clive Glaser</b></p>	<p>Panel 216 <i>Broadening conceptions of the political: Rethinking women’s histories in SA</i> Chair: Nafisa Essop Sheik</p> <p>Rethinking women’s participation in popular movements (1919 – 1950) <b>Camalita Naicker</b></p> <p>Breaking Fences and Ploughing Lands: A subaltern history of rural women’s struggles for freedom in the former Lebowa bantustan of South Africa <b>Sarah Bruchhausen</b></p> <p>Land and God: Women’s church groups organizing against forced removals in the 1980s <b>Tara Weinberg</b></p> <p>Ha re matle!/We do not want him!: Women’s resistance to missionary control in Bethanie in the 1930s <b>Kefuoe Maotoane</b></p>	<p>Panel 217 <i>Transnational liberation biographies</i> Chair: Lindie Koorts</p> <p>‘Mama Africa’: Miriam Makeba: The Exiled Life in America and Africa. Gender in the Historiography of the Liberation Histories in South Africa <b>Neo Lekgotla laga Ramoupi</b></p> <p>Bloke Modisane in Tanzania: Cold War Politics, TANU, and the Abortive Search for East Africa's Anti-Colonial History, 1963-1966 <b>Siyabonga Njica</b></p> <p>Writing a Transnational Biography of Manelisi Ndibongo’s Role in Southern Africa’s Liberation Struggles <b>Lazlo Passemiers</b></p>	<p>Panel 218 <i>War, politics and the military: Afrikaner responses to crises in the mid-20th century</i> Chair: Juan Klee</p> <p>Members of the Ossewa-Brandwag’s republican longing and their anti-British sentiments on the eve of the Second World War <b>Charl Blignaut</b></p> <p>The role of Radio Zeesen in stoking the fires of pro-German sentiments in South Africa during the Second World War <b>Sune Kleynhans</b></p> <p>Interrogating the South African Garrison State (1930s-1940s): Oswald Pirow, Jan-Hendrik Hofmeyr and Harold D. Lasswell <b>Frederik Kirsten</b></p> <p>A corrupt Commandant, a Commission of Enquiry and a crisis averted? <b>Emile Coetzee</b></p>

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10:30 –  
10:55

Tea/Coffee  
B Les Foyer

IME	B LES 101	B LES 102	B LES 103	B LES 104	C LES 301	C LES 302	C LES 305	C LES 306
10:55 – 12:55	<p>Panel 221 <i>Alternative Histories of and through Anti-Apartheid</i> Chair: Paul Landau</p> <p>The anti-apartheid struggle and the French-speaking countries in Western Africa <b>Anna Konieczna</b></p> <p>Anti-Apartheid as a Discourse in the Two Germanies, 1963 to 1988 <b>Paul Landau</b></p> <p>Liberation Struggles in Balance Sheets. Expenditures and Revenues of the ANC and PAC in the Global 1960s <b>Eric Burton</b></p> <p>The shadow of apartheid and the ideology of the Cold War-era MPLA <b>Justin Pearce</b></p>	<p>Panel 222 Film screening: <i>Forging a Philosophy of Health</i> Chair: Karen Shapiro</p>	<p>Panel 223 <i>Music and/ in (post)apartheid South Africa</i> Chair: Stephen Sparks</p> <p>From township grooves to cultural movements: A Journey through the history and significance of jazz appreciation societies in Soweto <b>Nhlanhla Manana</b></p> <p>Bohemian Rhapsody? Queen's visit to Apartheid South Africa <b>Rebecca Hodes</b></p> <p>Campus Radio in the Capital City: A Brief History of Radio Tuks, circa 1976 to 1996 <b>Jimmy Pieterse</b></p> <p>FOSATU Choirs in a Restless Decade: Music, Archives and Affiliation <b>Liz Gunner</b></p>	<p>Panel 224 <i>Digging for History: Labour, Geology and the Environment in Colonial Southern Africa</i> Chair: Lungelo Ndzimbabwe</p> <p>From Diamonds to Dust: The Rise of the South African Empire, 1870-1960 <b>Jan-Bart Gewald, John Kegel &amp; Walker Swindell</b></p> <p>Diamonds and Dust: The Toxic Legacy of Diamond Mining in Kimberley South Africa, 1870-1920 <b>Jan-Bart Gewald</b></p> <p>Socio-scientific Imaginaries of a Colonial Kind: Geology and Labour Arrangement in the Spatial Formation of the Pretoria Diamond District, c. 1902 to the 1930s <b>Irvin Jiyane</b></p> <p>Worlds of Paper, Oceans of Protest: Speech Acts and the Politics of Reading in Colonial South</p>	<p>Panel 225 <i>Science as Ideology: Health Sciences and the White Body in the Apartheid State</i> Chair: Vincenza Mazzeo</p> <p>Building Bodies and Making Men: The History of the Physical Training Battalion <b>Anell Stacey Daries</b></p> <p>The emergence of an Afrikaans-medium medical school at Stellenbosch, 1948-1976 <b>Handri Walters</b></p> <p>Surgical Personae: Professional identity and academic surgery at the advent of apartheid <b>Michaela Clark</b></p> <p>'Baboons in a box' and masculine science: a history of renal transplantation in Apartheid South Africa. <b>Simonne Horwitz</b></p>	<p>Panel 226 <i>Dancing, living and labouring in Johannesburg</i> Chair: Liz Gunner</p> <p>'JoJitterburg' and its 'Jo'burg Jitters', 1920s to 1940s: Social dancing in the city <b>Alida Green</b></p> <p>'Nobody knows how many': illegal lodging in servants quarters' in Johannesburg, 1923–1986 <b>Lucy Kernick</b></p> <p>Between Resistance and Resilience: City, Countryside, and the Idea of the Urban Environment in South Africa <b>Mikhail Moosa</b></p>	<p>Panel 227 Roundtable: <i>Academic Publishing in South Africa and the Geopolitics of Knowledge</i> Production Chair: Natasha Erlank</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Roshan Cader</li> <li>• Srila Roy</li> <li>• Edgar Taylor</li> </ul>	<p>Panel 228 <i>Racism, refugees and regional history in southern Africa</i> Chair: Mohau Soldaat</p> <p>Colonialism, German Experience and Reflections on Holocaust: Case Study on South Africa <b>Yekta Noyan</b></p> <p>Continuities, Change and Crises in Southern Africa on Refugees, citizenship and burdesharing, 1969-2023 <b>Brian Maregedze</b></p> <p>Populist xenophobia in South Africa: A continuation of the racial logic of apartheid? <b>Christi van der Westhuizen</b></p> <p>Africanising history teaching and learning through regional and microspatial histories: The Vredefort Dome Region as example <b>Elize van Eeden and Knysna Motumi</b></p>

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				Africa, Australia, and New Zealand <b>Chris Holdridge</b>				
12:55 – 13:40	LUNCH							

TIME	B LES 101	B LES 102	B LES 103	B LES 104	C LES 301	C LES 302	C LES 305	C LES 306
13:40 – 15:10	<p>Panel 231 <i>The struggle and historical memory in South Africa</i> Chair: Tshepo Moloi</p> <p>‘I knew in that instant that my life on the run was over’: the Capture of Nelson Mandela: 5 August 1962: Site identification, preservation and symbolism <b>Graham Dominy</b></p> <p>Sabelo Phama: A Forgotten South African Revolutionary <b>Luvuyo Mthimkhulu Dondolo</b></p> <p>The liberation movement role on transformation of history of South Africa <b>Nkholezzeni Sidney Netshakhuma</b></p>	<p>Panel 232 <i>Transnational histories of Africa</i> Chair: Justin Pearce</p> <p>Armed Propaganda and People’s War: Vietnam and South Africa in Transnational and Comparative Perspective <b>Thula Simpson</b></p> <p>An ‘unprecedented breach of diplomatic protocol’ or business as usual? Reuben Brigety, the Lady R and U.S. violations of South African sovereignty. An historical analysis <b>Eddie Michel</b></p> <p>Ethiopia’s Relationship with North and South Korea: An introductory evaluation of East Asian and Pan-African Anti-Imperialist Narratives <b>Jiyoung Lee</b></p>	<p>Panel 233 <i>The black press and writing in the vernacular</i> Chair: Khumisho Moguerane</p> <p>Koranta ea Becoana and the Pursuit of Multi-Ethnic Liberalism in South Africa <b>Stephen Volz</b></p> <p>‘Iphepha leli kakulona elamadoda odwa’ (This paper is not only for men): The presence of women in Ilanga lase Natal, 1930-1939 <b>Marijke du Toit</b></p> <p>Rediscovering forgotten isiXhosa women writers: The visibility of Letitia Kakazaand Victoria Swaartbooi in the history of isiXhosa written literature <b>Tembakazi Salayi</b></p>	<p>Panel 234 <i>Agricultural histories of Zimbabwe</i> Chair: Peter Uledi</p> <p>Government Input Schemes and Agriculture Production in Zimbabwe 1980-2000 <b>Chengetai Musikavanhu</b></p> <p>‘Politics of Survival?’ The Land Question, Productivity and Grain Marketing, 1999-2008 <b>Aisha Mashingauta</b></p> <p>Land reforms, land-grabbing and precarious livestock economies in Zimbabwe, c.2000 - 2024 <b>Wesley Mwatwara</b></p>	<p>Panel 235 <i>Apartheid abuses and historiographical debates</i> Chair: Janeke Thumbran</p> <p>The Myth of the clean South African Defence Force (SADF): The Sanitization of the SADF in post-Apartheid Historiography <b>Thomas Hartley</b></p> <p>Forced Removals and the Narrative of Multiculturalism <b>Talitha Padayachy</b></p> <p>Negotiating the Past: The Church of England and the TRC <b>Daluxolo Mbebe</b></p>	<p>Panel 236 <i>Smuggling and addiction in southern Africa</i> Chair: Zola Mbinda</p> <p>‘The Dagga Problem’ - combatting cannabis abuse using the law of supply and demand <b>Phumla Nkosi</b></p> <p>‘There are far worse things a man can do than smoke’: Tobacco politics and the framing of the smoking-lung cancer debate in Southern Rhodesia, 1950s-1970s <b>Sibanengi Ncube</b></p> <p>Beyond Borders: An Unsettled Wave of Pharmaceuticals in Zimbabwe (2008-2009) <b>Audrey Kudzai Maringa</b></p>	<p>Panel 237 <i>Histories of Malawi and its region</i> Chair: Natasha Erlank</p> <p>‘My People are Well-Fed’: The Political Economy of the Fight Against Malnutrition in Early Post-Colonial Malawi, 1964-1994 <b>Bryson Nkhoma</b></p> <p>Rethinking Hastings Kamuzu Banda's discriminatory practices against the people of northern Malawi <b>Eugenio Njoloma</b></p> <p>From Barriers to Bridges?: A Review of the African Union Border Programme (AUBP)'s Pursuit of Peace, Security and Development <b>Anusa Daimon</b></p>	<p>Panel 238 <i>Beyond lazy legacies and casual continuities: corruption and accumulation from the Bantustans to the provinces</i> Chair: Laura Phillips</p> <p>Mutual accommodation: clientelist politics in South African school education <b>Sarah Meny-Gibert</b></p> <p>Three Axes of Rural Local Governance: a history of space, administration and extractivism in the Mogalakwena Local Municipality (1948-2000) <b>Joel Pearson</b></p> <p>Long-term struggles for land and related services: egalitarian local authority in the Eastern Cape’s Border-Kei region from the mid-1980s to 2010 <b>Luvuyo Wotshela</b></p>

# THURSDAY, 27 JUNE 2024

TIME	B LES 101	B LES 102	B LES 103	B LES 104	C LES 301	C LES 302	C LES 305	C LES 306
15:10 – 15:35	Tea/Coffee B Les foyer							
15:35 – 17:05	<p>Panel 241 <i>Commemoration, Heritage and Higher Education</i> Chair: Anne Heffernan</p> <p>Contesting Monuments, Memory in Pursuit of Reconciliation: Narrative at the University of Free State <b>Tokelo Nhlapo</b></p> <p>Archaeology and History at the Cradle of Humankind: Think(ing) through the ‘archive’ and the ‘collection’. <b>Joshua Arnott</b></p> <p>The Islanding of the University of the Witwatersrand <b>Lindiwe Malindi</b></p>	<p>Panel 242 <i>European migrant communities in South Africa</i> Chair: Juan Klee</p> <p>NT: Greek immigration in southern Africa <b>Lukas Spiropoulos</b></p> <p>The Creation of a Polish community in the Vaal Triangle, South Africa <b>Ian Macqueen and Michaela Van Ingen-Kal</b></p> <p>The Polish Children of Oudtshoorn, South Africa: Their untold lived experiences in Siberia <b>Stefan Szewczuk</b></p>	<p>Panel 243 <i>Money and entrepreneurship in the colonial Cape</i> Chair: Wayne Dooling</p> <p>The Wealth of the Dutch Reformed Church: Trends in the Cape Town Diaconate Account Books, 1686-1825 <b>Este Kotze</b></p> <p>Cape property lotteries, the VOC money crisis, and international circuits of dis/trust <b>Ilana van Wyk</b></p> <p>African Entrepreneurial Activity at the Early British Cape Colony, 1806-56 <b>Leigh Muffet</b></p>	<p>Panel 244 <i>Death, disaster and burial in southern Africa</i> Chair: Stephen Sparks</p> <p>The Mapleton Railway Disaster of 1927: Developmentalism, Race and Migration <b>Laurence Stewart</b></p> <p>Crash Narratives and Accidental Archives: Re-thinking Road Safety in South Africa <b>Rebekah Lee</b></p> <p>Death, migration and belonging: A Historical study of Burial Societies amongst Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa <b>Them bani Dube</b></p>	<p>Panel 245 <i>Film, censorship and history</i> Chair: Nisa Paleker</p> <p>Black African stars of silent cinema: A biographical twist or turn? <b>Neil Parsons</b></p> <p>The Policeman as Censor: Cinema ordinances in South Africa and the order of film viewership, 1917-1927 <b>Fernanda Pinto de Almeida</b></p>	<p>Panel 246 <i>The lion’s Pride: more-than-human history for a world in crisis II</i> Chair: Sandra Swart</p> <p>Why History needs to pay more attention to Water: A case study of the Etosha region of Namibia <b>Nina Epler-Brandenburg</b></p> <p>‘All forest resources are state estate’: The origins of forest conservation and the politics of colonial forest management in Southern Rhodesia, c.1910-1954 <b>Blessing Dhlwayo</b></p>	<p>Panel 247 <i>Liberation armies in southern Africa</i> Chair: Thula Simpson</p> <p>Chasing the Sun: The history of the Azanian Liberation Army (APLA), 1968-1994 <b>Thand'Olwethu Dlanga</b></p> <p>Soviet and Angolan veterans’ accounts of the Angolan Civil War: reconsidering the solidarity narratives <b>Justin Pearce and Daria Zelenova</b></p>	<p>Panel 248 <i>Roundtable: Towards a decolonised School History Curriculum: Where are we and where are we heading?</i> Chair: Paul Maluleka</p> <p>Panelists:  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sarah Godsell</li> <li>• Fezeka Cynthia Gxwayibeni</li> <li>• Neo Lekgotla laga Ramoupi</li> <li>• Paul Hendricks</li> </ul> </p>
19:00	<b>GALA DINNER (RSVP with registration essential) – EMOYENI ESTATE, 15 Jubilee Rd, Parktown</b>							



FRIDAY, 28 JUNE 2024

TIME	B LES 101	B LES 102	B LES 103	B LES 104	C LES 301	C LES 302	C LES 305	C LES 306
08:30 – 10:30	<p>Panel 311 <i>Histories of gender and sexuality in South Africa and beyond</i> Chair: Prinisha Badassy</p> <p>The Phoenix Society and Gender Dynamix under Apartheid <b>Noah Lubinsky</b></p> <p>Madie Hall Xuma: A Pioneer in South African Women's Political Leadership <b>Nonkululeko Kumalo</b></p> <p>The decline of democracy and its implications on gendered and sexual identities in Africa. <b>Lesego Sekhu</b></p> <p>What We Do in the Shadows: The History and Culture of Kink in South Africa <b>Sasha Rai</b></p> <p>Navigating Marginalised Spaces: The Complex Intersectionality of Race, Sexuality, and Gender among Black Queer Subjects in South African Mining Townships <b>Lwando Majikijela</b></p>	<p>Panel 312 <i>Economic Histories of Zimbabwe</i> Chair: Maxim Bolt</p> <p>Colonialism and Development: Hunhu-Ubuntu Nexus with J. L. Cox's Insider-Outsider Standpoints as Panacea to the Crisis of Underdevelopment in Zimbabwe <b>Ishmael Mugove Chikowero</b></p> <p>Social Protection, Inequality, and unemployment in Zimbabwe, 2000-2015 <b>Nicola Yon</b></p> <p>'Chakachenjedza Ndochakatanga (Once Beaten Twice Shy)!: Zimbabwe and the Economics of Mistrust <b>Geraldine Sibanda</b></p> <p>The Costs of Relocation: Certificates of Sponsorship and Care Worker immigrants from Zimbabwe to the United Kingdom, 2016 - 2024 <b>Tinashe Nyamunda</b></p>	<p>Panel 313 <i>Interregional politics in southern Africa</i> Chair: Sishuwa Sishuwa</p> <p>The Rhodesian Polycrisis at the United Nations 1965-1980 <b>Yusra Abdullahi</b></p> <p>'Politics of rational disputation': The political life of Douglas Mwonzora in Zimbabwe's democratisation struggle <b>Victor Muchineripi Gwande</b></p> <p>'Pay Back Time?' A History of the Zimbabwe – Zambia Trade Relations, c. 1991 to 2000 <b>Teverayi Muguti</b></p> <p>Fighting sub-imperialism in Southern Africa? Zimbabwe and regional unity against South Africa power <b>Abe Mlombo</b></p>	<p>Panel 314 <i>Exilic Experience Defining Anti-Apartheid</i> Chair: Paul Landau</p> <p>'If an elephant has its foot on the tail of a mouse' – Revisiting notions of Liberation during and after Apartheid <b>Lena Dallywater</b></p> <p>Inconsistent Solidarities? Comparing East German Anti-Apartheid Rhetoric to the Anti-Imperial Rhetoric of East German Solidarity with Cameroon in the 1950s and 1960s <b>Sara Pugach</b></p> <p>GDR's solidarity with the Anti-Apartheid struggle and its assessment by former ANC-exiles <b>Anja Schade</b></p> <p>Faith and Liberation in Tanzania: An Historical Ethnography of Salatiel Ailonga's Bible <b>Christian Williams</b></p>	<p>Panel 315 <i>Histories of healthcare and hospitals in Zimbabwe</i> Chair: Catherine Burns</p> <p>The History of The Rise of Medical Work in Leprosy at Morgenster Mission, Zimbabwe (1899-1950) <b>Natsai Masango</b></p> <p>Legislation and Preventive healthcare in Southern Rhodesia from 1923 to 1963 <b>Shalot Nhete</b></p> <p>From a private to a state institution. Towards a history of Lady Chancellor Maternity Home <b>Clement Masakure</b></p> <p>A Pathetic State of Affairs: Public Maternity Health Care and Indigenous Midwifery in Postcolonial Zimbabwe, 1990–2023 <b>Priscillah Machinga</b></p>	<p>Panel 316 <i>LGBTQ+ histories in southern Africa</i> Chair: Marc Epprecht</p> <p>Avoiding Aversion? Piecing the Past Together <b>Robyn Schnell</b></p> <p>Navigating Non-Conformity: Sexuality and Hidden Histories at Stellenbosch University (1966-2016) <b>Jesse Baronne Le Roux</b></p> <p>Queering Newsletters: Reading GLOWletter as Queer Networking in Johannesburg <b>Jonathan Botes</b></p> <p>Queering Post-Genocide Rwanda: Rwanda's Approach to LGBTI+ Rights <b>Hlela Dyasi</b></p>	<p>Panel 317 <i>Debating heritage, memory and historiography in southern Africa</i> Chair: Cynthia Kros</p> <p>The socio-economic era and legacy of the Knysna woodcutter community, 1913-1948: Debating some historiographic perspectives <b>Liesel Grobler</b></p> <p>The Union Burial Ground in Gqeberha: 'Coloured' Graves in a 'Settler Cemetery'. <b>Lari Hallows-Welman</b></p> <p>Privatisation of armed struggle heritage in Zimbabwe <b>Heather Ndlovu</b></p> <p>Preserving a community: Situating the Jewish Living Archive in the Global South <b>Katie Garron</b></p>	<p>Panel 318 <i>Roundtable: Teaching Academic History in South Africa</i> Chair: Faceza Ballim</p> <p>Panelists:  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Stephen Sparks</b></li> <li>• <b>Athambile Masola</b></li> <li>• <b>Janeke Thumbran</b></li> </ul> </p>

# FRIDAY, 28 JUNE 2024

TIME	B LES 101	B LES 102	B LES 103	B LES 104	C LES 301	C LES 302	C LES 305	C LES 306
10:30 – 10:55	Tea/Coffee B Les Foyer							
10:55 – 12:55	<p>Panel 321 <i>Politics and governance in contemporary southern Africa</i> Chair: Faeenza Ballim</p> <p>Vote Buying in Eswatini Elections, 2003-2023 <b>Hanky Sereo</b></p> <p>Michael Sata, Party Branding, and the Politics of Historical Memory in Zambia c. 2001-2011 <b>Sishuwa Sishuwa</b></p> <p>Crafting Community Post Civil War: Oral histories of community development under conditions of calamity in Southern Africa <b>Thobeka Mnisi</b></p> <p>Tracing the origins of rural government crisis in the post-apartheid era <b>Buti Kompfi</b></p>	<p>Panel 322 <i>Thinking and debating 'liberation' in apartheid southern Africa</i> Chair: Ian Macqueen</p> <p>Revisiting the Congress Tradition <b>Tasneem Essop</b></p> <p>Albert Luthuli: Racial Reconciliation Paradigm Ahead of His Times <b>Sam Ndoga</b></p> <p>The Black Consciousness Movement, Maishe Maponya and the Use of Theatre as a Weapon of Resistance, 1970–2000 <b>Kasonde Mukonde</b></p> <p>Liberation war historiography, ideology of rule and Crisis in Zimbabwe: An albatross against transition to transformative democracy <b>Nathan Moyo</b></p>	<p>Panel 323 <i>Crises, disability and disease in southern Africa</i> Chair: Rebecca Hodes</p> <p>Disability at the centre of change, continuity, discontinuity and the protracted polycrisis in Southern African countries: A Historical Overview <b>Makomborero Bowa</b></p> <p>Media representations, masculinity, and mental health challenges related to African men in post-apartheid South Africa <b>Palesa Letutla</b></p> <p>‘Sickness of Mouth of Womb’: Remaking AmaZulu Bodies, Scientific Medicine, and the Limits of the World’s First National Cervical Cancer Screening Campaign in South Africa <b>Vincenza Mazzeo</b></p>	<p>Panel 324 Book discussion: <i>One Race - The Legacy of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe</i> Chair: Luvoyo Dondolo</p> <p>Discussants:  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Ali Hlongwani</b></li> <li>• <b>Tshepo Moloi</b></li> <li>• <b>Neo Lekgotla laga Ramoupi</b></li> </ul> </p>	<p>Panel 325 <i>Soil, insects and the environment in Africa</i> Chair: Godfrey Hove</p> <p>The Making of the African National Soil Conservation Association (ANSCA): ‘Creating’ a Conservation Conscious African Farmer <b>Basetsana Tsuwane</b></p> <p>The colonial state and the African peasantry: A socio-environmental history of soil conservation and agrarian change in Lesotho’s Leribe district, 1938-1966 <b>Belinda Makare</b></p> <p>Locusts: An International Challenge over the Long Twentieth Century <b>Admire Mseba</b></p>	<p>Panel 326 <i>Premodern southern African societies</i> Chair: Nafisa Essop Sheik</p> <p>Political and social organisation in precolonial southern Africa: An Anthropological reassessment of the archaeological evidence <b>Robert J. Thornton</b></p> <p>An African centric account of the amaMfengu of the Eastern Cape, 1820-1878. The amaMfengu slavery myth in Gcalekaland <b>Nomalungisa Maxengana</b></p>	<p>Panel 327 <i>Biography and medicine in southern Africa</i> Chair: Catherine Burns</p> <p>Probing and perpetuating porphyria: Dr Geoffrey Dean, 1947-1967 <b>Wendy Cox</b></p> <p>‘Shake yourself; get those flies off you...!’: Dirt, Ethnic Pathology and Biomedical Racism in Late Colonial Botswana, 1944-1956 <b>Phuthego Molosiwa</b></p> <p>The Pedagogical Potential of Affective Oral Histories: A Case Study of Student Interviewer Testimonies in the Health and Human Rights Oral History Project <b>Casey Fern</b></p>	<p>Panel 328 <i>Doctors, Writers, and Traditional Leaders of KwaZulu-Natal II</i> Chair: Sandile Ngidi</p> <p>‘To remember is salvation. To forget is exile’: Inkosi Miskofini, Capital Punishment, and the Ward System in Natal <b>Muziwandile Hadebe</b></p> <p>‘Your Humble, Obedient Servant’: The Life and Legacy of John Mavuma Nembula, 1861-1896 <b>Liz Timbs</b></p>

FRIDAY, 28 JUNE 2024

			HIV Service Delivery in Eswatini before and during COVID 19, 2011-2022 <b>Shokahle R. Dlamini</b>					
12:55 – 13:40	LUNCH							
TIME	B LES 101	B LES 102	B LES 103	B LES 104	C LES 301	C LES 302	C LES 305	C LES 306
13:40 – 15:10	SAHS Presidential Address  Tshepo Moloji							
15:10 – 15:35	Tea/Coffee B Les foyer							
15:35 – 17:05	SAHS Business Meeting							

Yusra Abdullahi — Leiden University  
*Interregional politics in southern Africa*

***The Rhodesian Polycrisis at the United Nations 1965-1980***

The situation in Rhodesia was a topic that unfurled rapidly in the United Nations fora as the Africa Group tabled Zimbabwean decolonisation as a matter of urgency in the 1965-1980 period. Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 particularly constituted a watershed moment across the African continent as African member states urged the General Assembly and Security Council to hasten the liberation of all Black Africans, making the southern African issue a continentwide one. This paper therefore focuses on the Rhodesian polycrisis and its aftermath at the UN. For example, the limitations of the UN in protecting the fundamental rights of Black Zimbabweans, despite putting into place economic sanctions meant to deter the white minority regime in Salisbury, come to the foreground amid the UDI crisis. Also, the liberation of Rhodesia caused a growing racial crisis between the African and Western member states; African states pushed for military intervention, whereas the US and Great Britain took a more muted stance in Rhodesian affairs. This paper will therefore examine how the liberation history of Rhodesia posed a threat to international global order as well as how it challenged the ability of the UN to curb racial perils.

Joshua Arnott — University of the Witwatersrand  
*Commemoration, Heritage and Higher Education*

***Archaeology and History at the Cradle of Humankind: Think(ing) through the 'archive' and the 'collection'***

Archives and Collections within Southern Africa hold significant potential in offering perspectives of past, present and future power dynamics. Importantly, these archives and collections offer the opportunity for archaeologists and historians - both professional and amateur - to refute, deconstruct, problematise, locate, value, uphold and demonstrate historical dynamics of power. This paper seeks to present a perspective on the theme archival power in relation to the Cradle of Humankind. Having attained World Heritage Status in 1999, the 'Cradle Archive' offers a unique point of departure to critically think through a 'sites' status with ideas of archiving. Using insights gained from Carloyn Steedman's book, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (her response to Jacques Derrida's conference paper presented in 1994 on the topic 'Memory: The Question of Archives'), it is argued that a lack of knowledge about the significance of 'the archive' is hindering local South Africans visiting locations of history and archaeology. This paper offers a solution: a guided walking tour of stone, iron and settler archaeological sites located at the Greater Cradle Nature Reserve, with the walk specifically designed to expand the relevance of archaeological tourism.

Abdud Badroodien — University of Cape Town  
*Race, research and history writing in South Africa*

***Architectures of Race in South Africa: Bantu Studies, and the teaching of Bantu Philology at UCT and SOAS 1916-1928***

Language studies has long been entwined with racial discourse in Southern Africa, since 19th century missionary philologists drew linguistic categories with overlapping discourses of race. Far from value-neutral, linguistic science and social anthropology were critical to the thinking of race in South Africa, and emerged under Bantu Studies university departments in the 1920s and 1930s. This paper explores the politics of institutionalisation in UCT's School of African Life and Languages 1916-1928, and the works of William Alfred Norton and Alice Werner, the first professors of Bantu Philology at UCT and SOAS. It shows that the architectures of Bantu Studies depended on institutional processes, and were encoded with combinations of linguistic and racial thought. Bantu Studies operationalised the Union Government's "native question" but process of formalisation also naturalised racialised origins. Norton was arguably the architect of Bantu Studies, as he combined his study of 'native mentality through language' with a desire for an ethnographic centre for study of African languages and peoples. Decolonisation must confront white knowledge-making but also unravel uneven processes of formalisation that enabled a racial ideology in apartheid South Africa.

Attention should be paid to disaggregating linguistic texts and institutional processes and narratives within the context of coloniality.

Karl Bergemann — Stellenbosch University

*Children, labour and emancipation in the Cape colony*

***Child runaways as labourers in an emancipation era Cape, 1830-42***

Desertion in the context of forced labour is usually understood as the endeavour of primarily young adult, usually male, physically able workers capable of dealing with the rigours associated with long-term flight. Though this is also true of desertion at the Cape in the nineteenth century, new evidence suggests that child runaways made up a significant proportion of escapees in the decade surrounding formal emancipation. Using runaway advertisements from two of the Cape's largest advertising platforms, the Zuid Afrikaan, the first colonial Dutch publication at the Cape established in 1830 and the Government Gazette, the mouthpiece of the colonial government, this paper aims to highlight the prevalence of child labour in the landscape of forced labour desertion. Specifically, it unearths how many children featured in runaway advertisements across three distinct yet overlapping phases of labour transition, the nature of their flights and the extent of employment opportunity by engaging with examples across a range of labour status groups outlined for the period.

Charl Blignaut — North-West University

*War, politics and the military: Afrikaner responses to crises in the mid-20th century*

***Three brief case studies of Afrikaners' reactions to crises during the Twentieth Century: An oral history, a history of propaganda, and a history of corruption***

A. van Jaarsveld typified the Afrikaner as "a people of crisis", emphasising calamity as a central and dynamic principle of their history. Imminent catastrophe was also a way of perpetuating Afrikaner nationalism, exemplified in all the perceived 'dangers' propagated by the National Party. This panel explores three cases of Afrikaners' reactions to crises, namely their anti-British sentiments elicited by the polycrisis of the 1930s, their participation in pro-German propaganda as part of the two-front war of 1939 to 1945, and the intrigues of scandal and corruption during the 1950s and 1960s when Afrikaner power was being entrenched.

Maxim Bolt — Oxford

*Justice, law and inheritance in southern Africa*

***Bridges to a better system: crisis histories in the making of post-apartheid property inheritance***

In Johannesburg, apartheid's demise saw township houses transferred to long-term tenants: property redistribution on an immense scale. Soon, attention shifted to how that property would pass on, and the legal administration of inheritance. That administration was deracialised, and the system expanded rapidly to serve a new public. With it developed a public infrastructure understood precisely as offering post-apartheid access to formal inheritance. Drawing on oral historical accounts, this paper traces the network of institutions that extends beyond state officialdom to civic and for-profit services, to bring the system 'to the people'. Specifically, it examines how the work of post-apartheid access became oriented to addressing crises. Opaque property distribution in the 1990s produced intractable inheritance problems. With expanded reach from the early 2000s, inheritance law promoted principles in stark contrast to those of many South Africans. Later still, practitioners bemoaned failures of legal administration. The work of access came to mean making bridges, bringing system and people closer, whether combatting stalled formalisation or motivating for better suited law. But, for some, it has meant bringing distant legal practitioners themselves closer to everyday realities beyond the law. Post-apartheid access work has meant fixing crises, yet amidst different diagnoses about what caused them.

Jonathan Botes — University of the Witwatersrand

*LGBTQ+ histories in southern Africa*

***Queering Newsletters: Reading GLOWletter as Queer Networking in Johannesburg***

There has been extensive literature on gay and lesbian subculture since apartheid over the last three decades. However, much of this research focuses on the everyday activities largely related to nightlife in urban spaces. This study approaches the historical events of queer life by focusing on GLOWletter, a monthly newsletter for members of the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand (GLOW). GLOW emerged as South Africa's first multi-racial and politically engaged gay and lesbian organisation. GLOWletter, the organisation's monthly newsletter, served the crucial functions of updating members on GLOW's activities, providing a platform for promoting queer-friendly venues across South Africa, and offering guidance on legal measures for selfprotection. The wide scope of GLOWletter suggests that the editors were aware of the various needs of Johannesburg's gay and lesbian community and used a medium such as a newsletter believing it to be the most effective way to reach members. GLOWletter acted as the mouthpiece for GLOW, and ultimately worked to further build a politico-queer community which was both antiapartheid and pro-gay rights. This paper argues that GLOWletter was multidimensional, performing as both a recreational tool and a political apparatus. I further argue GLOWletter's importance as it now continues to serve as a historical source and an archive.

Makomborero Bowa — University of Zimbabwe

*Crises, disability and disease in southern Africa*

***Disability at the centre of change, continuity, discontinuity and the protracted polycrisis in Southern African countries: A Historical Overview***

The history of Southern Africa has been that of grappling with a protracted and successive polycrisis encompassing economic, political, social, and environmental challenges since the colonial period. Disability has been intricately intertwined with this complex web of crises, significantly influencing social attitudes, legal and policy frameworks and infrastructural development relating to disability in Southern African countries. Fundamentally, the paper argues that persons with disabilities have disproportionately shouldered the social and economic repercussions of these crises characterised by heightened social exclusion, deepened poverty and perpetuated inequalities within countries, such as Zimbabwe. Elements of continuity and discontinuity originating from the colonial period have not only laid the foundation for enduring social and economic disparities but have also contributed to the increased recognition of the rights of persons with disabilities. Within this context, the paper deals with the following questions of immense historical significance: How has the experience of disability in Southern Africa evolved over time, particularly in relation to the region's broader historical context of change, continuity, discontinuity and the protracted polycrisis? To what extent have disability-related policies and interventions addressed the unique needs and experiences of individuals with disabilities during periods of change and crisis in Southern Africa? What lessons can be gleaned from historical experiences of disability in Southern Africa to inform more inclusive and responsive approaches to future crises and challenges? Through an exploration of these key questions the paper provides a sense of perspective on the impact of these crises on disability-inclusive development exposing the unique vulnerabilities of persons with disabilities. It uncovers significant historical dynamics that empower policymakers and stakeholders to devise comprehensive strategies that address the complex and interconnected challenges faced by persons with disabilities within the context of Southern African countries.

Sarah Bruchhausen — University of the Witwatersrand

*Broadening conceptions of the political: Rethinking women's histories in South Africa*

***Breaking Fences and Ploughing Lands: A subaltern history of rural women's struggles for freedom in the former Lebowa bantustan of South Africa***

This paper explores the history of women's emancipatory politics in the former Lebowa bantustan of South Africa from a gendered and subaltern perspective. It begins with an examination of the popular uprisings during the period of the 1940s to the early-1960s in which black women in rural

spaces championed radical insurgent struggles against colonial-cum-apartheid processes of land dispossession and enclosure of the commons. Attention then shifts to the intensely repressive period in the aftermath of these rural uprisings and the making of the Lebowa bantustan during the 1960s and 1970s. In this period, women's emancipatory praxes were drastically constrained and their political resistance took on more diffused and less organised forms in response to the growing crisis of social reproduction in Lebowa's villages. The grassroots rural women's 'self-help' organisations of the 1970s were eclipsed by more militant modes of resistance in the insurrectionary climate of the 1980s. A younger generation of women, involved as comrades in the youth and labour movements, came to the fore as protagonists of the popular struggle for freedom in Lebowa, and engaged in certain aspects of the longer history of black women's struggles for self-determination and rights to the commons. The paper argues that the creation of autonomous spaces of the common and the defence of subsistence lifestyles has been, and continues to be, a defining characteristic of rural women's emancipatory politics and struggles for freedom in the former bantustans of South Africa.

Catherine Burns — University of the Witwatersrand

*Curing crisis? Medicinal consumption and treatment regimes in Africa I*

***The Waiting Room Revisited: Medical and Health History in South Africa***

This paper examines two concepts, as they relate South Africa to wider, global developments, inclusions and exclusions. Firstly, I consider the history of clinical spaces, usually called the waiting room – traced through medical archives, personal accounts, state records and works of art, and regarding it as a special, healing, organisational, temporal and metaphorical construct. Secondly, I explore the development of medical history and its ally, the medical health humanities, over the last decade in this region, showing how these sub disciplinary fields themselves have remained in 'the waiting room' in relation to forms of clinical and scientific authority, institutions of healing, the development of university medical schools and the creation of public health entities, from the era of British colonial rule and its authority and power, to the first post-Apartheid era. Three pandemics hold and shape the temporal argument: the 'Flu pandemic of 1918 to 1920; the HIV/AIDS pandemic, emerging in the 1980s; and COVID-19, from 2020.

Eric Burton — University of Innsbruck

*Alternative Histories of and through Anti-Apartheid*

***Liberation Struggles in Balance Sheets. Expenditures and Revenues of the ANC and PAC in the Global 1960s***

African liberation movements were highly entrepreneurial. Most had to be, given that they lacked steady income from membership fees or other forms of regular contributions accruing from within the organization, particularly if the organization was pushed into (or formed in) exile. Many operated on a shoestring budget and depended on patrons in host states and from further afield. Looking at three liberation movements (ANC; PAC; and FRELIMO) in the 1960s, this paper examines how these organizations raised and spent money, how consumption was debated and how functionaries controlled – or sought to control – material flows. As Andrew Ivaska has argued, the "material channels of political life were most often African-run, -engineered, and -maintained" – yet we still know fairly little about the management of these channels. The paper examines practices of 1) fundraising, 2) accounting and 3) spending, and struggles over these practices, informed by differences of class, geopolitical orientation, and other factors. The mobilization of resources impacted on how leading figures of liberation movements strategically represented themselves (and their organisations) in political and ideological terms and which relations they entertained. Paying attention to finances also adds to our understanding of how various offices were connected through material hierarchies or had the capacity to operate more autonomously from headquarters. While resource flows opened up new opportunities for self-enrichment, there was also (in some organizations) a dynamic towards bureaucratization.

Nyasha Blessed Bushu — University of the Free State

*Justice, law and inheritance in southern Africa*

***African cosmology, Superstition and Justice in Southern Rhodesia c.1890-1937***

This paper explores the cosmological and metaphysical conceptions of justice within early colonial society in Southern Rhodesia which are hitherto understudied. It argues that indigenous genealogies of justice were embedded within religious, and supernatural conceptions that were exposed to epistemic marginalisation through colonialism. British administrators considered indigenous institutions of justice as non-judicial, superstitious, and repugnant because they did not conform to Western paraphernalia of justice. This marginalisation of African worldviews is problematic. It constrains our knowledge about indigeneity and the different expressions of justice embedded in metaphysical practices. It is this epistemic conundrum that this research seeks to resolve. The paper demonstrates that notwithstanding perpetual attempts to obviate them, metaphysical conceptions of justice intersected with colonially accepted systems and played an underlying integral part in the colony's judicial system. The research further reveals that although littered with racial prejudices, colonial archives contain significant amounts of references to these metaphysical aspects of justice inherent in indigenous society. The research adopts decolonial post-modern anthropological to colonial archives and challenges colonial motifs and their linear conceptions of justice. It achieves this by exploring the quotidian experiences of infra-ordinary people and their entanglements with colonially marginalised spiritual modes of justice-seeking within the African cosmology.

Derek Charles Catsam —

*International anti-apartheid histories: Britain, Canada and New Zealand*

***Flour Bombs and Divided Countries: The 1981 Springbok Tour to New Zealand and the Global Anti-Apartheid Movement***

The New Zealand-South Africa rugby rivalry was (and is) the most intense and meaningful in rugby history and, arguably, in the world of sports. But the spate of mass protests and counter-protests during the Springboks' 1981 visit to New Zealand, which culminated in the notorious "flour bomb" test match in Auckland (during which low-flying planes dropped bags of flour on the playing field, hitting at least one player in the process), had little to do with team pride. Rather the explosive events in New Zealand revealed the extent to which rugby had become a galvanizing force in not only New Zealand politics but in the global campaign against apartheid. Drawn from a chapter on a book on the 1981 Springboks, with the centerpiece their bizarre tour to the United States, this paper will emphasize not only the significance of the events in New Zealand in the southern hemisphere winter of 1981, but will reveal the ways that those events had global significance. The chaos surrounding those two months in New Zealand, for example, revealed ways to oppose apartheid to those Americans were paying attention to events outside of their country's borders. Because the Springboks, and South African athletes more broadly were not welcome in Australia, even to fly through their air space, the South Africans had to fly through the United States to get to and from New Zealand. Without the Springboks playing in New Zealand there would have been no American tour because there would have been no reason for them to be in the United States. Without the tumult in New Zealand there may well have been no serious opposition to the American tour. This paper (and resulting chapter) will examine the New Zealand tour, arguably the most controversial sporting event in history, both on its own merits and within its larger global context.

Samuel Chikowero — Makerere University

*Justice, law and inheritance in southern Africa*

***Witchcraft, Chiefs and Healers: The Role of Traditional Leaders in Resolving Witchcraft-Driven Violence in Zimbabwe***

Despite state and humanitarian interventions, witchcraft-driven violence is still persistent in many parts of Africa. Yet, studies of witchcraft and violence seldom appear in the debates on conflict and peacebuilding. Across Zimbabwe, traditional authorities arbitrate disputes at dare (homestead court), with the chief overseeing the entire process. Despite playing a significant role in the mediation process, there have been concerns over the efficacy of traditional institutions of justice in



peacebuilding. This paper examines the role of chiefs in resolving conflicts involving witchcraft accusations in Zimbabwe. It draws on newspaper sources, oral interviews, and participant observation conducted in Gokwe, a rural community located in the northwestern part of the country. Research findings from this community point to the chiefs' ambiguous role, as they are either commended for promoting peace or blamed for fomenting chaos by fostering the belief in witchcraft and accepting bribes. This calls for a nuanced analysis of this conflict, whose roots can be traced back to the early colonial era. I argue that the provisions of the 1899 Witchcraft Suppression Act undermined the authority and power of chiefs and traditional healers, subverting their ability to deal with these conflicts.

Ishmael Mugove Chikowero — University of South Africa

*Economic Histories of Zimbabwe*

***Colonialism and Development: Hunhu-Ubuntu Nexus with J. L. Cox's Insider-Outsider Standpoints as Panacea to the Crisis of Underdevelopment in Zimbabwe***

This paper argues that the amalgamation of hunhu-ubuntu philosophy and James L. Cox's principles of insider-outsider theory can positively serve to halt the crisis of underdevelopment in Zimbabwe. The concept of development involves people's desire to achieve a lasting satisfaction of human needs and an improvement in lifestyle that is beyond the levels of subsistence. Postcolonial Zimbabwean epoch has neither attained nor achieved the above. Afrocentric literature about the history of Zimbabwe's development largely identifies precolonial period as the most successful era of social, economic, political and cultural development. The paper maintains that during this era, development was informed by key hunhu-ubuntu institutions such as dare (traditional family and community court), mukwerera (rain-inducing ceremony), and mushandirapamwe (communitarianism), and various similarly dominant cultural spaces. Sadly, and retrogressively, colonial attitudes continue to manifest through Eurocentric scholarship, emphasizing the growth of economies unaidedly as development. Thus, the paper calls to advance Cox's theory that accentuate respect of other people's cultures, and to revive fundamental hunhu-ubuntu institutions' values for Zimbabwe's real development.

Rejoice Mazvirevesa Chipuriro —

*Histories of women in Zimbabwe*

***Songs of the soil: Intoning women's participation in Zimbabwe's violent election campaigns***

Land in Zimbabwe is a violently contested political space spanning colonial through to the post-colonial era. Land served as a site for physical and spiritual nourishment including access to resources for commercial trade. As such the colonial encounter's violent displacements were resisted with an equally violent armed struggle. Winning the war became a quest to restore the severed link to ancestral lands, the dignity, and independence of the Black people. Within these violent encounters, songs of the soil or nziyo dzevhu in Shona, propped nationalists ideological agenda mobilising support of displaced Black people during the liberation struggle. In an era where political activism was banned and coded as criminal activity by the colonial regime, songs of the soil became a salient tool in relaying the message of resistance, sung in vernacular, and often couched in veiled lingua or satire which the coloniser could not easily decode. Songs of the soil became entrenched in Zimbabwean ruling party politics and appropriated by underperforming ruling elites whose only claim to remaining in power is their liberation struggle credentials. The article takes an African feminist approach to analyse women's performances of songs as embodied labour and relays women's political subjectivities within violent election campaigns.

Rumbidzai Chitaukire — Stellenbosch University

*Histories of women in Zimbabwe*

***A Socio-economic History of Women Informal Traders in Harare, Zimbabwe, c.1965-2022***

This study investigates the multifarious ways in which women in Zimbabwe have negotiated and reinvented their income strategies to ensure survival amid various socio-economic and political crises. In Zimbabwe, the post-2000 era has been characterised by economic decadence and a high

rate of unemployment, which has increased participation of the country's citizens in the informal economy. Of particular interest to this study, is the salience of women as a gender in this growing informal economy. Utilising archival sources, newspapers, observations and interviews, this study explores the changing gender trends in informal trade focusing on women, using the case study of Harare. It also traces the historical changes and continuities in the nature and form of women informal trading activities over a longer trajectory (1965-2022). The study further examines dynamic relations between women informal traders and various societal actors including the state, security institutions, customers, and family. This historical study of a 'vulnerable' gender in a 'marginalised' economic sector expands critical knowledge on economic crises, the informal economy, gender, inequality, unemployment, survival, welfare and development in Africa and the world at large.

Michaela Clark — University of Manchester

*Science as Ideology: Health Sciences and the White Body in the Apartheid State*

***Surgical Personae: Professional identity and academic surgery at the advent of apartheid***

This paper discusses the influence of state ideology on the professional profile of surgical heads at Cape Town's medical school. Born, raised, and trained in England, Charles FM Saint (South Africa's 'father of surgery') brought his British medical pedigree and thus scientific respectability to the local curriculum with his arrival in 1920. The changing political climate in South Africa during the 1930s and 1940s saw the anglophile settler-colonial identity Saint embodied fall out of favour. It was to be replaced by one that was locally born, locally trained, and notably bilingual. Negotiations at the University of Cape Town during the late 1940s demonstrate how language looms in the hiring practices at the medical school before its institutionalisation. It is with the advent of debates around a new medical school at Stellenbosch University in 1951 that the political imperative of Afrikaner identity truly rears its head. The imperative to take on Afrikaans as a serious complement to English takes hold through the figure of Francie van Zijl, demonstrating how this individual straddled both institutional spaces (Cape Town and Stellenbosch) before he took his place as the first dean of the new Afrikaans-medium medical school in the Northern Suburbs.

Emile Coetzee — North-West University

*War, politics and the military: Afrikaner responses to crises in the mid-20th century*

***A corrupt Commandant, a Commission of Enquiry and a crisis averted?***

On 28 June 1963, Commandant Barnie van der Merwe was arrested outside Pretoria for allegedly bribing arms agents who supplied the South African Defence Force. Van der Merwe revealed to the South African Police how he was able to make thousands of Rands illegally from tenders which arms agents had to tender for. News of the arrest resulted in the United Party causing a stir within the South African parliament and placed the Minister of Defence, Jim Fouché, under pressure. Naturally Fouché informed the Prime Minister, Dr. Hendrik F. Verwoerd, and asked for help. Verwoerd called in the assistance of his State President, C.R. Swart, to assist him in thwarting this potential crisis into obscurity and to avert the eyes of the press away from it. Swart had a plan and knew exactly who to call. Did Van der Merwe's confession reveal an Arms scandal that the National Party had to manage? How did the press and the public react to this potential crisis? What happened to Van der Merwe and his fellow accused, and convicted fraudsters, concerning corruption with arms procurement? Was it truly a crisis or just the proverbial "storm in a teacup"? This paper delivers a brief view of the 1964 Cillie Commission of Inquiry as the method used by the Verwoerd government to contain any possible crisis from the corruption that occurred with arms procurements from the late 1950s to the early 1960s.

Sinoxolo Cossie — Rhodes

*South African History and/in images*

***Postcard Photographs: Coloniality, Mobility and the Native Spectacle in Eastern Cape Postcards, 1895-1940***

Very seldom do we think of postcards as constructors of meaning in South Africa. Commonly viewed as innocent and accessible ways of communicating messages in the colonial world, postcards have

not been scrutinized for constructing ideas of the colonial enterprise. Using photographic themes such as colonial architecture, colonial aesthetics, colonial land, modernity, and Native others. Postcards constructed a colonial settler identity that has strongly fed into white nostalgia. In colonial South Africa, postcards were part of a network of mobility that linked with ideas of power and communication in the colony. Postcards concurrently occupied the private and public domains, with intimate messages communicated through a public post. The representation of Native life within these postcards has not only followed the common ethnographic representation which others, but it has also at times followed a liberal thought representing these Natives as “developed” due to their complex proximity to coloniality. Native life within these postcards became a spectacle that could be easily collected and consumed by a white audience to demonstrate white superiority. The fascination with such postcards has been an occurring phenomenon even in the postcolonial world. Different postcards from the Eastern Cape between 1895 and 1940 follow these photographic themes constructing meanings that require analysis.

Wendy Cox — University of Pretoria

*Biography and medicine in southern Africa*

***Probing and perpetuating porphyria: Dr Geoffrey Dean, 1947-1967***

In the wake of the twenty-first century global polycrisis, this paper focuses on a medical condition which had, and continues to have, devastating effects and afflicted close to 18 generations of South Africans. It will reflect on a two decade period in history - 1947 to 1967 - when South Africa was marked by crises: Politically, it was finding itself on the precipice and in a battle for its soul. At the same time, a couple of medical scientists, and an archivist, were “waging war” against an “invisible” enemy, namely porphyria variegata, a genetic metabolic disorder. The paper will explore and highlight Dr Geoffrey Dean’s ground-breaking medical scientific work and research in South Africa on this disease. It will do so through the lens of his articles published in medical journals globally while attention will also be given to his voluminous correspondence with Marie Kathleen Jeffreys, a Cape archivist. The paper will trace the medical history relating to this disease, and at the same time, it will chronicle Dean’s life experience during this period and thus provide a feminist view from below.

Robin K. Crigler — Dickinson College/Johannesburg Institute for Advanced Study

*South African History and/in images*

***May we never lose that sense of humor: Casey Motsisi's Soweto Years***

This paper is based on research for my second book project *Prise and Enter*, which traces the life and career of the legendary humorist of the early apartheid era, Karabo Moses Motsisi (better known as Casey). Best known for his satirical columns published in *Drum* magazine in the late 1950s and early 1960s, unlike many of his colleagues Motsisi continued to produce humorous columns from Johannesburg until his death in 1977. When the Western Native Township of his childhood and youth fell victim to apartheid removals, Motsisi and his family were forced to start over in Phiri, Soweto—the subject of more than one bitterly sarcastic journalistic salvo on Motsisi’s part. Collecting and revisiting Motsisi’s scattered archive from these last fifteen years of his life, necessarily requires confronting a question that inspired heated debates in his own lifetime: was it appropriate for a Black South African writer like Motsisi to weave comedy from the multiple crises of his time? Ultimately, I argue, Motsisi’s valiant bid to maintain a literary career within South Africa amid incredible challenges offers both positive and negative lessons in resilience as we wrestle the particularities of our own historical moment.

Benjamin Crous — Stellenbosch University

*Children, labour and emancipation in the Cape colony*

***Adult children of bondage: Recaptured African ‘childhoods’ and labour at the Cape Colony, c.1807 – 1834***

Between 1806 and 1896, approximately 214 000 formerly enslaved Africans in both the Indian and Atlantic Oceans were captured in an effort to abolish the slave trade. These ‘Liberated Africans’ or

'recaptured Africans' were apprenticed to colonial inhabitants for up to 14 years in various locales including the British Caribbean, Sierra Leone and the Cape Colony. An estimated 40 percent of these apprenticed labourers were children. At the Cape, they occupied a precarious status between child and adult, their liberty often linked to that of the mother. As this paper explores, recaptive 'childhood' at the Cape was a concept that was in a state of flux as the colonial government sought to reconcile the humanitarian endeavour of the metropole with the labour demands of the colony. This falls within a broader conceptualisation of childhood among the labouring classes of Khoes, enslaved and poor white children – the adult children of bondage at the Cape Colony. It is argued that colonial laws, in contrast to the moral philosophy of Britain, sought to restructure recaptive childhoods to ensure a steady pool of young labourers and this was, much as it was during apartheid for the black population, entrenched through the education they received.

Anusa Daimon —

*Histories of Malawi and its region*

***From Barriers to Bridges?: A Review of the African Union Border Programme (AUBP)'s Pursuit of Peace, Security and Development***

On 7 December 2017, the Mozambican border patrol police shot dead a 43-year-old Malawian in Makanjira along the Mozambique-Malawi border, after a group of Malawian peasants protested the uprooting of their subsistence crops by the Mozambican authorities. Malawi and Mozambique were, from 2008, involved in a World Bankfunded boundary retracing exercise under the African Union Border Program (AUBP) which saw Malawi losing about ten square kilometres of land to Mozambique. Six Malawian villages, with about 12000 people suddenly found themselves in Mozambican territory with inhabitants losing their nationhood and land and subjected to abuse and violence after Mozambique began its effective occupation in 2011 through beacon installations, patrols and raids. Allegedly, this was done without proper consultation with the affected communities. Despite numerous diplomatic manoeuvres to pacify the situation, tensions and sporadic clashes have come to characterise life within the borderland, with many peasants living in perpetual fear and uncertainty. The project, therefore, uses this case and engages qualitative research methods to investigate how the AUBP delimitation exercise has affected African borderland communities from 2008 to the present. It argues that while the program has achieved some success, its effort towards eliminating sources of conflict between states by realigning or transforming borders from barriers to bridges is creating new unintended sources of conflict that have consequences for the local populations. The study offers a platform for African governments and policymakers to reflect and draw critical lessons in the implementation modalities of a program that aimed at ensuring state security at the national level but ended up endangering human security on the local level.

Mpumelelo Dakile — North-West University

*Racism, refugees and xenophobia in southern Africa*

***Transformation in a mining township: Understanding regional migration and xenophobia in Khutsong***

This paper exposes the history of migratory trends in Khutsong through an analysis based on qualitative community studies from this mining inspired township, inclusive of its xenophobic dynamics. The article mainly focuses on the recently established Khutsong South settlements which have observed an influx of people from several regions in South Africa, and immigrants from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique and Lesotho with as motivation to attain economic benefits from the mining sector. This paper aims at i) informing on the demographic dynamics of Khutsong over time that transformed the township into a multinational community. Secondly some growing crises Khutsong is facing as a result, will be shared. Lastly the paper will iii) engage with voices from community on the history and presence of immigrants in their communities.

Lena Dallywater — Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography

*Exilic Experience Defining Anti-Apartheid*

***If an elephant has its foot on the tail of a mouse – Revisiting notions of Liberation during and after Apartheid***

We often refer to a "liberation" and "liberation movements." In my paper, I argue that there are also regional specificities for both argumentation and word usage, and secondly, that notions of "liberation" (national, continental, for all humanity) change over the course of an (activist) lifetime. As part of the world anti-apartheid movement, East and West have committed themselves to liberation from apartheid - but "liberation" (and above all what is to come afterwards) signals diverse concepts. The question of liberation may be understood as all-encompassing human, spiritual liberation, although the issue of religion in its relation to the political and armed struggle is still side-lined. This paper therefore encourages reflection on whether "liberation" amongst African activists, especially those being involved in the arts, literature, and related scholarly activity, might have been understood differently in the end, not as political liberation, but as spiritual liberation and salvific process, especially after many years of struggle. Revisiting the notion of liberation, across regional settings and in its changes over time, using perspectives from within the arts, literature, and the humanities in the academy the paper examines the relationship between liberation and religion. This paper takes research on African intellectuals as a starting point and looks at the relationship between African intellectuals and African anti-apartheid activists.

Anell Stacey Daries — Stellenbosch University

*Science as Ideology: Health Sciences and the White Body in the Apartheid State*

***Building Bodies and Making Men: The History of the Physical Training Battalion***

From the nineteenth century, prominent mouthpieces in political and intellectual circles began drawing attention to rampant white poverty across South Africa. Seeped in racist, sexist and classist ideologies, the fears surrounding white indignancy led the South African government to implement various measures to address this perceived threat to white supremacy. One of the ways through which the segregationist state sought to rebuild and restore poor white communities was to perfect the individual and collective white body. As part of this national plan to redeem a fallen subset of the white population, physical education programmes were launched across South Africa from the 1920s. Chief among these were the programmes offered by the Physical Training Battalion (PTB) from the 1940s. The PTB, admitted teenage boys who presented with various physical impairments and functioned to transform them into ideal citizens. At its core, the PTB was intent on white redemption through the use of structured physical education and training. The moulding and subjugation of bodies thus played an essential role in maintaining racial hierarchies and preserving white dominance.

Gita Davids — Stellenbosch University

*Crime and punishment in South Africa*

***A Grand Scam: Social networks, trust and the Krion Ponzi scheme***

From March 1998 until 2002, Marietjie Prinsloo and her family operated what became known as the Krion Ponzi scheme. The scheme targeted blue-collar workers in the Vaal Triangle, the majority of whom were Afrikaners and former South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation (ISCOR) employees whose economic fortunes had dwindled after apartheid. When the scheme collapsed, investors lost R1.5 billion. This was one of the biggest financial frauds in South African history. Perhaps not surprisingly, the various court cases involving the Krion scheme generated considerable public and media attention. Drawing on interviews with former Krion investors, transcriptions of court proceedings, and media archives of reporting on the scheme, this thesis focuses on the ways in which the media and courts framed the scheme, its operators, and its investors against the ways in which former investors explained their involvement and understanding of the scheme. Thus the media and the courts framed the scheme's operators as a crime cartel with Marietjie Prinsloo as its "Godmother", pointed at various tell-tale signs in the lead-up to its collapse that the scheme was illegitimate, and blamed investors for being greedy and financially naïve. A considerable amount of

reporting focused on the Afrikaner-ness of investors and suggested that they, like the “poor whites” of the 1920s, were blinded by authority, group loyalty and the persuasiveness of fellow Afrikaners who did not hesitate to defraud their own. Contradicting these depictions, interviews with investors showed that they made financial decisions based on their membership to social networks of kinship, friendship, work and religion. It was the evidence of people in their social networks’ success and their trust in these people’s motives, rather than Marietjie Prinsloo and her family’s persuasiveness, that convinced most investors to put money into Krion. This study also shows that the boundary between fraud and legitimate economic activity is more fluid than much of the reporting on the scheme allowed.

Fernanda Pinto de Almeida — University of the Western Cape

*Film, censorship and history*

***The Policeman as Censor: Cinema ordinances in South Africa and the order of film viewership, 1917-1927***

This paper approaches the transformation of policing in early twentieth century South Africa through the lens of popular culture, drawing inspiration from Robert Storch’s seminal 1976 study of the role of police in Northern England during the nineteenth century. In Storch’s analysis, the policeman acted as a domestic missionary, regulating the work and leisure activities of the new industrial working class. I investigate how the police assumed a similar custodial role over leisure and cultural activities in South Africa, specifically through the regulation of cinema houses and censorship of films over a decade, roughly from 1917 to 1927. This decade, I argue, marked a critical period for the regulation of cinema as a mass medium, as the police played a central role in censorship boards, critiqued and edited films, and issue licenses for cinema establishments. Cinema’s rise as a prominent form of popular leisure presented a challenge to existing regulatory bodies, prompting stricter state legislation and police intervention. By examining police correspondent during this decade, as well as the Bioscope Board’s censorship reports of over one hundred films lodged at the Western Cape Archives, I show how police efforts to regulate cinema theatres from the 1910s aimed to manage the potential for unruly, working class and racially mixed crowds to which these places were associated, and to control the exposure of young women and children to content deemed immoral. My research engages the work of Bill Nasson on the history of the Cape police force to locate cinema censors within broader reform movements and municipal law enforcement. Departing from Steinberg’s recent assertion that contemporary police debates in South Africa benefit from a global perspective, my paper situates the policeman as censor to shed light onto the relationship between police, early ordinances, and moralisation of popular culture, as well as the political character of cinema regulation in an incipient racial order.

Caio de Araujo — University of the Western Cape

*Histories of sexuality in southern Africa*

***Youth Problems: Love, Sex, and Youth Culture in Mozambique’s Socialism and Democratic Transition, from late 1970s to early 2000s***

This article intends to contribute to the history of youth in southern Africa by exploring how “youth problems” (problemas da juventude) were conceptualised, imagined, and acted upon in Mozambique’s postcolonial political culture. I will track how children and youth were fashioned by the ruling party Frelimo as “continuators” of the revolution, i.e. a group that needed to be invested with revolutionary values to assure the social and political reproduction of the new socialist society. Following the work of Benedito Machava’s on how morality worked to shape political loyalties and set the boundaries of citizenship in postcolonial Mozambique, I will explore how political moralism shaped public discourse and policy on the youth, especially around issues of sexual and affective practices and behaviours. In the second part of the article, I track how these discourses shifted amid the transition to democracy and economic liberalisation in the 1990s and early 2000s. I will show that in this moment a crisis of “decadence” of the youth emerged as an important topic in public conversation, serving to catalyse a broader debate about the future of the country. Finally, I will

show how the political transition also allowed the emergence of a public discourse around queerness.

Anna De Villiers — Stellenbosch University

*The lion's Pride: more-than-human history for a world in crisis I*

***Code Crane: the blue crane as a flagship species for modern conservation in South Africa, c. 1990 to 2024***

The blue crane population is on the decline in southern Africa. Currently, there are about 44 500 in South Africa and only 17 in Etosha (Namibia). South Africa's national bird has always been on the move: either being threatened by human expansion and farming practises. During the early 1990s, Western Cape farmers and conservationists cried out for national intervention, and since, multi-level initiatives have been designed to protect this vulnerable species. Over the past 40 years, along with South Africa's continuous changing political landscape, national priorities in terms of conservation and preservation of specific species, have shifted greatly. In a time of environmental crisis, historical scholarship that considers more-than-human histories are important. This paper disentangles blue crane conservational history, by locating specific conservation efforts within existing historical scholarship. We examine how changing political landscapes, along with changing attitudes, have told an important story of protecting South Africa's iconic bird.

Blessing Dhliwayo — Stellenbosch University

*The lion's Pride: more-than-human history for a world in crisis II*

***"All forest resources are state estate" The origins of forest conservation and the politics of colonial forest management in Southern Rhodesia, c.1910-1954.***

The article examines the origins of forest conservation and the politics of colonial forest management in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) from 1910 to 1954. It analyses how the state, through the forest department, sought to control, regulate, demarcate, and manage forest resources in Southern Rhodesia. To this end, the article traces the development of different apparatuses used by the state to maintain its grip on forest resources. It was these mechanisms that gave birth to the 1949 forestry policy and, subsequently, the establishment of the Forestry Commission in 1954 that expansively transformed forestry management in Zimbabwe. This article therefore argues that the establishment of the forest department, forest laws and regulations had one goal in mind: to maximise profit from forest resources. Thus, this article resonates with the historiography that conforms to the idea that, during the colonial period, forest resources were to benefit state commercial interests at the expense of African communities and conservation ideologies. Methodologically, the article make use of archival materials that include reports, correspondences, parliamentary debates and newspapers.

Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie — University of the Western Cape

*Tradition and change in 20th-century KwaZulu-Natal*

***Gandhi's Phoenix Settlement: A Journey Through Time, 1904 to 2024***

The establishment of Phoenix Settlement in 1904 in the countryside of northern Natal was one of Gandhi's most important experiments. It brought together people of different faiths, class, gender, racial and cultural backgrounds and age. Phoenix Settlement encapsulated the total Gandhian package of how one should live and act to transform society to be more equitable and just. Gandhi departed South Africa in 1914 and the settlement continues to exist till today. The settlement passed through many eras of time from pre-Union South Africa, through to the Union of South Africa, the Republic of South Africa under apartheid and thirty years of democratic South Africa. Victoria County within which it was located gave way to Inanda District and the address for Gandhi's farm is now Bhambayi, a sprawling informal settlement. This paper explores the central ideas behind the experiment at Phoenix and the extent to which those who succeeded Gandhi in running Phoenix were able to sustain the project or introduced new goals. How did Phoenix Settlement respond to the different eras of time in which it found itself? What changed, what remained and how did it transcend periods of crisis?

Shokahle R. Dlamini — University of Eswatini  
*Crises, disability and disease in southern Africa*

***HIV Service Delivery in Eswatini before and during COVID 19, 2011-2022***

Although historical research on HIV/AIDS and the impact of the COVID 19 pandemic in Africa has begun to appear in publications, there still exists a dearth of material emerging from the southern African context. Eswatini, is one of the countries where this paucity in literature is particularly discernible. A few studies on COVID 19 and HIV/AIDS in Eswatini have focused attention on the inaccessibility of HIV/AIDS testing yet there were a number of other HIV prevention and clinical services that were affected. This paper argues that before COVID 19, the provision of HIV services in the country contributed to the reduction of HIV incidence and to achieving the UNAIDS global goal of 95-95-95. However, COVID 19 reversed these gains. A comparative analysis of HIV service delivery before and during the COVID 19 pandemic brings a historical dimension to and places the HIV service delivery in Eswatini within a historical perspective. Weaving together a variety of primary and secondary sources, this paper makes a comparison of HIV/AIDS service delivery before and during the COVID 19 pandemic. Furthermore, the paper identifies the HIV services affected by the relentless spread of COVID 19 and explains how they were affected. It further examines the impact of COVID 19 on HIV service delivery in Eswatini in the period under study.

Thand'Olwethu Dlanga — University of the Free State  
*Liberation armies in southern Africa*

***Chasing the Sun: The history of the Azanian Liberation Army (APLA), 1968-1994***

The post-apartheid liberation historiography has been constructed and curated in a way that influences public memory to assume that only one liberation movement (the African National Congress) was involved in the South African liberation struggle. The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), have largely been given perfunctory attention or totally ignored because of the selective politics of memory. In instances where the history of APLA and/or the PAC is given attention, the focus has been on the leadership conflicts within it, or negative interpretations of their actions during the period 1990-1994. This article through oral and secondary sources, excavates the development of APLA, mapping its roots from the PAC's Africanist Task Force that was established in 1959. Furthermore, the article traces the decision by the PAC to establish a conventional army that was fundamentally influenced by the Maoist China. This alignment with China, the article suggests that it was influenced by the lack of resources in the side of the PAC, and the Chinese national interest regarding China. While the article will attempt to present some of the major military activities of 'APLA since its establishment in 1968, the fundamental objective is to historicize and canvas an overall picture of APLA during the period 1968 until 1994 when its functions were officially suspended. The article interrogates a subject matter that has not been extensively discussed in the scholarship in general. The author is cognizant of the fact that limited written sources are generally available in the archives, however, as a way to rebuild the archives, the study will rely extensively on oral interviews.

Graham Dominy — University of South Africa  
*The struggle and historical memory in South Africa*

***"I knew in that instant that my life on the run was over" the Capture of Nelson Mandela: 5 August 1962: Site identification, preservation and symbolism***

The capture of Nelson Mandela near Howick on 5 August 1962 marked a critical moment in liberation struggle. This preceded the raid on Liliesleaf near Rivonia by nearly a year and Mandela underwent two trials in quick succession. Mystery still surrounds the circumstances of Mandela's betrayal, and his 1962 trial is less well known than the Rivonia Trial the following year. The role of Cecil Williams, Mandela's "driver" is considered how this influenced the constitutional protections for LGBTQI+ rights in the democratic constitution. The paper also focuses on the identification of the site by Nelson Mandela in the early 1990s and its subsequent proclamation as a National Monument by the former National Monuments Council, including the initial opposition expressed to the process



by old guard elements. The subsequent development and interpretation of the site is discussed, and the paper concludes with the interpretation of the incident and the site in popular culture.

Luvuyo Mthimkhulu Dondolo — University of South Africa

*The struggle and historical memory in South Africa*

***Sabelo Phama: A Forgotten South African Revolutionary***

Although the South African struggle against colonialism and later apartheid was a collective, and its account is of people's history and heritage, there are individuals that deserve a special chronicle. Sabelo Victor Gqwetha, popularly known as Sabelo Phama, through his monumental contribution to the liberation struggle is one of such individuals. However, because of the art of curating the nation by the State and the monolithic historical master narrative of the past in post-1994, he is forgotten and not forming part of the post-apartheid memorial enterprise and rewriting of history. Phama, like other leaders from other political formations besides the African National Congress (ANC), is erased from the public discourse. This reconstruction of history in the present, with degrees of forgottenness, is problematic at many levels. This study discusses five levels of forgottenness of Sabelo Phama. Furthermore, it brings him to the main discourse of rewriting history and heritage landscapes on the one hand. While arguing that despite his leaner presentation through the 'years of great storm' in the existing texts; his political capabilities, intellectual and military capital are undisputable, and give a comprehensive meaning of his significance.

Wayne Dooling — University of London

*Children, labour and emancipation in the Cape colony*

***Colonial Cape Town and the Indian Ocean World in the Era of Slave Emancipation***

The Cape Colony was as much integrated into the Indian Ocean World as it was to the Atlantic. It is possible that Persian merchants reached the shores of the present-day Eastern Cape as early as the 11th century, but it was the establishment of the Dutch colony by the VOC in the middle of the seventeenth century that made the integration complete. Thanks to relatively recent scholarship, thus, the wearied view of the Cape as the VOC's refreshment station has been fundamentally recast. Only rarely, however, has the colony's integration into the nineteenth century Indian Ocean been examined. This paper argues that post-emancipation Cape Town was home to a community of Muslims with continued ties to the Indian Ocean World, especially the Swahili coast and the Arabian Peninsula where slavery and slave trading continued to thrive well into the twentieth century. Islam stood at the centre of these networks and associations which provided access to sources of capital – whether in slave trading in the Indian Ocean or diamond smuggling on the Kimberley diamond fields – so vital to the initial stages of accumulation. In all, the making of a black propertied class in colonial Cape Town almost certainly had external – and nefarious – origins.

Marijke du Toit — University of the Western Cape

*The black press and writing in the vernacular*

***'phepha leli kakulona elamadoda odwa' (This paper is not only for men): The presence of women in Ilanga lase Natal, 1930-1939.***

This is the draft of a chapter contribution to an edited book, focused on the history of the Durban-based newspaper Ilanga. Edited by Bongani Ngqulunga (University of Johannesburg), it is planned for publication later this year, to mark Ilanga's 120th birthday. My chapter builds on recent research which considered a shift in terms of gender discourse in Ilanga lase Natal (as it was then called) from the early 1930s, a decade first characterised by discussions between men about 'isifazane sakiti emadolobeni' (our women in the towns) and then later by the emergence of African women as letter-writers and columnists, not least in the context of the growing public, political activities of Amadodakazi ase Afrika/Daughters of Africa. I revisit questions about when and why women's presence in urban areas became an increasingly popular topic of discussion amongst male letter-writers in Ilanga lase Natal, and consider how women themselves began to claim space not only for political discussion but also for debating love, relationships and marriage. In the 1930s Ilanga lase Natal was very much a newspaper of the province's mission-educated, Zulu-speaking elite, although

its community of readers extended to other parts of South Africa, particularly the Rand. As such, this was the newspaper of 'amazentidi'. The word is derived from 'exempted' in English, and denotes colonial subjects with special status in the sense that they were formally exempted from the Natal Native Code. During years when the Hertzog Bills were making their way through Parliament - expanding South Africa's regime of segregatory legislation - this status was increasingly precarious. With this chapter, I am feeling my way into strategies for analysis that pay careful attention to the arrangements of visual/textual elements on the pages of *Ilanga lase Natal*, in order to explore how meaning was made through composite text, at a time when letters to the editor

Bernard Dubbeld — Stellenbosch University

*Tradition and change in 20th-century KwaZulu-Natal*

***Investments of late apartheid: International capital and the remaking of a sugar settlement in KwaZulu-Natal, 1968-1996***

This paper presents an account of the re-making of a small rural village in KwaZulu-Natal from approximately 1969 to 1996. It describes the period in which an international corporation—Lonrho—takes ownership of a small sugar mill, transforming production and the surrounding village. Buying the mill from the only Indian family who owned a mill in the province, the corporation maintained a distinction from the local white Natalian families who dominated the sugar industry-- what Lincoln (1985) named the sugarocracy-- maintaining the mill for more than twenty-five years despite hostility from the rest of the industry. Indeed, Lonrho's involvement and infrastructural investments in the area pointed to an idea of development that promised employment security and social mobility for Indian workers and their families. This paper then tries to make sense of this corporation in the late apartheid period, considering its investments, involvements and ultimate divestment from the industry. I suggest that Lonrho's time in South African sugar differed quite significantly from apartheid versions of "racial capitalism," representing an attempt to internationalise ownership and to reconnect South Africa with more metropolitan forms of accumulation that might complicate accounts of late Apartheid and the transition to democracy.

Thembanani Dube — Stellenbosch University

*Death, burial and disaster in southern Africa*

***Death, migration and belonging: A Historical study of Burial Societies amongst Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa***

The establishment of Burial Societies in urban cities dates back to the advent of colonial rule, where the poor African urban dwellers sought to provide financial support to members in the event of death. Overtime, these associations have become social gatherings which also serve to embark on community development initiatives in the home country, while articulating notions of home and belonging amongst the members in the host country. Through a historical analysis of Burial Societies, the paper engages with the role of Burial Societies in transnational migrants' lives. It seeks to explore the connection between history, migration and belonging using Burial Society membership as a lens to understand this connection amongst Zimbabwean migrants living in South Africa. The paper argues that the establishment of Burial Societies by Zimbabwean migrants was motivated by the desire to be buried at their home country, while at the same time expressing their identity and transnational lives. The paper uses a wide range of sources such as Oral history interviews, archival sources and secondary literature in order to explore the connection between migration, death and belonging amongst marginal communities.

Hlela Dyasi — University of the Witwatersrand

*LGBTQ+ histories in southern Africa*

***Queering Post-Genocide Rwanda: Rwanda's Approach to LGBTI+ Rights***

The interdisciplinary framework of queer African studies has painstakingly emphasised two goals in its approaches: to think of Africa as inherently queer and of queer (theory) as inherently African. In its burgeoning scholarship, these categorised approaches critically engage the ways in which sexuality and gender have, within history and its legacies, formulated a narrative of "African identity

in a globalised and postcolonial world” (Otu and van Klinken 2023, p. 511). Sexuality and gender, then, along with the perceptions and moral values that change with time globally, creates perceptions and relationships with Africa that appear to place Africa at the polar opposites of what is considered progressive. Building on the views held in this framework, this essay seeks to understand motivations underpinning Rwanda’s inconsistent approach to LGBTI+ issues at domestic and international level. While Rwanda has made significant progress in support of LGBTI+ rights at international level, domestically there are no significant legislative and constitutional protections that are afforded to LGBTI+ persons. This paper seeks to understand how and why Rwanda has these shifts in their approach. For the purposes of this case study analysis, this paper focuses on Rwanda’s transitional processes. This is done so as to understand the ways in which the ‘One Rwanda’ – Banyarwanda - national identity conceptualises of LGBTI+ identities. This is crucial for this paper, so as to critically engage with the ways in which transitional process shape identity politics in Rwanda.

Micah Dyerer — Stellenbosch University

*Families in crisis?*

***Mom’s Move for Justice Movement: Mothers Against Gangsterism in the Cape Flats, c. 1960-2024***

Historically, various community and legislative measures were implemented in South Africa to combat gangsterism on the Cape Flats. Two such examples include the formation of the People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD) in 1996 and the Prevention Against Organized Crime Act 121 of 1998. There exists an extant literature on gangsterism in South Africa with some works focusing on the law, vigilantism and gangsterism. All point to the increase of gang activity and shifting roles, identities and genders of gangs and gangsters. The impact of gangsterism on communities is portrayed in some studies but the impact on the family has received very little attention. The “Moms Move for Justice Movement”, established in 2015 by a mother who lost her son to gangsterism, assists mothers and families directly impacted by gangsterism. This article unpacks the historical trajectory of community-based interventions on the Cape Flats with a focus on this semi-formal organisation. What is evident is the divergent ways mothers in particular have attempted to navigate gangsterism and motherhood over the years and this has depended on whether their children acted as gangsters or their families were victims of gang violence. In essence, the article considers the historical impact of gangsterism on the family.

Jephias Dzimbanhete — Great Zimbabwe University

*History and biography from Zimbabwe I*

***‘We contributed more than the armed guerrilla fighter’: The lived experiences of a mujibha during the Zimbabwean War of Independence***

Teenage boys and some bachelors acted as vanamujibha during the Zimbabwean war of liberation. Vanamujibha were unmarried boys and men who assisted the liberation fighters during the war by engaging in activities that furthered the cause of the war. These young men were sometimes seen as the ears and eyes of the guerrilla fighters who were known as comrades. This paper looks at the wartime vivid experiences of one mujibha who operated in a battle zone of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA)’s Gaza Province. This paper seeks to investigate whether vanamujibha had a clear understanding of the significance of the tasks that they performed. This represents a biographical paper about a mujibha who was known as Felix. Felix was a mujibha who collaborated with the liberation fighters (comrades) for two years (1978 and 1979) in Charumbira area in Masvingo (then Fort Victoria).

Nina Epler-Brandenburg — Stellenbosch University

*The lion’s Pride: more-than-human history for a world in crisis II*

***Why History needs to pay more attention to Water: A case study of the Etosha region of Namibia***

Since the rise of environmentalism in the 1960s, climate change, habitat loss and resource pollution have fast become widely researched topics. However not all consequences of today’s environmental crisis have been equally topical: water is neglected from the humanities side. ‘Water Studies’, the umbrella term for all water related research, is saturated by STEM research. However, these

dominant research approaches often neglect to mention the political, economic and social dimensions of water. It is here that the role of the historian is needed, as some exciting new studies suggest, to explore the shifting anthropogenic factors in water studies. History serves as a means to synthesise various disciplinary perspectives, which is an approach that water as a topic requires to encapsulate its complexity. In the southern African context the need for an increased focus on Water History within Water Studies is twofold. Firstly, Water History is an under researched area compared to other disciplines within Water Studies, especially in the Global South. Secondly, knowledge of water from southern African people who have lived within the context of water scarcity for generations is indispensable. This can be seen in the lives of the Hai//om people of the Etosha region of Namibia, the most arid country in southern Africa. Overall, there is a place for discipline of History to become more vocal within the broader field of Water Studies to provide a deeper understanding of water in the Anthropocene.

Marc Epprecht — Queens University

*Histories of sexuality in southern Africa*

***Mozambican men's and boys' sexual relationships in the migrant system in South Africa and Zimbabwe, ca 1870-1950: Re-evaluating the evidence and arguments***

This paper is part of a larger work in progress. *Queer Mozambique: From the Mines to the Manas* will critically assesses studies about sexual and gender dissidence in Mozambique over the last hundred years. This contribution scrutinizes three key archival sources in English that historians in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa (the author included) have used to propose general explanations of the emergence of mine marriage among African men and boys (demographic imbalance, fear of sexually transmitted infections, racial capitalism and such). Here I return to the Leary-Taberer enquiry into “unnatural vice at the mines on the Rand, criminal court records, and two snippets of oral history that span from the late 19th century to the mid-20th. These sources are highly problematic but nonetheless provide a unique record of Mozambican men's and boys' voices that may help us to contextualize transitions in Mozambique's distinctive gender and sexuality cultures. They also prompt reflection on the decision-making choices of scholars in their efforts to account for masculine sexual desire.

Tasneem Essop — University of the Witwatersrand

*Thinking and debating 'liberation' in apartheid southern Africa*

***Revisiting the Congress Tradition***

The 'Congress tradition' is often referred to in both historical and contemporary literature on the African National Congress (ANC) and Congress-aligned organisations, known as the Congress movement. As a movement formed in political struggle it took on different forms over a long period, ultimately coming to occupy a central place in the events of the 1980s, and becoming the hegemonic component of the national liberation struggle through these processes. In this regard, Congress came to shape a particular set of political imaginaries in South Africa, doing so in relation to other traditions that developed in the national liberation struggle. Since then, and in the present, parts of this tradition are returned to, redeployed and at times reimagined. These redeployments serve as a reminder that this tradition of politics was shaped through contestation, and was never a singular, sealed object. This paper revisits the Congress tradition as it was formed historically using secondary literature as well as a number of key documents, touching of components of the making of this tradition, as well as its ascendance in the 1980s. It highlights the need to return to the Congress tradition, its politics and practices, in working through more contemporary political moments.

Casey Fern — Independent

*Biography and medicine in southern Africa*

***The Pedagogical Potential of Affective Oral Histories: A Case Study of Student Interviewer Testimonies in the Health and Human Rights Oral History Project***

This paper advances an analysis of the pedagogical potential of doing oral history through an examination of the testimonies of three student interviewers involved in the pilot phase of the

Health and Human Rights Oral History Project (HHROHP), the first collection of oral histories centered on the health and human rights movement. This paper argues that engaging with the reflections of student interviewers offers meaningful insight into the interview process from the perspective of a novice interviewer. The evolution in student interviewers' interviewing skills and understanding of the health and human rights movement underscores the educational value of doing oral history. In the case of the HHROHP, the student interviewers' testimonies have revealed an additional and unexpected change in the social consciousness of the student interviewers. With regards to documenting the process of the archive, this paper further submits that the reflections of the student interviewers have granted meaningful insight into the affecting nature of the oral history interview, with meaningful implications for furthering the mandate of the contemporary health and human rights movement.

Chet Fransch — Stellenbosch University

*Histories of sexuality in southern Africa*

***Universalizing the Particular: Conceptual Frameworks of Rape in the Cape, 17-20th centuries***

The existing literature on rape within specific locations all contribute to a universalised shared experience of rape trauma, and a connection between locations in terms of rape theories, myths and scares. Historically, the definition of rape has been contested. Policing rape, has proven as elusive. Precolonial, colonial and postcolonial societies have conceptualised and punished in what Martin Chanock describes as a "patchwork" of legal systems. These, argues Mahmood Mamdani, are codified and enforced during colonial conquest and are rarely re-imagined by new political leaders who conveniently uphold these patriarchal impositions. Colonial and customary law within these readings, comfortably differentiate between Black and White societies. What is somewhat neglected are the entrenched codes of hybrid communities, or Coloured communities of the Cape in this instance, and informal "judicial" systems. This paper is twofold. It will unpack reported cases of rape in the Western Cape of South Africa from the 17th-20th centuries, locating the specific observations within a global conversation. Secondly it will reflect on the informal ways rape has historically been punished in the province. In so doing, the paper makes an argument that hybrid or creolised codes of regulating and punishing rapists firstly shares a place within the patchwork of legislations, and secondly, is connected to similar communities in a global context.

Katie Garrun — University of Cape Town

*Debating heritage, memory and historiography in southern Africa*

***Preserving a community: Situating the Jewish Living Archive in the Global South***

The Jewish Living Archive, a cross repository, cross institution project, includes the only institution actively collecting Jewish physical archival materials at the University of Cape Town along with AtoM based, newly relaunched <https://sajmarchives.com/> hosted by the South African Jewish Museum. This project functions to preserve and provide open access to archival materials, meticulously kept for generations. While these materials may be considered primarily of Jewish interest, themes of broad interest such as migration, resilience, religion, human rights, Apartheid, domesticity, ethnicity, among many others all aid to illuminate the past in South Africa. The challenges we face, include the very real risk to paper archives and necessity for digitisation as well as the complex nuances and sensitivities of a web-based memory system.

Jan-Bart Gewald — Leiden University/Stellenbosch University

*Digging for History: Labour, Geology and the Environment in Colonial Southern Africa*

***Diamonds and Dust: The Toxic Legacy of Diamond Mining in Kimberley South Africa, 1870-1920***

There is a city built on diamonds in southern Africa. The city is invariably described by visitors not in terms of glitter and glamour, but in one of the two following ways; Kimberley is hot and dusty, or Kimberley is cold and dusty. The city of Kimberley, provincial capital of the Northern Cape Province, South Africa, is built upon and among the detritus of no less than five diamond mines that were in operation between 1871 and 2020. Beginning in 1870 thousands upon thousands of men scoured the earth searching for diamonds, resulting in the creation of the "Big Hole", the largest hole in the world

dug by human hands. This deep level mining for countless wealth came at an enormous environmental cost and was associated with extensive tree clearing for timber and firewood in a radius of 250 km of the mines. In addition diamond mining was coupled with the establishment of enormous barren mine dumps of waste across which the harsh winds of the highveld move at will. Writing in 1872, Czech traveller Emil Holub, struggled to describe the impact on man and beast of the dust that enveloped the mining settlement, “A dull, dense fog ... dense clouds of dust, first raised by the west wind from the orange-coloured sand on the plains, and then mingled with the loose particles of calciferous earth piled up in heaps amidst the huts on the diggings. ... the blinding mist was so thick that we could only see a few yards before us; ... , our faces and our clothes were literally encrusted. We only shared the fate of all new-comers, in feeling much distressed and really ill; the very horses snorted and sneezed, and showed that the condition of things was no less painful to them than to their masters”. Throughout the years that followed visitors to the city have invariably described similarly distressing scenes. The paper to be presented will seek to describe the socially skewed long-term impact of toxic mining dust upon the inhabitants of Kimberley, and the business and political policy responses to this public health hazard between 1870 and 1920. The paper is based upon wide-ranging literary and archival research, coupled with extensive fieldwork visits to Kimberley and its mining sites in the past four decades.

Jan-Bart Gewald — Leiden University/Stellenbosch University

*Digging for History: Labour, Geology and the Environment in Colonial Southern Africa*

***From Diamonds to Dust: The Rise of the South African Empire, 1870-1960***

As Southern Africa faces a complex series of crises ranging from economic inequality to climate change it is increasingly important to understand the historical roots of the present moment. These challenges are the product of Southern Africa's developmental path which historically has centred on mineral resource extraction through the growth of industrial mining. Previously scholars have understood this history through the lens of nation-based studies and have largely neglected the extent to which these developments were part of a broader regional phenomenon. We argue that between 1870 and 1960 the Southern African region from the Cape to Katanga comprised the South African Empire. This was an area of formal and informal influence exercised by South African based economic and political interests. This literature review outlines how historians have understood the history of South African economic, social and political influence throughout the subcontinent. In doing so we emphasise the symbiotic relationship between mining capital and political power as the driver of South African expansionism. This will shed new light on the origins of the challenges that the region faces.

Clive Glaser — University of the Witwatersrand

*Teaching, schools and universities in South Africa*

***Opportunities and Obstacles to Educational Equality: Morris Isaacson High School in the Democratic Era***

In 1994 the idealistic Gauteng Department of Education was determined to redistribute resources and expertise to poorer township schools in an attempt to make public schooling more equal. Morris Isaacson High School, with its history of good management, dedicated teaching and political fame, should have been ideally positioned to flourish in the post-apartheid environment. Although the school achieved some moderate success, it never became the sort of flagship elite institution many hoped it would become. Schools like MIHS were not held back by a failure of state support, but rather by its tough environment. Whereas public schools in wealthy areas could rely on voluntary subsidies, social capital in a variety of forms, and the relative security of their neighbourhoods, MIHS had to fight a relentless battle to raise additional funds, retain good staff, protect itself from crime, and encourage hard-pressed parents and guardians to get more involved in school life. Better-off families tended to leave the neighbourhood or send their children to schools in the formerly white suburbs. MIHS could not divorce itself from its surroundings any more than it could control the level of preparedness of students who entered the school in huge numbers from struggling feeder schools.

Alida Green —

*Dancing, living and labouring in Johannesburg*

***"Jo'burger" and its "Jo'burg Jitters", 1920s to 1940s: Social dancing in the city***

In September 1939, a film news clip screened in one of London's cinemas, featured boisterous dancing at an event held in Johannesburg. The short clip showed young adult partners kicking wildly, waving their arms, knocking their knees, and dipping to the beat of a small live dance band. It concludes with the amazed commentator jokingly warning future British tourists to beware of the "Jo'burg Jitters". The event, part of several "Jitterbug Jamboree" competitions, provides a brief glimpse into the social life of middle-class Johannesburg where there was a well-established social dancing infrastructure. This paper explores how this dancing fad was introduced to Johannesburg's local leisure scene. It argues that social dancers actively shaped the dances and the infrastructure to suit their specific needs. It will consider how social dancing was perceived amongst various members of the community and will conclude with a brief discussion of the dancing fashions of the time and the impact dancing dress had on societal image. Through this leisure lens it challenges the traditional view of the colonial encounter and stereotypical concepts of acculturation.

Liesel Grobler — North-West University

*Debating heritage, memory and historiography in southern Africa*

***The socio-economic era and legacy of the Knysna woodcutter community, 1913-1948: Debating some historiographic perspectives***

The historiography of the Knysna region and its woodcutter communities has been rich and multifaceted, with scholars offering diverse perspectives and interpretations over the years. Previous studies have delved into various aspects of Knysna's history, including its economic development, social dynamics, and environmental challenges. However, despite the existing body of research, there remains a need for a comprehensive reevaluation of the socio-economic legacy of the woodcutter community. The broader research study from which this discussion will unfold covers a deepened study on the socio-economic legacy of the Knysna woodcutter community from 1913-1948. In all it covers an intricate socio-economic tapestry of Knysna's woodcutter community during the economically challenging early 20th century. Eventually the research hopes to reveal how woodcutter communities each were imbued with unique cultural orientations, as they navigated the complex web of economic dynamics in their own ranks and the broader community. Furthermore, it endeavors to shed light on the adaptive strategies employed by the woodcutters in response to the shifting socio-economic currents. This paper aims to contribute to this ongoing scholarly dialogue by critically engaging with existing historiographical frameworks and methodologies. By looking at the strengths, limitations, and gaps in previous scholarship, the paper seeks to offer fresh insights and perspectives by revisiting seemingly well-studied topics and eras, emphasizing the importance of continuous reexamination and reinterpretation in historical research.

Zoe Groves — University of Leicester

*History and biography from Zimbabwe II*

***The Life History of Jackson Phiri: Migrant Musician from Malawi***

It is now accepted that micro-histories are rich histories that can reflect on grand historical narratives and offer puzzles to help understand historical processes and experiences. Using a life history approach, this paper looks at the life of Jackson Phiri, a man born in Malawi in 1940 and who moved to Zimbabwe in 1961 to pursue his ambitions in music. He lived in Harare for many years, and played guitar in several bands touring the popular bars and entertainment venues of the time in towns, cities and on farms across the country. Phiri recalls working closely with a number of prominent artists, including the likes of Thomas Mapfumo, Mbira Dzenharira, and Patrick Mkwamba of the Four Brothers. He later moved to Norton where he resides today. In the mid-1980s, following the death of his mother in Malawi and a prophetic dream, Phiri started to write a book about his life and 'Struggles for Musical Fame in Zimbabwe' – which forms the title of his manuscript. In this paper, we highlight the major themes in Phiri's life – the struggle of a working-class man against poverty, individual aspirations and family relations, contributions to music and cultural life in the

city, and migration and belonging. We ask what his memories and stories can tell us about the social, cultural and political history of Zimbabwe and southern Africa in the late 20th and early 21st century, and how his telling of his own life history can contribute to new forms of biographical history writing.

Liz Gunner — University of Johannesburg

*Music and/in (post) apartheid South Africa*

***FOSATU Choirs in a Restless Decade: Music, Archives and Affiliation***

The Shifty Records label, archived at Stellenbosh University, provides a unique record of work based choirs, often with a high proportion of women singers, and their incorporation into a brief period of FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions) activity, when such choirs became part of the broader resistance of FOSATU. The choirs in some cases overlapped with Isicathamiya groups which often also had a work-based affiliation. My paper traces parts of this hitherto undocumented body of song and its interaction with the recording life of Shifty Records, whose archive holds important sonic moments of the performance life of political affiliation. It asks what song and choral loyalties tell us about broader patterns of politics and culture in a restless decade - the 1980s.

Victor Muchineripi Gwande —

*Interregional politics in southern Africa*

***'Politics of rational disputation': The political life of Douglas Mwonzora in Zimbabwe's democratisation struggle***

Born in 1968, Douglas Togaraseyi Mwonzora is a politician, parliamentarian, lawyer, and the current president of one of the opposition political parties, the Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai (MDC-T), in Zimbabwe. He has been involved in Zimbabwe's politics since 1988, making him one of the longest-serving opposition politicians. With a political career spanning over 30 years, Mwonzora has recorded some notable milestones in the country's post-colonial political trajectory. From opposing Robert Mugabe's oneparty state ideology as a student leader at the University of Zimbabwe, to legally advising and joining the first opposition party post-Gukurahundi, Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), to advocating the government's political parties finance Act, forming the constitutional lobby body, the National Constitutional Assembly, to co-chairing the 2013 constitutional making process and instigating the infamous split of the once-powerful MDCT in 2020, he has had an indelible mark on the country's political terrain. At the same time, his actions have divided political opinion. With some describing him as a constitutionalist and strategist, while others label him a puppet and sell-out, he characterises his politics as that of rational disputation, big on ideas and not populism nor confrontation. Admired and loathed in equal measure, Mwonzora's politics require some closer examination. This paper posits that tracing the political life of Mwonzora allows for an understanding of the broader democratisation struggle in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Further, by doing so, the study contributes to the resurgent historiography of biographies and the role of individuals in history.

Mark Hackney — University of Johannesburg

*Water and infrastructure in South Africa*

***Linking Disconnected River Basins: The Construction of the Orange-Fish Tunnel***

The river basins of the Orange, Fish, and Sundays Rivers had been geologically separated for thousands of years. During the 1960s and 1970s, an important part of the Orange River Development Project aimed to link these river basins to carry water from the Orange River into the eastern regions of the Cape Province's agricultural and urban areas. This was achieved by the construction of the Orange-Fish Tunnel, a subterranean waterway that flows from the Gariep Dam in the southern Free State province to an outlet more than 80 kilometers away in the Eastern Cape. The tunnel's design and construction required expertise from local and international hydrological engineers and construction firms. This paper examines the Orange-Fish Tunnel's design and construction processes within the larger context of the Orange River Development Project by examining the economic, social, and engineering factors that influenced the final construction of the tunnel.



Muziwandile Hadebe —

*Doctors, Writers, and Traditional Leaders of KwaZulu-Natal II*

***“To remember is salvation. To forget is exile”: Inkosi Miskofini, Capital Punishment, and the Ward System in Natal***

Inkosi Miskofini Dlamini of the amaKhuze in Ixopo, Upper Umkhomazi and Ipholela divisions navigated colonial rule, the implementation of the poll tax and resultant IMpi yamaKhanda, and accusations of so-called witchcraft. The paper gives a detailed analysis of Dlamini's ascendancy to the throne, unpacks the challenges he and other amakhosi faced, and the factors that led to Inkosi Miskoffini's untimely demise. In doing so, it tackles questions of justice under colonialism and the various punishments inflicted. For Dlamini, this meant the loss of territory and ultimately, his execution in 1921 in Natal. Colonialism can be conceptualised as a continued crisis of the violent imperialistic project initiated by Western powers in the 18th century. Its focus was to dismantle and re-arrange the political, social, cultural, and economic systems of indigenous nations. In early 20th century South Africa, the Natal Colony was a strategic geo-political and military location enjoying a wealth of natural resources. The local indigenous authorities were important actors in the resistance against the colonial project. While some ultimately acquiesced under the threat of the colonial authorities, others were co-opted and rewarded handsomely for their treachery. In focusing thus, the paper provides light on issues still under debate in South Africa today, including capital punishment and the relationship between land and indigenous authority.

Lari Hallowes-Welman —

*Debating heritage, memory and historiography in southern Africa*

***The Union Burial Ground in Gqeberha: 'Coloured' Graves in a 'Settler Cemetery'***

This paper traces the history of the London Missionary Society's burial ground for its Khoi congregation in colonial Gqeberha (formerly Port Elizabeth), as well as how this cemetery has since been forgotten from contemporary public memory. The Union Burial Ground, situated in the southern portion of present-day Russell Road Cemetery, was established in 1838 for the LMS's 'Hottentot' congregants, with the addition of 'European', 'Mixed' and 'Coloured' burials at a later stage. As such, multi-racial burials took place up until the cemetery's closure in 1897, however, the ground is today regarded as the 'Settler Cemetery' with an emphasis on the final resting place of 'prominent' white settlers. The cemetery is historically significant as not only the first black burial ground in Gqeberha, but also as the first multi-racial cemetery, which was uncommon at the time. In this paper, I argue that the cemetery's former use has been forgotten due to colonial and apartheid memorial practices, as well as the post-apartheid nation building project. This paper forms part of a chapter in my Master's thesis on forgotten black cemeteries in Gqeberha from the colonial period.

Thomas Hartley — Nelson Mandela University

*Apartheid abuses and historiographical debates*

***The Myth of the clean South African Defence Force (SADF): The Sanitization of the SADF in post-Apartheid Historiography***

The current academic literature surrounding white conscripts who fought in the Border War pays more attention to identity formation and feelings of conscripts, as opposed to the public memory. The South African 'Border War' was fought by the South African Defence Force (SADF), that compromised of white conscripts who served a two-year contract. After the war and the coming of the new regime, the actions of white conscripts were sanitized in nearly all facets of South African media, literature and academia. This work seeks to explore this sanitization, why it occurred and how it increasingly effects historical production of knowledge relating to the Border War today. This sanitization will be examined within the framework of the 'Myth of the Clean Wehrmacht', a similar phenomenon observed in Post-Second World War studies.

Shireen Hassim — Institute of African Studies

*Monuments and memory in southern Africa and beyond*

***Memory, Monuments and Mishaps: The Unruly Making of the Women's Living Heritage Monument in South Africa***

In February 2012, the Premier of Gauteng, Nomvula Mokonyane, announced the intention to create a museum dedicated to the contributions of women to the struggle for freedom in South Africa. Named the Women's Living Heritage Monument (WLHM), through an early process of public participation, the project was set to be historic. Although elements of women's participation in various movements have been included in memorial sites, and some monuments to individual women were created, there is no dedicated museum on a national scale in South Africa and very few in other places in the world. Disappointingly, and despite a tremendous body of work, the project stalled due to lack of funding. This paper is an insiders' account, provided by core members of the team. It addresses the debates on the conceptualising and design of the museum, on the navigation of expectations that the museum provide a coherent and celebratory narrative of women's struggles for equality, and on the artistic and political choices made in relation to the narration of a complex history.

Erin Hazan — University of the Witwatersrand

*Crime and punishment in South Africa*

***Not Until the War is Over: South Africa's Penal Reform Movement and World War 2, 1939-1945***

Prison reform in southern African historiography has, to a large extent, been disregarded in the literature, particularly concerning its connection with the second world war. In 1939, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) formed the Penal Reform Committee (PRC), which sought to investigate the administration of justice in South Africa, specifically how racialised legislation created criminals from law-abiding citizens, and the lack of reform encouraged within so-called reformatories. Intended as preliminary research for a commission of enquiry into the penal system, the PRC conducted research per its mandate for a few months before World War Two broke out, stymieing its efforts in the forthcoming years. This paper tracks the PRC and South Africa's penal reform movement in the interwar and early World War Two period, examining the efficacy of penal reform, how and why the mandate of penal reform was taken up, its effects, impacts, and outcomes. The paper argues that despite its well-meaning work, the PRC did not have the impact it initially sought, and its work was undermined by larger geopolitical circumstances. The PRC's inability to function during the war was both because its members were redirected to focus on wartime issues – like the treatment of prisoners of war – and parliament's continued stance, 'not until the war is over'.

Anne Heffernan — Durham University

*Youth politics and liberation in southern Africa*

***Students in (the) Transition: Student Movements and South Africa's Democratic Transition***

This paper explores the position of student groups at universities and secondary schools during South Africa's political transition from apartheid to democracy. It takes a long view of that transition, considering the period from the late 1980s to the early 2000s. This was a period of crisis as well as transition, and it enables me to track a range of transitional processes – such as the repeal of apartheid-era educational segregation in the 1980s, the process of unbanning in the early 1990s, and the implementation of new policies of university mergers and massification by the ANC-led government in the early 2000s. It primarily considers the role of ANC-affiliated student groups, including the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), the South African Students' Congress (SASCO), and the ANC Youth League. Each of these has its roots in the antiapartheid struggle and each was shaped by its politics of resistance and confrontation, but each struggled to navigate the transition to democracy and its own relationship with the new state. I argue here that this period was characterized by efforts within and between student movements to redirect their praxes of confrontational politics, rather than attempts to replace them altogether.

Charlize Hermans — Stellenbosch University

*Teaching, schools and universities in South Africa*

***Theology 150 & Beyond: A Socio-Political History of Stellenbosch University's Theology Faculty c.1963-2023***

Stellenbosch University's Theology faculty was established in 1963 after the incorporation of Stellenbosch Dutch Reformed seminary into the university. Established during the apartheid era, the faculty aimed to produce socio-politically relevant knowledge aligned with Calvinist Christian practices and beliefs. Simultaneously, the university was regarded as the vanguard of Afrikaner intellectualism, which influenced the knowledge being produced by the faculty. In this paper the interplays between Dutch Reformed theology, the institution, and knowledge production relating to South Africa's changing socio-political landscape is scrutinised. This is done to evaluate the changing relationship between Dutch Reformed theology and apartheid at Stellenbosch University's Theology faculty, over time. The narrative within the project unfolds against the backdrop of significant events in South Africa's history and scrutinises the faculty's role in shaping ideas relating to Afrikaner identity. Herewith, the project also analyses how perspectives produced, influenced and were influenced by narratives relating to race produced by Theology faculties across the country. Through the usage of archival sources and interviews, this project evaluates how religiously motivated thought was utilised to promote apartheid rhetoric, while evaluating if reflection and reckoning has taken place during the age of democracy.

Rebecca Hodes — University of Pretoria

*Music and/in (post) apartheid South Africa*

***Culture in crisis: Music and material culture in late Apartheid South Africa***

This study aims to explore the band Queen's controversial tour to South Africa in 1984. Queen were scheduled to play nine sold-out concerts at the Sun City luxury leisure resort in October, but a number of the concerts were cancelled at the last minute due to ostensible problems with the lead singer, Freddie Mercury's, voice. The fact that Queen broke the anti-Apartheid ban and played Sun City has been excised from the group's official history, for example in the programme of 'We will rock you', a musical based on Queen which positions the group as 'rock 'n roll freedom fighters'. When Queen visited South Africa, an international anti-Apartheid boycott was in place, which forbade artists from formally visiting South Africa including the bantustans. The boycott aimed to highlight Apartheid oppression and to drive home experiences of alienation from global society, including through limiting access to popular entertainment and leisure pursuits in the forms of sport and music. Queen and their tour organisers got around the anti-Apartheid boycott by staging their concerts in Bophuthatswana, one of the 'homelands' that the Apartheid state had carved out for the black population in order to keep the policies of racial segregation intact. Using qualitative interviews with people who either organised or attended one of the concerts, the experiences of participants will be further explored in relation to the spectacle of Queen's performances. Campus Radio in the capital city: A brief history of Radio Tuks by Jimmy Pieterse Campus radio in South Africa was conceived and took its first unsure steps during a time when church, state and powerful cultural brokers combined forces to control the country's airwaves and to stifle a liberal vision of post-war modernity broadcast into white South African homes from neighbouring Mozambique (see Van Onselen 2023). For the duration of the Apartheid period, radio served as "an instrument of government propaganda" (Coplan 2011, 136) with the (almost) all powerful South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) monopolising the issuing of broadcast licenses, thereby muzzling competing and dissenting voices. Yet South African university students, increasingly frustrated by the state's throttling of cultural production, started to demand access to the goods of 'western' modernity with which they had come to identify (Hyslop 2000). This paper traces the history of the University of Pretoria's campus radio station – Radio Tuks – since its conception and inception in the late 1970s and early 1980s to the dawn of multiparty democracy in the mid-1990s. In doing so, it attempts to illustrate how South African university students debated, contested, and navigated the media landscape, and how they contributed to debates around universities' changing role in the

country, in the process of trying to lay claim to radio infrastructure on a university campus in the heart of the late-Apartheid capital city.

Chris Holdridge — North-West University

*Forests, Oceans and Protest: Reading Worlds of Resistance in the Long Nineteenth-Century*  
***Reading for Rocks: Convict Labour and Deep Time in the Cape Colony***

Bain's Kloof Pass (built 1849 to 1853) was a colonial contact zone of labour, landscape and knowledges. Andrew Geddes Bain, road engineer and self-taught geologist who oversaw construction and created the first geological map of South Africa (1852), negated convict labour next to his technical achievement, and the search for coal, minerals, and new fossils. Having read Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830), Bain thought with geological time ('deep time' for environmental historians), requiring a scientific imagination of the planet's history as millions of years, contained in the very depths of the earth. While Bain read for rocks as science, convict labourers – many displaced by the violence of colonial expansion – read in classes for their reform when not blasting and hewing rocks from the mountain face. Convicts' time was managed with utilitarian precision, with Bain's Kloof part of a decades-long programme of convict-built public works throughout the colony. Positioning Bain's Kloof as a contact zone of material change and contested temporal framings, this paper reads convict labour and reform, engineering and geological sciences as interconnected. It does so to question colonial and liberal narratives of linear progress through work and deep time, people and place, geology and the environment.

Chris Holdridge — North-West University

*Digging for History: Labour, Geology and the Environment in Colonial Southern Africa*  
***Worlds of Paper, Oceans of Protest: Speech Acts and the Politics of Reading in Colonial South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand***

Everywhere and all at once: this is the assemblage of materiality and imagination that Boehme, Mitchell and Lester (2018) forward for the British Empire, worlds conceived as global and connected through the circulating paperwork that informed colonial governance. This paper focuses not on the Colonial Office in London, but on the southern worlds of print culture in South Africa, the Australian colonies and New Zealand separated by weeks-long travel. It centres 'waves across the South' (Sivasundaram 2021) as an alternative framing for revolution and empire. Verbatim transcripts of political speeches at public meetings (replete with huzzahs and boos), sermons, and humanitarian petitions in the mode of oral addresses from Indigenous chiefly authority, were printed in newspapers and pamphlets and circulated along shipping lanes globally. Focussing on protest against convicts, calls for self-government, and Indigenous resistance to imperial decisions in the period c. 1848 to 1853, I argue that the immediacy invoked through 'speech acts' in print was circulated and co-opted to forward liberal visions of British imperialism. This often muted more complex local grievances, indigenous, settler and in-between. I consider the extent to which reading engendered illusions of immediacy and spatiotemporal unity, supplanting embodied worlds of protest, orality and resistance.

Simonne Horwitz — University of Saskatchewan

*Science as Ideology: Health Sciences and the White Body in the Apartheid State*  
***'Baboons in a box' and masculine science: a history of renal transplantation in Apartheid South Africa.***

This paper focuses on the work of the doctors and scientists at the University of the Witwatersrand and its primary teaching hospital the Johannesburg General Hospital, who worked on renal transplantation between the mid-1960s and 1980s. These white, mostly male doctors developed an international reputation with techniques developed in one of the country's most extensive animal research sites. This paper explores the work of Surgery Professor Johannes Albertus (Bert) Myburgh and his team on their baboon patients. Myburgh's lab was one of four animal research units on the Wits campus and the one that had a reputation for an "insatiable need" for baboons, which arrived at Wits through some intriguing and somewhat nefarious means. At the same time, their work

highlighted a pervasive culture of masculine prowess which underpinned much of apartheid science and medicine. Therefore, this paper is a case study of a particular form of hyper-masculinity as displayed in the surgical theatres and wards of a particular transplant team. The team was supported by the apartheid state because the research and results they produced through work on their baboon and then human patience displayed important technical advancements and positioned South Africa as an international player in medical research. Because of this, the team could publish and travel internationally despite the academic boycotts then in place and to do experiments and animal-based research which might otherwise have been impossible. To do this, the paper draws on a rich set of previously untapped, material such as extensive oral interviews, archival material, personal papers, published and unpublished medical writing, social commentary and popular media coverage that enables us to understand the influences that the broader social, political and economic context had on the research and practice of the transplant team. Therefore, this paper provides an important opportunity to dissect politics, gender, medical developments and animal testing both global and local, as they intersect within the hospital and the transplant team, while telling a compelling history of contemporary medical discoveries and deployment during Apartheid.

Godfrey Hove — National University of Lesotho

*Land, belonging and the environment in South Africa*

***Survival of the Armed?: Land, Environment, and Conflict in Mafeteng District, Lesotho Since the 1960s***

Lesotho has one the highest homicide rates in Africa, even surpassing countries that have experienced prolonged armed conflicts in the sub-region. Although the causes of this are diverse, conflict over limited productive land for cultivation and pastures and environmental limitations have played a significant role. This paper examines the nexus between ecological challenges, land tenure regimes, and conflict in rural post-independent Lesotho. It uses the case study of Mafeteng, a region with the most arid climate and where the political economy of ownership of and access to land has historically been most contentious. Drawing from cultural history methodologies such as oral histories and also primary documents, this study explores and historicizes the intricate relationship between the local climate, land shortage, and violent conflict. It uses Michel de Certeau's (1994) concept of 'the everyday' to explore the historical manifestations of conflict and violence, delineating the unique socio-environmental factors that have been pervasive in local communities since the 1960s. In the main, this paper demonstrates that more than political and cultural factors, environmental limitations and an inherently opaque land management model lie at the heart of conflict and violence in the region.

Irvin Jiyane — University of South Africa

*Digging for History: Labour, Geology and the Environment in Colonial Southern Africa*

***Socio-scientific Imaginaries of a Colonial Kind: Geology and Labour Arrangement in the Spatial Formation of the Pretoria Diamond District, c. 1902 to the 1930s***

This paper introduces a methodology that enables the historical analysis of the factors that contribute to the spatial formation of mining districts. It conceptualises the making of mining districts as a process of "geologisation"—which refers to the assemblage of heterogenous and contextually-dependent factors that shift a society's view of its territory from "surface" to "subterranean". Using the case of the Pretoria Diamond District between the early 1900s and the mid-1930s as a case study, this paper shows that geological knowledge, labour, and government control of mining in colonial South Africa all historically interacted to produce the region as a diamond mining district known as the Pretoria Labour District, which was classified as a "diamond" area. It does this by surveying archival sources from the former Transvaal's Government Native Labour Bureau and the annual reports of the Transvaal Geological Survey (which was later merged with the Cape Colony and Natal and Zululand's geological surveys to constitute the Geological Survey of the Union of South Africa in 1910) as well as material from the Surveyor General's Office. In its entirety, the paper argues that the spatial formation of this district was a result of the process of geologisation of colonial space. Historiographically, the paper intends to contribute to the

incorporation of STS analytical tools in the study of the history of mining and to establish pathways for the development of analytical concepts grounded on transdisciplinary frameworks in the study of the role of science and technology in the history of mining.

Mellisa Kaliofasi — University of Basel

*Justice, law and inheritance in southern Africa*

***Death and Belongings: A History of Women's Property, Spirits, and Deceased Estates in Southern Rhodesia, 1880–1980***

Property inheritance, and deceased estate management were key features of African social landscapes in pre-colonial and colonial Zimbabwe. They shaped, and were themselves defined, by social and cultural structures. The article examines inheritance and deceased estate management with particular reference to the position of women in early colonial Zimbabwe's Shona societies around the 1890s. In this gendered analysis, the article examines African customs in managing the deceased estate, especially the role and value of the extended family system, ownership of property, the agency of the deceased themselves, and how the advent of colonialism, affected these systems. This article engages and interrogates the common claim in literature on belongings and property rights that African women had minimal or no rights in the management or inheritance of deceased estates in the predominantly patriarchal social set-up of Shona society. It challenges the white settler assertion, reflected in Native Commissioner reports and in the laws introduced by the settler government that, on their arrival, they found African women disadvantaged and disenfranchised by 'customary law' in terms of property and inheritance rights. The article considers the extent to which women, in a largely patriarchal society, nonetheless owned property, including productive property such as cattle and land, which was heritable by their families. Based on an analysis of archival sources from the 1890s through to the mid-twentieth century, this article pays particular attention to laws about African inheritance and how these were debated in the press, parliament and within the Native Affairs Department, arguing that women in African systems had significant property and inheritance rights both in life and in death. Moreover, it argues that, if anything, the advent of colonialism and attendant legal framework diminished women's property rights that had existed over time.

John Kegel —

*Digging for History: Labour, Geology and the Environment in Colonial Southern Africa*

***From Diamonds to Dust: The Rise of the South African Empire, 1870-1960***

As Southern Africa faces a complex series of crises ranging from economic inequality to climate change it is increasingly important to understand the historical roots of the present moment. These challenges are the product of Southern Africa's developmental path which historically has centred on mineral resource extraction through the growth of industrial mining. Previously scholars have understood this history through the lens of nation-based studies and have largely neglected the extent to which these developments were part of a broader regional phenomenon. We argue that between 1870 and 1960 the Southern African region from the Cape to Katanga comprised the South African Empire. This was an area of formal and informal influence exercised by South African based economic and political interests. This literature review outlines how historians have understood the history of South African economic, social and political influence throughout the subcontinent. In doing so we emphasise the symbiotic relationship between mining capital and political power as the driver of South African expansionism. This will shed new light on the origins of the challenges that the region faces.

Jill Kelly — Southern Methodist University

*Doctors, Writers, and Traditional Leaders of KwaZulu-Natal I*

***An Academic in Exile: Political Friendships and the Gang of Eight***

Treason Trialist Dr. Zamindlela Conco is considered the second black academic physician in South Africa after Tiyo Soga. He was a rural physician and international psychiatrist, a nuisance to the Security Branch, and a political exile. He was a friend of the storied family of the ANC, the Luthulis,

and the inscrutable Inkatha leader, Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi. His experience of outright discrimination as a student at the Wits Medical School propelled him into political circles where he joined the nascent ANC Youth League and climbed the ranks in the Natal ANC into the national executive before his exile in 1961. His relationship with the ANC in London grew tense as he refused full-time work with the movement, the severance of his friendship with Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the chosen direction of the Luthuli Memorial Foundation on whose board he sat. This paper explores Conco's wide-ranging personal relationships to consider the role of friendship in the complicated politics of a group of men who increasingly felt at odds with the ANC-in-London—including those who would become known as the Group of Eight. Conco himself was not a member of the expelled Group, but he shared several of their political sentiments and himself queried the trajectory of the liberation movement from exile. An examination of his meteoric rise from the ANCYL through to his obsolescence in exile among friends provides a social history of a transformative moment in the history of the liberation movement.

Lucy Kernick — Cambridge

*Dancing, living and labouring in Johannesburg*

***'Nobody knows how many': illegal lodging in servants quarters' in Johannesburg, 1923–1986***

The 1923 Urban Areas Act confined the use of backyard rooms on white property to those 'in bone fide domestic service'. Yet, by the fifties, an estimated 150,000 'illegal lodgers' resided in the servants' quarters of Johannesburg. The inauguration of night-time police raids on white suburbs, among other measures, singularly failed to curb the 'harbouring' of friends, relatives, partners, and children by domestic workers across the twentieth century. This paper focuses on the escalation of 'illegal lodging' during the forties and fifties, situating it within the African housing crisis and the rapid feminisation of domestic service in Johannesburg. With an eye on the longer history, it uses newspaper, government and civic archives alongside extant oral testimony collections to examine why the illegal sharing of servants' quarters was never successfully curbed. Recent scholarship on South African domestic service has shifted from its earlier emphasis on ultra-exploitation to an exploration of the emotional economy generated by the combination of intimacy and domination in the relationship between 'maids' and 'madams'. Deploying these insights, this paper argues that attempts by the state to control domestic workers and to regulate white domestic life were frustrated by this peculiar and personal working relationship.

Frederik Kirsten — University of Pretoria

*War, politics and the military: Afrikaner responses to crises in the mid-20th century*

***Interrogating the South African Garrison State (1930s-1940s): Oswald Pirow, Jan-Hendrik Hofmeyr and Harold D. Lasswell***

This paper uses a comparative biographical study of Harold Lasswell, Jan-Hendrik Hofmeyr and Oswald Pirow as a foundation to interrogate the Garrison State characteristics of South Africa in the 1930s and 1940s. The American political scientist, Harold Lasswell's, concept of the Garrison State is examined in the light of being a 'developmental construct' developed in 1941 regarding the future path democracies could take in their confrontation with fascism and communism in the mid-Twentieth Century. The choice of Hofmeyr and Pirow can be seen as representative of two opposites in the political intellectual debates of the 1930s and 1940s. Pirow, a renowned fascist, wanted the creation of a Nazi-like state in South Africa. In contrast to Pirow, Hofmeyr espoused a liberal vision. This paper is located within new scholarship on South African anti-fascism (Hyslop, Braskén and Roos 2022) and the Garrison State is cast as one counter-intuitive response to fascism.

Suné Kleynhans — North-West University

*War, politics and the military: Afrikaner responses to crises in the mid-20th century*

***The role of Radio Zeesen in stoking the fires of pro-German sentiments in South Africa during the Second World War***

Radio Zeesen was a German shortwave radio station that broadcasted internationally in many languages before and during the period of the Second World War. This included broadcasts in

Afrikaans to South Africa since the early 1930s, not only in the form of news broadcasts but also cultural programmes. With outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, Radio Zeesen was one of Germany's most prominent propaganda tools, influencing its Afrikaans audience in South Africa. South Africa's population was heavily divided over participation in the war and many Afrikaners resisted the war effort. Resistance ranged from active sabotage to mere sympathies for the German cause. Afrikaner resistance was partially based on pro-German sentiments that existed in South Africa even before the war broke out, including sentiments from overtly ideological organisations such as the Greyshirts. Radio Zeesen used strategically tailored propaganda to the South African context to stoke the fires of pro-German sentiments, which in turn fuelled resistance to the country's war effort. Through the use of a strong primary source base in my research, I firstly shed light on the nature of Radio Zeesen's pro-German propaganda in the Afrikaans broadcasts and secondly how the propaganda was built on existing sentiments. Finally, I evaluate how the propaganda contributed to the overall goal of creating a crisis by destabilising South Africa's war effort which indeed posed a threat to Smuts' pro-war government.

Buti Kompi — University of Fort Hare

*Politics and governance in contemporary southern Africa*

***Tracing the origins of rural government crisis in the post-apartheid era***

For the past thirty years, rural communities and traditional leaders expected the best from the ANC government after it took power in 1994. A little can be said about the headways the government made to improve the lives and livelihoods across rural areas in South Africa. The relationship between traditional leaders and municipal managers is still not harmonised and synergised. Land allocation, customary initiation processes and development in rural areas are in crisis. It is not clear what role traditional leaders can effectively and successfully contribute to noticeably improve the lives and livelihoods of rural communities. This main question this paper intends to answer is about where the government failed to improve rural governance. The paper will argue that municipal officials, and to some extent traditional leaders, do not know about their role in customary initiation schools and the extent to which traditional leaders can or cannot allocate land and administer justice. The paper demonstrate that the government did not professionalise rural administration for both the elected municipal officials and traditional leaders but that it instead set systems that made traditional leaders feel less important in rural government, thus setting the crisis atmosphere in rural areas.

Anna Konieczna — Wojskowa Akademia Techniczna

*Alternative Histories of and through Anti-Apartheid*

***The anti-apartheid struggle and the French-speaking countries in Western Africa***

While the "global" turn in international history paved the way for stimulating research on "hubs of decolonisation" or "meccas of revolution" in Africa, the role of the former African colonies in Western Africa in the early years of the anti-apartheid struggle have often been overlooked. Most of research in this field focused on the "policy of dialogue" of the president of Ivory Coast, Felix Houphouet-Boigny. Still, since the late 1950s, there have existed different forms of solidarity between the ANC and the "French African" networks in Western Africa or Paris. On the ANC's side, it found expression in the speeches of its president, Albert Luthuli, who condemned different forms of French imperialism, such as de Gaulle's approach to decolonisation or the French nuclear tests in the Sahara. Nelson Mandela did not overlook the French-speaking Western Africa in his efforts to find support for the anti-apartheid struggle. He visited three newly independent states, Guinea, Mali and Senegal, during his tour in Africa in 1962. On the "French African" side, such solidarity found expression in the first anti-apartheid Committee, the Committee for Equality and Justice in South Africa, in Paris. The Committee acted under the aegis of Alioune Diop, the president of the Pan-African Revue Presence Africaine, and it gathered French-African and Caribbean students in France. In the early 1960s, when the French colonies became independent, some of them joined the African group in the United Nations to claim sanctions against the apartheid regime. Guinea became the most active supporter of the anti-apartheid Committee as Guinean diplomats acted as its president.



While the antiapartheid activism of the former French colonies and beyond is still to be researched, the aim of this paper is to broaden our understanding of anti-apartheid by including the United Nations as a specific platform of solidarity or its contest for these countries. Based mainly on the French archives, it also analyses the impact of such debates on French foreign policy in South Africa and Africa.

Este Kotze — Stellenbosch University

*Money and entrepreneurship in the colonial Cape*

***The Wealth of the Dutch Reformed Church: Trends in the Cape Town Diaconate Account Books, 1686-1825***

The Cape Town congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church, established in 1665, was inarguably a significant establishment in the life of the colonial city. This significance was not only tied to the church's position as religious institution, but to the substantial economic role it played both under the Dutch East India Company and into the early decades of British colonial rule. The Cape Town deaconry was a key provider of poor relief; annually distributing thousands of guilders to the city's needy. The church also grew very wealthy through careful investment – with capital amounting to over 600 000 guilders by 1825. This paper seeks to investigate the interlocking economic, political, social factors that impacted the patterns of church income and expenditure that are meticulously recorded in the congregation's account books. These financial records give important insight into the changing economic influence of the church between 1686 and 1825, as well as how changes in the colonial government, economic boom and bust, and other crises affected the church's finances. In so doing, the paper argues that, in building the wealth of the church, the Cape Town congregation sought both spiritual and material profit.

Cynthia Kros — University of the Witwatersrand

*Race, research and history writing in South Africa*

***History at the Precipice Once Before: Reevaluating JH Soga as a historian in his time***

Following commissioned research Katie Mooney and I conducted for Promise Media, which was used in a sophisticated interactive digital site called 'The Forgotten Graduate', I have been doing more work and trying to understand why the distinguished black graduates who featured were forgotten – beyond the obvious reason of racism. For the last SAHS conference, I analysed the historiographical neglect of state veterinarian JF Soga. For 2024, I propose part of a chapter I am writing on his older brother, John Henderson who was acknowledged by Jeff Peires long ago, with some qualifications as a fine historian. Following Hlonipha Mokoena's study of Magema Fuze, it seems fair to say, though that Soga too has been unable to shake off his white contemporaries' evaluation of him as merely a 'Native informant.' Ultimately, I want to argue that there is no reason for Soga having been kept from the high table for all these years and that there is great value in engaging with his historiographical interventions – not so much in the history of amaXhosa (for which I am not qualified), but to challenge the increasingly draconian and racist politics of the Hertzog government and what he saw as the accretion of slander uttered by 'Colonial Historians'.

Ushehwedu Kufakurinani —

*History and biography from Zimbabwe II*

***The Life History of Jackson Phiri: Migrant Musician from Malawi***

It is now accepted that micro-histories are rich histories that can reflect on grand historical narratives and offer puzzles to help understand historical processes and experiences. Using a life history approach, this paper looks at the life of Jackson Phiri, a man born in Malawi in 1940 and who moved to Zimbabwe in 1961 to pursue his ambitions in music. He lived in Harare for many years, and played guitar in several bands touring the popular bars and entertainment venues of the time in towns, cities and on farms across the country. Phiri recalls working closely with a number of prominent artists, including the likes of Thomas Mapfumo, Mbira Dzenharira, and Patrick Mkwamba of the Four Brothers. He later moved to Norton where he resides today. In the mid-1980s, following the death of his mother in Malawi and a prophetic dream, Phiri started to write a book about his life

and 'Struggles for Musical Fame in Zimbabwe' – which forms the title of his manuscript. In this paper, we highlight the major themes in Phiri's life – the struggle of a working-class man against poverty, individual aspirations and family relations, contributions to music and cultural life in the city, and migration and belonging. We ask what his memories and stories can tell us about the social, cultural and political history of Zimbabwe and southern Africa in the late 20th and early 21st century, and how his telling of his own life history can contribute to new forms of biographical history writing.

Nonkululeko Kumalo — University of the Witwatersrand

*Histories of gender and sexuality in South Africa and beyond*

***Madie Hall Xuma: A Pioneer in South African Women's Political Leadership***

This paper explores the life and impact of Madie Hall Xuma, a significant figure in South Africa's quest for freedom and equality. Serving as the inaugural president of the African National Congress (ANC) Women's League and the spouse of A.B. Xuma, she played a crucial role in shaping women's political engagement during the mid-20th century. Utilizing archival materials, primary sources, and scholarly analyses, this study delves into Madie Hall Xuma's upbringing, education, political journey, and leadership within the ANC Women's League. Examining the socio-political climate of South Africa during her lifetime, the dissertation underscores the pervasive racial discrimination and gender disparities prevalent during the apartheid era. Through her involvement in grassroots movements and political circles, Madie Hall Xuma emerged as a resilient advocate for women's rights and social justice. Her leadership within the ANC Women's League was instrumental in mobilizing women from diverse backgrounds, fostering solidarity amidst systemic oppression. Additionally, the research evaluates Madie Hall Xuma's strategic approaches to advocacy, such as leveraging education, community organizing, and international networks to advance women's empowerment and liberation. By highlighting her accomplishments and challenges, this dissertation provides insights into the intricate dynamics of gender, race, and politics in South Africa's history. Above all, the study emphasizes Madie Hall Xuma's enduring legacy as a pioneer for women's rights and a catalyst for social change in South Africa. By commemorating her contributions, this research aims to inspire future generations to persist in the pursuit of equality, justice, and human dignity.

Paul Landau – University of Maryland

*Alternative Histories of and through Anti-Apartheid*

***Anti-Apartheid as a Discourse in the Two Germanies, 1963 to 1988***

This paper based on research in Leipzig and Berlin will investigate the two forums for anti-apartheid public agitation, the Communist and Communist connected groups in Frankfurt and Bonn in FRG, and the top-down Stasi and Solidarity Committee organization involving universities and foreign students centered around commemoration in DDR.

Jesse Baronne Le Roux — Stellenbosch University

*LGBTQ+ histories in southern Africa*

***Navigating Non-Conformity: Sexuality and Hidden Histories at Stellenbosch University (1966-2016)***

Stellenbosch University, officially renamed as such in 1918, has a reputation of being a historically conservative institution. Despite this, there have been moments of outward student non-conformity as seen in the sub-cultural Voelvry movement during the 1980s (Albert Grundlingh) Outside of this, there are indicators of people who did not conform in terms of other factors, such as sexuality, the focus of this paper. The culmination of this is seen with the establishment of an LGBTQ+ society, Lesbigan (now QueerUs) in the late 1990s. However, there is a longer student history of non-conformity which remains hidden and open to excavation. This paper aims to establish what the experiences of these gender non-conforming students were and how they navigated a particularly conformist institution from the 1960s through to 2016 when Open Stellenbosch made gender non-conformity a cornerstone of their protest mandate. Through the use of interviews and archival research, this paper challenges some of the existing institutional histories and locates this institution within a wider context of tertiary institutions in the country.

Jiyoung Lee — University of Johannesburg

*Transnational histories of Africa*

***Ethiopia's Relationship with North and South Korea: An introductory evaluation of East Asian and Pan-African Anti-Imperialist Narratives***

demonstrates the way in which in which Ethiopia viewed itself within the context of resisting international despotism. It also complicates the narrative of a unified communist front in Africa. This paper uses North Korean monuments in Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia, the DRC, as well as Mobutu's Chinese Nsele Palace, to demonstrate Pyongyang's hard and soft power during and after the Cold War. These monuments are a tangible reminder of where North Korean, Chinese, and Soviet interests often clashed. This broader phenomenon will be explored through the under-examined shared political heritage between Ethiopia and the Koreans. These include Addis Ababa's South Korean funded Korean War Veterans Memorial Park that pays tribute to the Kagnev Battalion, as well as the North Korean built Tiglachin Monument that pays respect to the Cuban Veterans of the Ogaden War. This Socialist Realist shrine shares direct continuity with Ethiopia's relationship with Zimbabwe who has hosted Mengistu Haile Mariam since his ousting in 1991 and whose infamous Fifth Brigade was trained by North Korea. These statues are a lingering reminder of the now obsolete commitment to Marxist development, which proclaimed its ideology as the antidote of imperialism.

Rebekah Lee — Oxford

*Death, burial and disaster in southern Africa*

***Crash Narratives and Accidental Archives: Re-thinking Road Safety in South Africa***

This paper considers the implications of historicising road safety in contemporary South Africa. It offers a critical interrogation of the 'epidemiological turn' evident in recent global road safety campaigns, primarily by 'refiguring' or decentring the archive on road safety in South Africa. Using the frame of 'crash narratives', this study assembles a diverse range of 'fragments' provided through oral histories and ethnographic observation of road users including township residents, funeral entrepreneurs and their clients as well as Road Accident Fund (RAF) claimants and associated medico-legal experts. Within this framing, stories of 'black spots' and 'twice deaths' – fatal road accidents en route to funerals – and the personal testimonies of RAF claimants offer a glimpse into wider historicised and contested dynamics around the nature and meaning of road danger and accidental death in South Africa. They also provide a more intimate window onto the lingering bodily and emotional trauma experienced by road accident victims, their families and caregivers, as well as suggest the contours of emergent domestic faultlines shaped by the politics of compensation engendered by the RAF system. Dwelling on this particular 'accidental archive' thus brings into sharper focus the lived experience of the road accident crisis in South Africa and, correspondingly, an appreciation of everyday forms of road safety already at work in township communities.

Palesa Letutla — University of the Free State

*Crises, disability and disease in southern Africa*

***Media representations, masculinity, and mental health challenges related to African men in post-apartheid South Africa***

This study examines the history of men's mental health in post-apartheid South Africa through the lens of media representations. It explores the effects of trauma exerted on South African men by the apartheid system and how it impacts on masculinity and men's mental health in the postapartheid period. Although previous scholarly work on the subject has covered various types of mental disorders and significant concerns for black men's mental health and well-being, this study seeks to examine public discourse propagated through different media platforms to demonstrate how these impact on South African black men's decision to seek help or not. The stigma associated with mental health problems is perpetuated mainly by masculine norms and societal conceptions about what it means to be a man. Males are trained to suppress their emotions from childhood, and this is premised on the myth that "real men do not cry". The recent spate in the number of celebrities who took their lives and were discovered dead in hotels or their homes in South Africa, with no clear

reasons which drove them to commit suicide is a microcosmic reflection of the prevailing unreported situation throughout the country. These occurrences have also triggered a flurry of reactions from the public on various media platforms. These reactions and comments will constitute some of the data for this study.

Noah Lubinsky — University of the Witwatersrand  
*Histories of gender and sexuality in South Africa and beyond*  
***The Phoenix Society and Gender Dynamix under Apartheid***

This project will explore the Phoenix Society and Gender Dynamix as a way of understanding race and trans subjectivity in relation to Apartheid, with a particular focus on Charl Marais. A founding member of Gender Dynamix, Marais' story is filled with encounters of spaces in the city, Cape Town in particular, that were not 'for him'. He shifted the environments around him, and he will forever be part of Cape Town in the ways that he shaped it. The information I draw on comes primarily through his blog posts for GDX and his workbooks, which were left to the Gay and Lesbian Archive (GALA). This research aims to expand trans and queer studies in the global south as they relate to madness studies. It also deals with a new way of understanding institutional oppression - branching out from a single narrative. Currently, much of how we think of trans and mad identities is mediated through global North understandings of medical diagnostics. This is further complicated by a lack of research into the history of trans lives in the global South. By researching trans lives in the global South, we are better able to create language and representation for trans life outside of medical narratives, as well as pay homage to activists that have been forgotten in time.

Hilary Lynd — University of the Witwatersrand  
*Homelands, apartheid and transition in South Africa*  
***The ANC and the Homelands in Transition, 1990-1994***

Three of the ten apartheid-era homelands—Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, and KwaZulu—bitterly opposed the ANC and rejected the 1993 interim constitution, endangering South Africa's democratic settlement. These homeland governments have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention as repressive holdouts and potential spoilers. This paper shifts focus to the other homeland governments, which ANC leaders decided to woo as potential allies. Beginning in exile and intensifying after its unbanning in 1990, the ANC engaged in competition with the ruling NP for the cooperation and support of homeland leaders. The ANC's successes in this project point toward a distinct set of tensions between the organization's roles as a national liberation movement participating in negotiations for a democratic dispensation and as a political party hoping to win votes in future democratic elections. Drawing on a cluster of recent research (especially that of Laura Phillips in Lebowa and Timothy Gibbs in Transkei), we can see that though the bantustan may have been the NP's creation, the ANC played a very significant role in preserving some homeland structures across the 1994 watershed. This paper is a preliminary attempt to investigate: why? and how? I use newly available documents from the ANC NEC to examine debates and decisions concerning ANC strategies for winning over homeland leaders and including them in an ANC-led Popular Front. Ultimately, the ANC swallowed all of the homelands—it is just a question of whether that happened before or after 1994.

N'wa-Phaphama Madali Dolphin Mabale —  
*Histories of translation, tradition and governance*  
***Of agency and purpose: Mapping Xitsonga in written texts***

The exercise of mapping the history of Xitsonga texts has been well documented by Masunga (1999) in her thesis, while the same exercise had been preceded by Bill & Masunga (1983) and later by Marivate (1985). This paper maps the coding and development of the Xitsonga language in texts by non-Xitsonga speakers while focusing on the purposes of such coding and development. Specific emphasis was placed on the agencies of the production of the first two orthographies and the related texts. Primary and secondary sources are employed to demonstrate agency and purpose in the coding and development of the Xitsonga language in texts. Specific reference is made to the first

Xitsonga bible, as well as the Nhluvuko Journal produced by the Apartheid regime. This paper demonstrates that Xitsonga orthography is a product of agency, and that the speakers of the language were not at least until recently, responsible for the orthography of their language. The resultant discussion points to the fact that the Swiss had a Christian mission to fulfil by developing the first Xitsonga orthography, while the Transvaal Provincial Administration needed a Xitsonga orthography of their own craft for propaganda purposes.

Priscillah Machinga — University of the Free State

*Histories of healthcare and hospitals in Zimbabwe*

***A Pathetic State of Affairs: Public Maternity Health Care and Indigenous Midwifery in Postcolonial Zimbabwe, 1990 – 2023***

This paper explores public maternity healthcare and indigenous midwifery from 1990 to 2023. It attempts to answer the questions: What is the current state of public maternity healthcare and place of indigenous midwifery in Zimbabwe and why? It argues that despite state policy ambivalence, indigenous midwifery has remained relevant, owing to the inadequacy of the official healthcare system and to many Africans' undying belief in the efficacy of indigenous knowledge and medicine. Once characterized as 'vibrant' and one of Africa's best, Zimbabwe's healthcare sector has increasingly plummeted since 1991, due to growing social, economic and political crises. The country's public maternity healthcare system is in shambles. Although the 1980s had seen more black women embracing official maternity healthcare, the 1990s witnessed retrogression, owing to the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme introduced in 1991. With the introduction of government health budget cuts and hospital user fees, mainstream healthcare became increasingly inadequate and unaffordable for most. Thus, more women turned to indigenous midwives for alternative maternity healthcare. In the 2000s, growing public castigation of the so called 'backyard' midwifery did not help as the country's crises further deepened due to international backlash after the Land Reform Program, intensifying opposition politics and COVID-19 outbreak.

Ian Macqueen — University of Pretoria

*European migrant communities in South Africa*

***The Creation of a Polish community in the Vaal Triangle, South Africa***

During the 1980s, amidst a domestic and regional crisis, almost a million Poles left their homeland and migrated across the world, fleeing a failing socialist economy and a repressive communist regime. The majority settled in Western Europe, Scandinavia, and the United States. In addition to analysing the push and pull factors affecting the migration of Poles to South Africa, this paper specifically explores the formation of a Polish community in the Vaal Triangle and the importance of religion in consolidating the community and preserving a sense of Polish culture. By exploring the reasons for the Polish migration to the Vaal Triangle in South Africa during the 1980s, an area that attracted a proportionally higher number of Polish immigrants than other parts of the country, the paper also addresses the significance of the industries in the Vaal Triangle in South Africa as a magnet for skilled immigrants, as one stop-gap solution to the inherent contradictions of the apartheid system. Given the choice of a seemingly intractable political and economic impasse in Poland, many Poles seized the opportunities race afforded them and opted to relocate to South Africa, despite its own extended political turmoil.

Tapiwa Madimu — Rhodes

*Mining in South Africa: Past, present and future*

***Negotiating 'survival': Zama-zamas and the diamond mining economy in the Northern Cape Province, South Africa, after 1994***

1994 marked the end of apartheid, and the dawn of democracy in South Africa. Consequently, post-1994 economic policies, particularly those related to land and mineral resources exploitation were expected to significantly shift from the racially exclusive and pro-white legislative instruments of the apartheid regime, to laws that accommodate previously disadvantaged economic groups, especially the majority black South Africans. However, scholarship has convincingly demonstrated that a

realisation of this aspiration remains far-fetched, as shown by the high levels of inequality in the country's overall economy after 1994. This study utilises the diamond mining economy to elaborate on issues related to continuity and change in one of the country's foremost economic sectors (mining). Thus, it uses unregulated diamond mining in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa after 1994, as a lens to demonstrate that there was more of continuity than change in the country's mining economy. It does so by examining activities of the so-called 'Illegal' miners who operate outside the parameters of the country's main mining legislation, the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA). These miners are known as zama-zamas, a Zulu word which means "try and try again" (Madimu, 2022). This name depicts their daily struggles, punctuated by hard labour and regular confrontations with private mining capital and security agents. I endeavour to examine the work of zama-zamas and explore the intricate details of their work routine as well as their plight to earn legal recognition. The Northern Cape Province has always occupied an integral position in South Africa's mining history since the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley in 1867. Since then, diamond mining remained in the hands of private mining capital, epitomized by De Beers Consolidated Mines. There is a paucity of literature on unregulated diamond mining in South Africa, and available related literature focuses on 'illegal' gold mining. The study is informed by Nathan Andrews' concept of 'digging for survival and/or digging for justice.' The concept mirrors the prevailing scenario in the Northern Cape Province where indigenous communities like those in Richtersveld, a diamond rich area, have had their title to land (which was expropriated by the colonial government in the 1920s) reinstated by a 2003 court judgement which was influenced by the country's land reform programme. Yet, this restitution did not include ownership of diamond mining claims which remained in the hands of big mining capital, supported by the state. Despite the advent of democracy, indigenous people in the Northern Cape province remained marginalised and continue to negotiate survival on the fringes of the formalised diamond mining economy.

Neil Maheve —

*History and biography from Zimbabwe I*

***Voices of the Struggle: A Biographical Exploration of the Zimbabwean Liberation War from the Perspectives of a Fighter and a War Collaborator***

This paper examines the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe from the perspectives of two individuals who played different roles in the conflict: a fighter and a war collaborator. Through a biographical lens, the paper presents the perspectives of a fighter (my father) and a war collaborator (my mother). It explores how their differing positions affected their experiences of the war. Drawing on oral histories, the study offers a subaltern voice that challenges the dominant narratives of the conflict that have tended to prioritise the biographies of political elites. Through personal anecdotes, such as my father's account of walking for 12 hours up Tsetsera mountain and my mother's recollection of witnessing the punishment of insurgent and rebel guerrilla fighters, the paper offers insight into the complexity and brutality of the struggle for independence. By highlighting the experiences of two ordinary individuals who fought in the war and collaborated with the oppressed, it aims to provide a more inclusive and comprehensive understanding of the struggle from a mundane perspective. In doing so, the paper emphasises the importance of acknowledging and centring the experiences of everyday people in the historiography of the struggle. The narrative spans from 1976 to 1980, focusing on the war years. The biographical approach allows for a historical and an analytical exploration of the impact of the war on individual lives and how people experienced and coped with trauma. It is important to note that this paper does not adopt a political stance but provides a social commentary on the conflict and its lasting impact on individuals and communities.

Lwando Majikijela — University of the Witwatersrand

*Histories of gender and sexuality in South Africa and beyond*

***Navigating Marginalised Spaces: The Complex Intersectionality of Race, Sexuality, and Gender among Black Queer Subjects in South African Mining Townships***

The paper explores the complex interplay between sexuality, gender, race, and space in the context of South Africa, focusing on the marginalised experiences of queer individuals, particularly in

mining townships. The paper provides a comprehensive discussion or exploration of the enduring spatial inequalities faced by black queer individuals in South African mining townships, spanning from the apartheid era to the post-apartheid context. Visser (2008; 2003) asserts that while the apartheid seems to have ended, issues of homophobia and racial discrimination persist in post-apartheid, shaping the landscape of South African spaces and hindering the mobility and freedom of queer individuals. Therefore, through an analysis of desire, intimacy, and spatial justice, the paper discusses how queer people navigate and negotiate their identities within the constraints of township spaces, often marked by economic marginalisation and gendered norms. It argues that the performative acts of desire and intimacy embody possibilities or rather potential to birth forms of resistance and agency, while also acknowledging the ongoing setbacks and complexities inherent in queer spatial narratives. The paper evokes questions on whether reading spatial justice from a lens of queer desire, and intimacy would provide a place of imagination to unmask the epistemic injustices such as the access to and participation to knowledge, and culture of which these are some of the fundamentals that formulate resistance (Majikijela, 2023). Additionally, scaffolds towards spatial justice as a conceptual framework to demonstrate how spatial justice opens pockets for the review of the structural analysis of disciplinary power that queer people are subject to in both township and urban spaces (Avilez, 2020). The paper leans on the theoretical frameworks of scholars like Jack Halberstam and Ulrick Desert on critical queer geographies to examine how queer spaces are active sites to produce identity and resistance against heteronormative standards.

Belinda Makare — University of the Free State

*Soil, insects and the environment in Africa*

***The colonial state and the African peasantry: A socio-environmental history of soil conservation and agrarian change in Lesotho's Leribe district, 1938-1966***

Lesotho has historically been one of the most eroded countries in Africa today, and gullies have become a significant feature of the country's landscape. The inevitable corollary of land degradation has been the reduction of crop yields and subsequent chronic food insecurity. While Lesotho's agrarian and conservation history has so far, been dominated by scholarly narratives that credit state efforts in curbing agro-environmental challenges, there is very little historical work that discusses African environmental consciousness, initiatives, and responses. This paper aims to examine the political economy of soil conservation and agricultural development within the context of state and peasant relations in the rural communities of Leribe, from 1938 to 1966. Using archival documents and oral testimonies, this paper explores the evolution of soil conservation and agrarian policy and peasant responses and initiatives in colonial Lesotho. It explores the interactions between the state and farmers and how these interactions shaped and reshaped soil conservation, agrarian regimes, and environmental realities in a long historical study. This paper argues that African agency also played a significant role to curb the agroenvironmental realities in Lesotho. It also contributes to the on-going discussions of agrarian and environmental change in Lesotho and Southern Africa.

Lindiwe Malindi — University of the Witwatersrand

*Commemoration, Heritage and Higher Education*

***The Islanding of the University of the Witwatersrand***

This paper is concerned with the evolving spatial logics of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), which I frame in terms of a tension between 'islandness' and 'openness' (the latter being a reference to Wits' historical 'open university' status as well as the physical openness that defined the university campus for most of its history). Drawing primarily from the University Archive, the paper examines the period from 1990 to 2001. Elaborating on metaphorical deployments of the time, I read the closure of Yale Road in 1997 and the subsequent fencing of the university perimeter as a process of 'islanding' — one that made manifest the boundaries and exclusions that had previously been expressed by the racial geography of 'white Johannesburg'. I argue that the articulation of the decision to (en)close the University in terms of the 'crime wave' of the 1990s obscured a deeper set of racial and class-based anxieties, as historical misgivings about 'outsiders' participating in university protests were joined with new concerns about 'illegal aliens' making use of university resources in a

context of increasing austerity and corporatisation. With attention to the spatial logics of enclosure and islandness (specifically that of Great Britain), this paper asks how these logics come to bear on the spatial dynamics of student-worker activism, within and beyond the university.

Nhlanhla Manana — University of the Witwatersrand

*Music and/in (post) apartheid South Africa*

***From township grooves to cultural movements: A Journey through the history and significance of jazz appreciation societies in Soweto.***

This research project delves into the rich history of jazz appreciation societies and jazz clubs in Soweto, South Africa, from 1980s to the present day. The study aims to shed light on the significant role these societies/jazz clubs played in shaping the cultural landscape of Soweto, particularly in fostering a deep appreciation for jazz music and examine the relationship between these societies/clubs have with musicians. Through a combination of archival research, oral history interviews, and participant observations, this research seeks to document the origins, evolution, and impact of jazz appreciation societies in Soweto. By examining primary sources such as newspaper articles, photographs, and membership records, the study aims to reconstruct the social and musical networks that flourished within these societies. Furthermore, the research will explore the ways in which jazz appreciation societies in Soweto contributed to the preservation and promotion of jazz music as a form of cultural expression. By analysing the programming, events, and outreach efforts of these societies, the study aims to highlight their role in nurturing a vibrant jazz community in Soweto and beyond. Ultimately, this research project seeks to contribute to a deeper understanding of the cultural history of Soweto and the broader significance of jazz music in shaping identity and community dynamics. By uncovering the legacy of jazz appreciation societies in Soweto, this study aims to celebrate the resilience and creativity of local musicians and enthusiasts who have kept the spirit of jazz alive in the face of social and political challenges.

Amanda Mangena — University of Johannesburg

*Homelands, apartheid and transition in South Africa*

***Equal but unequal, remembering the days of Bophuthatswana in the Temba Hammanskraal Region***

The failure of the African National Congress (ANC) led government to provide the residents of Temba in Hammanskraal with clean and safe drinking water almost 30 years post-apartheid has contributed to the ways in which people remember their lives in Bophuthatswana ambivalently. Although in South African there is extensive literature about the policy of separate development through the homelands system, very little is mentioned about the ethnic fluidity which already existed and persisted before and after the introduction of the homelands. Through oral interviews, archival sources and secondary sources this paper will examine the life experiences of people who live in the Bophuthatswana region of Hammanskraal to understand how different ethnic groups were treated during the reign of Lucas Mangope. Contrary to the belief that Bophuthatswana was mostly made up of people of Tswana descent, my research discovered that in Hammanskraal, the AmaNdebele Amoletlane not only owned most of the land but were also the most populous before Mangope's reign. Today residents of the former Bophuthatswana region in Hammanskraal remember Lucas Mangope's tenure in different ways, some as days of plenty while others as times of terror.

Kefuoe Maotoane —

*Broadening conceptions of the political: Rethinking women's histories in South Africa*

***Ha re matle!/We do not want him!: Women's resistance to missionary control in Bethanie in the 1930s***

This paper comes from my Master's dissertation. The paper addresses various conflicts that arose in Bethanie, a village in the North West Province of South Africa because of missionaries' involvement. Bethanie is home to Bakwena ba Mogopa. In 1864, a missionary by the name of Wilhelm Behrens arrived in Bethanie and established a Lutheran church among the Bakwena ba Mogopa. The importance of missionaries in the community of Bethanie as well as the Chief's acceptance of their



existence did not mean an automatic conversion to Christianity by all Bakwena ba Mogopa. Some decided to not convert and stick to their traditional ways of life. For those who converted to Christianity, this was a marker of difference. While the arrival of missionaries was accepted, the third missionary to be appointed by the Hermmasburg mission station to Bethanie was confronted with resistance. Women in Bethanie were at the forefront of this resistance. They were resisting the missionary Buhr's imposition on the running of the community as well as the school. In 1938, 200 women blocked the entrance to the church demanding the removal of the missionary. It would be these very same women who would be later arrested and charged with vandalism of the church and some grave sites. Many other issues would be raised later by various groups in the community. This paper will argue that women's resistance paved the way for what is referred to in Bethanie, as the Mabidibidi war that raised material issues of land and chieftainship.

Brian Maregedze — Stellenbosch University

*Racism, refugees and xenophobia in southern Africa*

***Continuities, Change and Crises in Southern Africa on Refugees, citizenship and burdensharing, 1969-2023***

The paper is a historical investigation of refugees, citizenship and burden sharing in Southern Africa tracing from 1969-2024. The year 1969 offered an entry point to the discussion as a number of countries in Southern Africa argued for burden sharing in mapping the path for political independence. The year 2024 proffers an opportunity for a critical historical review, and engagement with South Africa's white paper on "Citizenship, Immigration and Refugee Protection" as a window through which continuities, change and crises in Southern Africa can be explored. The paper argues that while South Africa made positive strides in legal frameworks to deal with refugees and burden sharing, all countries in Southern Africa have offered a rhetorical, mythical approach to legal frameworks and realities from post-1990s to 2024. The recurrence of xenophobia, inclusion and exclusionary state policies across Southern African countries have, however, been indicators of the twists and turns, continuities, and changes echoing persistent crises on refugees and citizenship. Methodologically, the study relies on document analysis using both primary and secondary sources on refugees, citizenship and burden sharing in Southern Africa tracing from 1969-2024. The paper seeks to historically contribute to South Africa's immigration history and Southern Africa as a whole tracing the colonial and postcolonial challenges surrounding immigration, citizenship and refugees.

Audrey Kudzai Maringa — University of the Free State

*Smuggling and addiction in southern Africa*

***Beyond Borders: An Unsettled Wave of Pharmaceuticals in Zimbabwe (2008-2009)***

This study explores the causes, nature, and ways pharmaceutical drugs were smuggled across borders for the informal sector during the Zimbabwean hyperinflation. The study seeks to understand how the 2008 Zimbabwean crisis, marked by hyperinflation and widespread shortages, triggered a desperate scramble for commodities, including life-saving medications. Using interviews and written documents, this study delves into the histories of the global movement of commodities and how they have influenced the consumption of commodities. This research further analyses the effects of pharmaceutical drug smuggling on the social, economic, and entire pharmaceutical sector. Focusing on Harare as a case study, this study argues that the existence of an informal industry for medical drugs exacerbated drug abuse as most of these drugs were transformed from medical drugs to recreational drugs within the social space. This informs how commodities change form and use due to the social and economic space in which they are utilized. The easy availability of certain prescribed medications, like antidepressants and cough syrups, within the informal market facilitated their misuse and abuse, particularly among youths. This shift from medical to recreational use highlights the impact of the social context on how commodities are perceived and utilized. By examining the smuggling networks, individual motivations, and the social transformation of drugs within the informal market, this paper aims to provide a nuanced understanding of this critical issue in Zimbabwe and its recent history.

Clement Masakure — University of the Free State

*Histories of healthcare and hospitals in Zimbabwe*

***From a private to a state institution. Towards a history of Lady Chancellor Maternity Home***

On 13 April 1955 at 11:30 AM, Lord Malvern (Godfrey Huggins), the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, opened the new Lady Chancellor Nursing Home in Salisbury. At the opening, Lord Malvern unveiled a plaque naming one of the wings of the home after its first matron – Mary Mackenzie Munro. The 1955 opening occurred 15 years after the state took over the running of the maternity home. In 1937, three years before the takeover in 1940, the maternity home was hit by an outbreak of Breast Abscess, which animated Salisbury's white community. The inquest into the outbreak of Breast Abscess revealed, in part, the problems affecting the institution, and part of the solution was the push towards a state takeover of the institution. The question one can then raise is what transpired between establishing the institution in 1923, three years into self-government, and 1940. In this paper, I suggest that the history of Lady Chancellor Maternity Home opens new areas of inquiry about the reasons behind allowing private institutions to operate when the state had fairly enough resources to cater to the white community, the fortunes of such private institutions, and the relationship between private and state institutions. Furthermore, the saga around the Breast Abscess outbreak allows us to examine the place of the white community in influencing the running of health institutions. By thinking about the history of Lady Chancellor Maternity Home during the interbellum period, a different understanding of health institutions for the white population within British colonies is possible: one that raises further questions about the role of private institutions in providing health services.

Natsai Masango — Stellenbosch University

*Histories of healthcare and hospitals in Zimbabwe*

***The History of The Rise of Medical Work in Leprosy at Morgenster Mission, Zimbabwe(1899-1950)***

Established in 1891, under the leadership of Andrew and Cinie Louw, Morgenster Mission is considered as one of the first 'successful' missions established by the Dutch Reformed Church. After the arrival of these missionaries, western medicine was introduced to the region, which differed from the pre-existing manner of treating ailments like leprosy. This paper seeks to engage with the rise of medical work in leprosy at Morgenster before and after the arrival of Dutch Reformed missionaries. The paper grapples with the medical activities under the direction of Dr Helm and Dr Steyn from 1899 to 1950 when the leprosy centre moved to Ngomahuru, which was then taken over by the government. This paper looks at the differences in treatment between the local communities and the missionaries, as well as the "success" of the leprosy centre. The paper also demonstrates how health was embroiled in the evangelical activities of the missionaries. Using various sources such as archival documents, books, and secondary literature, the paper provides a nuanced contribution to the study of early missionaries and indigenous population during the first few decades of colonial rule in Zimbabwe.

Eddington Maseya — Stellenbosch University

*The lion's Pride: more-than-human history for a world in crisis I*

***Killing for survival? Zimbabwe's elephant management policy, c.1965-1990***

This paper explores a multi-species environmental history of Zimbabwe's elephant management policy framework between 1965 and 1990. It argues that efforts at elephant conservation culminated in an effective commoditisation of the species for revenue generation way beyond the conservation of biodiversity. By examining the changes and continuities in wildlife management during this period, the paper explores how the political and economic complexities of the 1970s and 1980s in Zimbabwe influenced the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (DNPWMA) to consider its wildlife assets as a source of revenue. It unpacks the way conservation authorities crafted the management framework to portray the killing of elephants as an important practice for biodiversity purposes. However, this paper questions the credibility of the official mass killings of elephants up to 1989 considering socio-economic conditions on the eve of the Economic Structural Adjustment Policies. Resultantly, the paper unpacks the local and international

controversies surrounding elephant management since the 1960s leading to the 1989 ban on ivory trade which affected Zimbabwe by 1990. In all, this paper contributes to the rising historiographies on global wildlife management in Africa in the context of debates on environmental colonialism. It uses archival files on wildlife management from the National archives of Zimbabwe, (NAZ), newspaper files, policy papers and wildlife reports from the parks and wildlife authority.

Aisha Mashingauta — Stellenbosch University

*Agricultural histories of Zimbabwe*

***Politics of Survival? The Land Question, Productivity and Grain Marketing, 1999-2008***

This article discusses grain marketing in Zimbabwe within the context of the land reform from 1999 to 2008. It uses the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) as lens to understand the politics of food post-the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). The article demonstrates that the FTLRP was followed by reduction in agricultural production. In bid to sanitize this decrease, the GMB was immediately restructured to control the scares commodity and harness it to the board. This article argues that GMB was used by the government as a quick fix for state-induced food shortages that were exacerbated by droughts. Using oral interviews, GMB reports, newspapers and parliamentary debates, the article demonstrates that the GMB's capture by the Mugabe government was strategic for the political survival of the ZANU PF party. It was this use of grain as a political tool that worsened hunger in the country. The article thus joins a broader historiography on the political economy of grain marketing and also extends research on the anthropogenic nature of hunger in developing countries.

Nomalungisa Maxengana — University of Fort Hare

*Premodern southern African societies*

***An African centric account of the amaMfengu of the Eastern Cape, 1820-1878. The amaMfengu slavery myth in Gcalekaland***

The existing accounts of South Africa's amaMfengu community and identity have been composed by academics who are not themselves amaMfengu and who have relied almost exclusively on English language materials. As a researcher who is a first language speaker of isiXhosa and born and bred in the amaMfengu heartland of Peddie, I seek to correct the most significant distortions in the existing scholarship by placing at the heart of my analysis indigenous language sources, notably oral traditions such as R.T. Kawa's Ibali lamaMfengu (1930). Based on these sources, my paper argues that the name " amaMfengu " refers not to any specific African people but is an umbrella term used up to the present day as a collective designation for amaHlubi, amaBhele, amaZizi and other chiefdoms and individuals who fled KwaZulu-Natal in the time of King Shaka (1818 - 1828) and found refuge in the territory of the amaXhosa King Hintsa. My paper emphasizes that these refugee groups adopted the amaMfengu identity so as to make better sense of their common experience as refugees and to better navigate the politically treacherous Eastern Cape Frontier, a region in which the amaXhosa and the expanding Britishruled Cape Colony battled each other for supremacy during the first three quarters of the 19th century. My paper also seeks to refute the amaMfengu slavery myth in Gcalekaland.

Fathima Zahra Mayet — University of Johannesburg

*Teaching, schools and universities in South Africa*

***Frustrated Ambitions: Teacher Associations and segregated schooling in the Transvaal, c. 1920-1956***

While much of the historiography on racially segregated schooling in South Africa has rightly emphasised the imposition of racist policies from above, this article uses correspondence and commission evidence to argue there were significant calls for greater racial segregation in schools (of teaching staff and learners) which were issued 'from below', by Indian and coloured teacher associations in the Transvaal, from the 1930s into the 1950s. This was absolutely not a demand for or acceptance of, an inferior education. The context in which these demands for segregated schooling were made is therefore important to understand: decades of frustrated ambition in a racist society which restricted the training, credentialisation and appointment of teachers according to South

African racial hierarchies. Ironically enforcing greater racial segregation in schooling, especially with regards to teachers and principals, would create space for a rising new class of professionals, displacing white staff and allowing black, Indian and coloured teachers to achieve greater upward social mobility. An important justification for making this shift happen was the necessity of expelling racist white teachers, and the associated idea of the benefits of being taught by 'one's own'.

Vincenza Mazzeo — Johns Hopkins University

*Crises, disability and disease in southern Africa*

***“Sickness of Mouth of Womb”: Remaking AmaZulu Bodies, Scientific Medicine, and the Limits of the World’s First National Cervical Cancer Screening Campaign in South Africa***

This paper reevaluates histories of medicine, gender, and liberation to demonstrate that histories of struggle against white supremacy are also histories of health and medicine. It argues that South Africa’s “pap smear campaign” of 1989 sought not only to reverse the deleterious conditions created by the apartheid state (which expelled black/Black South African women from state-sponsored gynecological care) but to preserve the strength of the liberationist movement while reimagining the place of the gendered body in decolonial struggles for health and liberation. Drawing upon *Speak Magazine* and interviews I conducted between 2017 and 2022 in South Africa, I detail how women working in unionized factories utilized biomedicine by tethering it to decolonial movements while simultaneously challenging its ontology of the body in the world. In this way, my paper foregrounds the paradoxical place of medicine in South African history while narrating a global history of health from South Africa through the world’s first statefunded National Cervical Cancer Screening Campaign. In doing so, this paper demonstrates the limits and possibilities of biomedicine as a linguistic and ontological register for thinking about impilo and the black/Black body in post-colonial African history.

Mhlangabezi Mbala — University of the Witwatersrand

*Histories of translation, tradition and governance*

***Conversion, Classification and Commodification: The role of missionaries in the imperial and colonial project in South Africa during the nineteenth century in the Highveld***

This paper explores the notable work of missionaries particularly those of the London Missionary Society from the early through to the late nineteenth century amongst Batswana. It explores the labours of prominent missionaries such as John Campbell, Robert Moffat, Samuel Broadbent, David Livingstone, William Charles Willoughby and John Mackenzie and it looks at the various ways in which the introduction of Christianity amongst Batswana was necessarily rooted on the conception of their cultures, customs and beliefs as evil. An observation which invariably meant that to become a Christian, Batswana people had to in a sense entirely abandon their cultures, customs and beliefs. And an observation which also turned Christianity into an ideological tool for imperial and colonial domination. In this sense the paper looks more broadly at how religion was used to sustain, legitimate and promote economic, spiritual and political domination of Batswana people. It also argues that despite the vilification of Batswana indigenous cultures, Christianity for its development at the main relied on Batswana indigenous cultures and traditions. In this regard this paper explores more broadly questions of identity, autonomy, rule, violence and cross-cultural translations between missionaries and Batswana because of the encounter. Finally, the paper explores the reasons why and many ways in which African rulers as consequence of missionary influences functioned as intermediaries in the colonial and imperial project.

Daluxolo Mbebe — University of Pretoria

*Apartheid abuses and historiographical debates*

***Negotiating the Past***

In June 1997, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) invited all faith-based communities to make submissions regarding their role during the apartheid years of 1960 to 1993. One of the commissioners, Piet Meiring, stated that it was deemed necessary for religious leaders “to tell their stories: stories of guilt and shame, of pain and suffering, also stories of courage and conviction, of

forgiveness and reconciliation.” The TRC Report averred that these communities were called to account because they were “involved and implicated” in the past being investigated. One of those churches that gave an account of its past actions was the Church of England in South Africa (CESA). It apologised for its role during apartheid and vowed to do better in democratic South Africa. My paper will explore the reception of CESA’s TRC submission within the denomination – it will primarily focus on the critique of its history by retired leaders of the church who were active during the apartheid years. It will investigate the challenges of enforcing ‘official histories’ on groups whose identity depends on a coherent narrative of the past.

Zola Mbinda — Rhodes

*Families in crisis?*

***NT: Contraception and decline in fertility among Xhosa women***

The latter half of the twentieth century in Southern Africa saw a reorganizing in what was thought of as woman’s work due to the migrant labour system. The declining fertility rates identified by demographers from the 1950s to the 1980s indicated a change in isiXhosa speaking women’s labour and reproductive experiences due to their statuses as migrants in the Cape. This paper is an oral history intervention into popular demographic discourses about how and why there was a decline in fertility. The lives of isiXhosa speaking women, who were in their reproductive prime years from the 1950s to the 1980s, are explored. The paper looks into how black women navigated the apartheid governments family planning programme that was introduced in 1974, the migrant labour system and Xhosa culture. The experiences of the women were not uniform, largely dependent on two factors, namely what their work consisted of when in urban areas and how much time was expended there. The access to three forms of contraceptives for hormonal birth control in urban areas that black women were exposed to speaks to a more complex and nuanced relationship between the apartheid state and the women that has largely resided in a lacuna.

Sarah Meny-Gibert — Public Affairs Research Institute

*Beyond lazy legacies and casual continuities: corruption and accumulation from the Bantustans to the Provinces*

***Mutual accommodation’: clientelist politics in South African school education***

Whilst most post-apartheid public schools in South Africa remain significantly underfunded, the education budget nevertheless provides a significant injection of jobs and public spending into the provinces – into rural provinces with small economies especially. Based on research in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng provinces, I show how a particular form of clientelist politics has taken root in the post-apartheid school education system – one locally organised around ‘promotional’ posts in schools, and disconnected from a clear state, party, or other organisational ‘centre’. Groups of locally organised unionists operate to secure preferential access to these posts, sometimes through the use or threat of violence, sometimes through collusion with district education officials, or with community members who might benefit from access to meagre school budgets. Attempts by residents to secure livelihood strategies in the context of poverty intersect with local strategies of upward mobility on the part of ordinary teachers, and in turn connect loosely, via patterns of ‘mutual accommodation’ with strategies of elite accumulation amongst senior politicians, administrators, and union leaders. In the case of the education sectors in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng provinces at least, on which this article focuses, this constitutes a fragmented yet interlocking system of unstable governance. In this sense, I suggest that there is much in the dynamics of education governance that offers insight into wider patterns of state-society relations around the local state in South Africa.

Eddie Michel —

*Transnational histories of Africa*

***An “unprecedented breach of diplomatic protocol” or business as usual? Reuben Brigety, the Lady R and U.S. violations of South African sovereignty. An historical analysis***

On 11 May 2023, the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa, Reuben Brigety publicly accused South Africa of supplying arms to Russia for use in its war in Ukraine. This allegation caused consternation and outrage in both Washington and Pretoria among politicians, media outlets and the general public and threatened to fracture the relationship between the United States and a key economic partner in Africa. In Pretoria, there was public and political outrage that the United States was spying on South Africa and it was claimed that Washington would never have behaved in this manner during the previous apartheid era government. In this article, however, I demonstrate, however, that the the diplomatic furore over the Lady R simply represented a continuation of a pattern of U.S. interference in and espionage on South African affairs that began as early as the 1960s.

Silindile Nanzile Mlilo — University of the Witwatersrand

*State-building in the shadow of colonialism and empire*

***How the Past Shapes the Future: Historical and Contextual Developments of Botswana Identity***

This paper will provide a historical context of Botswana’s nation-building process and its influence on national identity and citizenship. Drawing from already existing debates, I will unpack the construction of Botswana’s national project following a timeline of the country’s pre and post colonisation, interrogate the process of state formation, its influence on the creation of a national identity, and examine the states’ inclusion and exclusion of ethnic minorities and migrant descendants during the nation-building process. Through an analysis of historical documents, this paper will also show how deeply entrenched notions of identity and belonging have been rooted in the Tswana ethnic identity of the country. A system that has resulted in a national identity based on the fusion of ethnicity and nationality established in the colonial period and continues to influence and shape the present society and experiences of those considered as “outsiders. “Finally, the paper will argue that postcolonial policies and legislation continue to shape the understandings and framing of national identity in Botswana which in turn influence the ways in which migrant descendants relate to the state and the communities they live in. The paper relates to this conferences’ themes because it highlights how the colonial past continues to influence society, specifically as it pertains to how migration and migrants are perceived.

Abe Mlombo — University of Pretoria

*Interregional politics in southern Africa*

***Fighting sub-imperialism in Southern Africa? Zimbabwe and regional unity against South Africa power***

South Africa’s relationship with southern Africa in the latter half of the 20th century has often in academic debates and scholarship characterised Pretoria as a sub-imperial power. South Africa’s economic, political, and military involvements in southern and central Africa have been studiously studied. Historians have been drawn to South Africa’s destabilisation campaign in the region. Underpinned by Pretoria’s economic strength, as well as exploiting the schisms emerging in the region because of Cold War politics, politically South Africa positioned itself as a regional partner of the United States of America and seen to protect Western interests in the region against Soviet forces. Through its military advantage over the neighbouring states South Africa positioned itself as the vanguard against communist forces in Southern Africa. In the process, Pretoria perceived itself as the lone power in the region and thus could behave as it pleases towards an area it deemed as its ‘own’ neighbourhood. Although South Africa’s hegemony was undeniable at this time, her power and range were not unlimited. The response of the neighbouring countries to South Africa’s shadow over the region was crucial. One approach will consider how the region (Southern Africa) went about containing the extent of South Africa’s machinations for regional influence. This paper will focus on regional responses and options towards South African power through the independence of

Zimbabwe in 1980. The independence of Zimbabwe provided a turning point in which a consolidated regional response was possible. By so doing, the paper moves away from the narrow South African centred approach in studying South African hegemony and aims to study South African imperialism from a regional perspective.

Thobeka Mnisi — University of the Witwatersrand

*Politics and governance in contemporary southern Africa*

***Crafting Community Post Civil War: Oral histories of community development under conditions of calamity in Southern Africa***

In much of human history, safety and security for the majority of people has often been a fleeting luxury, such that learning how to live well under conditions of precarity such as war or climate disaster becomes a necessary skill. This paper examines the characteristics of community building, cultural conservation and economic restoration among Mozambican-descendant South Africans living in Mpumalanga province in order to understand what kinds of communities arise under conditions of political and socio-economic duress. Drawing inspiration from the conceptual framework by scholars who study the emergence of life after moments of disaster, this paper combines historical and archival information about South Africa and Southern Mozambique's shared borders, labour and trade relationships, border politics and migration, along with primary data collected through oral histories following the lives of ten diasporic families who fled civil war from Mozambique to South Africa between 1980 and 2000. By exploring themes of cooperative economics, social welfare, and cultural preservation, it illustrates and highlights humanity's commitment to the survival of oneself and others even during moments of utter devastation and political chaos. The purpose is to primarily expand the catalogue of our collective understanding of what it means to be human, in community with other people. Secondly, it aims to expose the stories of culturally ambiguous South Africans who often die undocumented, both administratively and narratively, believing that in such communities where it is customary for substantial knowledge about culture and tradition to die with each generation, it might suffice just for the story to be told, and the culture to be witnessed.

Thapelo Mokoatsi — Johannesburg Institute for Advanced Study

*Political biography and autobiography in Southern Africa*

***Herbert Msane and the ICU, 1920-1930***

Herbert Nuttall Vuma Msane was the first-born son of Saul Msane (1856-1919), one of the SANNC founders and a prominent elitist political figure of late nineteenth to early twentieth century. He had a reputation of being part of the Industrial Workers of Africa (IWA) and the International Socialist League (ISL). Like father, Saul Msane, Herbert Msane was also a musician of note. While his father was a bass soloist with a sonorous voice, Herbert was a tenor singer who sang alongside him. Second, like his father, he worked as a journalist and wrote several articles for different newspapers. For instance, he wrote articles on Ethiopianism for The International. From 1917 to the 1920s he became a sub-editor for Abantu-Batho under the editorship of Richard Victor Selope Thema. However, what set him apart from his father is that Herbert Msane took a more radical approach in politics when he became a wage-earner in mines for a decade and joined the ICU as an elite who went to Lovedale between 1904 and 1907. At first, and like his father, and as a lower-middle class, he was drawn into bourgeois nationalist ideas until he followed organized socialism and spoke on behalf of the workers. He was exposed to exploitation unlike his wealthy father who became the first and only black compound manager at Salisbury and Jubilee Mining Compound from 1895 to 1914 and enjoyed managerial power for close to two decades. As a point of departure, this paper traces the aforesaid transition and contextualizes the life writing of Herbert Msane under the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union or ICU. It also focuses on his contribution in the ICU as its Branch Secretary in Greytown in Natal between 1920 and 1930.

Phuthego Molosiwa — Carleton College  
*Biography and medicine in southern Africa*

***“Shake yourself; get those flies off you....!”: Dirt, Ethnic Pathology and Biomedical Racism in Late Colonial Botswana, 1944-1956***

In his autobiography, *Desert Doctor Remembers*, missionary doctor Alfred Merriweather reminisces about his arrival in Molepolole, Botswana, in 1944, saying to himself: “Now you are in a different war; a war against ignorance, superstition, fear and disease.” A few months into his new job, Merriweather witnessed a Mokwena nurse shouting at the “skin-clad” Bakgalagadi patients to shake off their flies. This outburst speaks to the truism that infectious disease puts a giant spotlight on society. Whenever there is an outbreak of infectious disease societal fault lines are illuminated as divisions in class, race, ethnicity and gender binaries are brought into sharp relief. In so doing, epidemics reveal society’s deepest anxieties and fears. The question is: Why is it important to foreground this familiar refrain? To answer this question, I explore the nuances in which race, ethnicity and biomedicine widened pre-existing societal fault lines through a process of othering. Between 1944 and 1956, I argue, Dr Alfred Merriweather’s medical work, the World Health Organization’s mass campaign to eradicate syphilis and the Bakwena’s ethnic chauvinism uniquely coalesced to essentialize the Bakgalagadi, a minoritized ethnic group in the Bakwena Reserve, as filthy and inherently sick with venereal and non-venereal syphilis.

Reatile Moncho — University of the Free State  
*Teaching, schools and universities in South Africa*

***An Institutional History of the University of the North (Limpopo)***

This paper presents work in progress from my doctoral study on a critical institutional history of The University of the North (UNIN) 1959-1994. There are a wide range of critical histories of Historically White Universities (eg. Phillips 1993, Maylam 2017, Guest 2015 2017 2021, Mason 2017, Boucher 1973) however, critical institutional histories of Historically Black Universities (HBUs) have been neglected. The history of the UNIN reveals contradictions and paradoxes. In this paper, I explore two of these contradictions. First, while the apartheid government pursued an ethnically based homeland policy, UNIN was always ethnically mixed. Secondly, UNIN was an HBU established to remove black ethnic youths from their environments to a secluded rural area, to avoid their conscientisation. However, UNIN ended up being synonymous with political activism against Bantu Education and apartheid, and by extension with the Black Consciousness Movement. Ultimately, this research allows us to reassess how the patterns of social and geographic location set in place by Apartheid Master Planning, a program of racialised spatial segregation and discrimination in South Africa, were negotiated within the institution.

Duncan Money —  
*Mining in South Africa: Past, present and future*  
***Losing the Lustre: The End of Gold in South Africa***

Gold dominated South Africa for a century. Hundreds of thousands of people from across Southern Africa laboured in the bowels of the earth to extract it, recruited through an extensive, highly organised and coercive migrant labour system. The economy was centred around gold and the large majority of the world’s gold was extracted from South Africa. It is hard to imagine South Africa’s recent history without gold, but soon we will not need the power of imagination. The gold industry is disappearing and today produces and employs a fraction of what it did as recently as the 1980s. Within a generation, the industry may cease to exist entirely and this will have profound implications for the region. This paper is a tentative step towards a recent history of South Africa’s gold industry and the demise of the migrant labour system that accompanied it. There is an extensive literature on the rise of the gold industry and its dominance, yet its virtual demise has gone largely unremarked.



Mikhail Moosa — Yale University

*Dancing, living and labouring in Johannesburg*

***Between Resistance and Resilience: City, Countryside, and the Idea of the Urban Environment in South Africa***

City and countryside share a common past. In South Africa, historians have characterised each as sites of emergent resistance and enduring resilience to settler domination. This paper argues that a prevailing emphasis on resistance and resilience in South African historiography precludes a fuller understanding of historical change. I propose the emergence of the urban environment as one outcome of processes that lie between resistance and resilience. The first part presents a historiographical assessment of the major themes of environmental and urban history. The locus of environmental history remains in the countryside, occluding the nature of urban environmental change. Urban historians too have paid insufficient attention to ideas of nature and environment that residents brought to bear on urban space. The second part situates resistance and resilience in a dialectical approach to analyse the transition from rural to urban in early-twentieth century Johannesburg. Where the state and industry altered the landscape and transformed labor, newly urban residents fashioned an urban environment. The reshaped urban environment emerges from these twinned processes of mutual determination, where ideas of nature are upheld, transformed, and inaugurated between resistance and resilience.

Mojuta Motlhamme —

*Homelands, apartheid and transition in South Africa*

***Lucas Mangope and Setswana Nationalism, 1961-1994***

Lucas Manyane Mangope (1923-2018) was the leader of the Bantustan of Bophuthatswana. My work engages with idea of being Motswana and how he mobilised ethnic identity during the apartheid era. Lucas Mangope was one of few Motswana chiefs in the 20th century to bring together Batswana under one national banner. Using oral histories and archival research, this paper argues that Kgosi Mangope used ethnic nationalism to counter the pervading sense of totemic and regional Setswana historical power bases. Through the idea of a coherent Setswana nationalism, Lucas Mangope was able to wield power over different *merafe* (totemic clusters) of the South African based Batswana. This paper traces the origins, successes, and failures of Setswana Nationalism under Kgosi Mangope in Bophuthatswana. The key conclusions of this paper tell us that (1) Lucas Mangope used ethnic nationalism to collaborate with the apartheid state, (2) His vision of Setswana nationalism did not align with African nationalism, (3) Mangope was the first Motswana in the South African context to lead Batswana from different totemic clusters, (4) Setswana nationalism remained a contested political ideology, (5) Lastly, Setswana Nationalism declined in 1994 after the downfall of the Bophuthatswana regime in 1994. These are the pertinent findings and discussions in this paper.

Knysna Motumi —

*Racism, refugees and xenophobia in southern Africa*

***Africanising history teaching and learning through regional and microspatial histories: The Vredefort Dome Region as example***

African scholarly debates engaged in the concepts of decolonising teaching and learning in Africanised educational contexts to a limited extent during the past 60 years. On the other hand, microspatial histories as an agency towards facilitating an Africanised educational thought can and should form part of this debate. By reconceptualising Africanisation as a consideration in education (no matter at what level) also will value, and become sensitised to, diverse scholarly and community voices closer to home. Equally so, some present-day realities, deriving from historical contextual complexities, requires decolonized action towards an educationally Africanised conversation. In this discussion the reconceptualising of "Africanise" will be deliberated on to facilitate an educationally revitalised approach. As a microspatial outlet thereof the histories of the Vredefort Dome Region in the Free State Province of South Africa will serve as a case study, and steppingstone towards creating embracive multi-angled African educational scholarship.

Dawid Mouton — University of Pretoria

*The South African war and its consequences*

***Plundering to eat – the Manchester Regiment's experience during the South African War***

During the South African War, soldiers of the Manchester Regiment relied heavily on supplementing their army rations with looted foodstuff from civilian properties. Their personal recollections of looting showed little to no sense of shame or remorse for this. This paper will consider the official army supply efforts and the nutritional quality of army rations to determine the likely reasons for the Manchesters' plundering of food supplies. The experiences and the attitudes of the Manchesters with regard to army rations, all too frequent pangs of hunger sometimes bordering on starvation, and their resultant 'commandeering' or 'foraging' expeditions into the countryside will therefore be explored and contextualised. In the process, this paper will highlight a relatively unknown, yet valuable source of British soldiers' perspectives as contained in a large number of letters published in local and national British newspapers.

Admire Mseba — University of Southern California

*Soil, insects and the environment in Africa*

***Locusts: An International Challenge over the Long Twentieth Century***

Locusts are a pest largely forgotten by many. When they invaded an area stretching from Kenya in East Africa to Pakistan in South Asia in 2020, they received scant attention from an international press that had trained its eyes and ears on the novel Covid-19 virus. But historically, locusts have not always been completely out of sight or minds, for, when they swarm, they can be devastating. "The locust problem is one of these minor details, which must not be forgotten when the economic development, particularly of the tropical and subtropical regions is considered," cautioned one British-Russian scientist-cum bureaucrat in 1943. "No plans for increasing the productivity of a region can be regarded as complete unless they ensure that none of the abundance will be wasted on feeding locusts" he said, adding: "if such waste has been going on for centuries past, it was due to lack of knowledge, and partly to the lack of international cooperation," At the time, Boris P Uvarov, the said scientist-cum bureaucrat wrang these words of caution, he directed the British Anti-Locust Research Centre, a significant player in the international fight against locust swarms in both the British empire and the wider world. Uvarov understood the locust problem well; he studied it in areas as far afield as the Caucasus in Tsarist Russia and the British Empire. Swarming locusts, he and others knew, did not respect boundaries. Consequently, addressing them required international cooperation. This paper tells this story of locust swarms and the forms of international cooperation that they prompted from about 1905 to 2020. It draws on archival materials collected from The British National Archives (Kew Gardens), The Archives of the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) in Rome, Italy, The South African National Archives (I consulted the Repositories of the Former Transvaal and the Union Government, after 1910, in Pretoria as well as the Free State Repositories in Bloemfontein), the National Archives of Zimbabwe and the National Archives of Zambia.

Lerato Mtshengu — University of the Free State

*Political biography and autobiography in Southern Africa*

***The rise of trade unionism and political activism in Qwaqwa from 1985-1994: A biography of Sarah Moleleki***

This paper studies the life and career of Sarah Moleleki, a relatively unknown female trade unionist and political activist from the former homeland of QwaQwa. By looking at aspects of her personal life and the socio-political environment in which she lived, the factors that motivated her to become politically active will be analyzed and contextualized. Special attention is also paid to Moleleki's role in the 1990 civil servants strike, which ultimately led to the rise of trade unions such as The National Education Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) in QwaQwa in the early 1990s. Considering the lack of literature on the role of women in the trade unionism movement of the late 1980s and early 1990s in South Africa, this study hopes to make an innovative contribution to the historiography. In addition, it also aims to give a voice to the often marginalized women from former homelands.

Fananidzo Muchemwa —

*History and biography from Zimbabwe I*

***Comrade Magidi: The Life History of a Foot Soldier***

Biographies of elite war veterans and politicians of Zimbabwe's struggle for independence have been written and continue to be written. These biographies highlight the importance and self-importance of the elite war veterans and colonial era African politicians. In some instances, hagiographic accounts and lies have been written to portray the elite as people who led the struggle from the front. This implies that, without them the struggle would have failed. War veterans who had very little influence on the ground during the liberation struggle but became prominent in independent Zimbabwe have had their liberation war statures rising due to posts they have held in the army and government. There are war veterans such as Magidi who were known for their fearless fighting and daring tactics against the well-oiled military hardware of the Smith regime. The chapter intends to relive the life and military exploits of one of Zimbabwe's greatest foot soldiers of the struggle. Zimbabwe liberation history is generally elitist. This chapter shows the importance of foot soldiers in the history of Zimbabwe. It takes the narrative of the struggle to the people where it belongs. It captures the memory of the people who worked with the foot soldiers. While the ZANU PF government seems to recognize the importance of the foot soldiers by conferring to them liberation war and provincial hero statuses this has done little to raise the real status of the comrades. The narrative remains elitist. Brigadier Mashingaidze captured this well at the funeral of Comrade Musa of Bikita. It cost him his job or career growth and luster in both the army and ZANU PF because he had disparaged the party for being indifferent to foot soldiers of the struggle. The chapter suggests that it is important to write the history of people who are viewed as 'small men'. And that, these 'small men' are the owners of the struggle. Through the writing of the history of Magidi the chapter will also argue that foot soldiers were more loyal to Zimbabwe than ZANU PF. ZANU PF was and still is a conduit of delivering loyalty to Zimbabwe.

Leigh Muffet — Cambridge

*Money and entrepreneurship in the colonial Cape*

***African Entrepreneurial Activity at the Early British Cape Colony, 1806-56***

In world history, the Cape of Good Hope Colony is historically understood as a transit point between two parts of the Northern hemisphere: Europe or the Americas and Asia. From this perspective, it becomes a place to be circumvented, a terra nullius, an appendage to the Northern Hemisphere. New research based on port data shows that, in reality, it transformed from a transit point under the Dutch, to a global entrepôt and colony in its own right within decades under British governance. This transformation required large numbers of individuals and a lot of human labour. But as the Cape reached the heights of its development, Northerners in competition with Africans denigrated them as simpletons relatively uninvolved in global trade. Over centuries this legacy has become part of historical consciousness. But when comparing Northerners' writings against quantitative analyses of navigation, one can observe critical discrepancies, and an alternative narrative of 19th-c. trade globalisation begins to emerge. Africans and people of colour were artisans, interpreters, navigators, traders and entrepreneurs, and they built the Cape's foundations and networks that made possible entrepreneurial activity. In this paper, I thus argue that Africans and Southerners facilitated the Cape Colony's development over the nineteenth century and had more diversified roles in global trade than has been historically appreciated.

Teverayi Muguti — Stellenbosch University

*Interregional politics in southern Africa*

***"Pay Back Time?" A History of the Zimbabwe – Zambia Trade Relations, c. 1991 to 2000***

This paper examines trade relations between the Robert Mugabe and the Frederick Chiluba led governments in Zimbabwe and Zambia, respectively, between 1991 and 2000. Zimbabwe- Zambia political relations have also been delineated by scholars who have examined them in line with the legacies of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. Using newspapers, government publications, oral data, and other existing secondary literature, this paper shifts focus to the trade relationship

between Zimbabwe and Zambia, showing how it was marked by a shift from relative mutual co-operation during the 1980s to confrontational trade practices during the 1990s. Chiluba's administration implemented restrictive trade and border policies characterised by agricultural trade bans which were also influenced by the wish to recover economic losses endured by Zambia in its relations with its southern neighbour since the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953 to 1963). The paper further analyses how the management of the remnants of properties co-owned by the two countries since the Federal era and regional economic institutions diluted the trading relations between the two countries towards cooperation during this decade.

Abdirizak Muhumed — University of the Witwatersrand

*Histories of translation, tradition and governance*

***The Marvel in the Sky of the Horn of Africa :1934-1950***

Between 1934 and 1950, World War II build-up and breakout of the war in the Horn of Africa reshaped the region for the second time in the colonial era. Italy invaded Abyssinia in 1936, extending its iron-fist rule from Southern Somali coast to the Red Sea in Eritrea, forming what fascist Rome fashioned to be "the Italian East African Empire." Aerial bombardment was not only the decisive weaponry used in the battlefields but it was also a new invention in modern warfare. It was, as one Somali poet, Mohamed Ali Beenaley, put it, a "marvel" in the sky that neither Abyssinians nor the Somalis could look at it, let alone bringing it down! Although Italy's imperial grandeur was short-lived and Britain expanded its colonial wing across the Horn, the consequence of the war sowed seeds of today's state crisis, political instability and perpetual conflicts in the Horn of Africa. Using five untranslated Somali poems, composed by different poets in this period, and a literature review, this paper will examine how frontiers of violence were created in the Horn, how Somalis experienced the war and why poets interpreted the last partition of the Somali peninsula and aerial bombardment as a 'marvel of modernity.'

Kasonde Mukonde — University of the Witwatersrand

*Thinking and debating 'liberation' in apartheid southern Africa*

***The Black Consciousness Movement, Maishe Maponya and the Use of Theatre as a Weapon of Resistance, 1970 – 2000***

This paper follows a biographical approach to trace the contributions of the playwright and poet Maishe Maponya to resistance theatre in South Africa. Using a combination of oral history interviews; analysis of playscripts, censorship records, and contemporaneous newspaper reviews; I show how Maponya adopted the stance that theatre could be used as a form of struggle. The paper begins by sketching the genesis of this idea in the Black Consciousness movement. It then traces Maponya's beginning as a playwright and poet in the wake of the 1976 Soweto students uprising. This period was followed by his exposure to the ideas of Bertolt Brecht and the writing of his first major and critically acclaimed work, *The Hungry Earth*. The paper also analyses *Gangsters and Dirty Work*, two plays from the mid-1980s that directly confronted the security state. Finally, Maponya's work after the transition to democracy is exemplified in the performance *A Song for Biko*, which brings into sharp relief the persistence of Steve Biko's ideas after the euphoria of the concept of the rainbow nation was beginning to fade. Using biography to look at the work of Maishe Maponya, I argue, challenges the notion that art and politics are strange bedfellows.

Jacques Mulder — Stellenbosch University

*Crime and punishment in South Africa*

***Historical shifts in the South African Security Industry, c. 1980-2020***

Private security companies have become an integral part of everyday life in South Africa. It feels like a very recent development of the post-Apartheid milieu, but – as I will show - the commercial and residential demand for private security can, however, be traced back to early 1980 in South Africa. In this period, new laws and a changing viewpoint of the state on the usefulness of private companies securing national and regional key assets initiated the boom in the industry. Although the strong growth in private security continued post-1994, new divisions occurred between the current

government and the security sector. Efforts to retain control over the industry by national government are contested by the sector itself. Against this background, this paper delineates a timeline of change over a forty-year period from 1980 until 2020 within the sector, explaining the growth of private security companies against the complex and changing socio-economic situation, the new and old public safety plans set out by SAPS and key legislation aimed to limit the power of security companies.

Tinashe Munyarari —

*History and biography from Zimbabwe II*

***Lovemore Madhuku and the NCA's Struggle for Constitutional Reforms in Zimbabwe at the Turn of the Millennium***

Lovemore Madhuku's influential role in advocating for constitutional reform has profoundly impacted Zimbabwean politics since 1997 when he co-founded the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), a non-partisan organisation committed to rectifying the deficiencies of the Lancaster House constitution, ratified upon Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. Recognising the constitution's inadequacies in safeguarding citizen rights and upholding democratic governance, Madhuku assumed leadership of the NCA, mobilising broad support for constitutional reforms. Under his guidance, the NCA evolved into a formidable agent of change, notably demonstrated by its extensive mobilisation of citizens in 2000, resulting in the rejection of the government-proposed constitution and alarming the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) (ZANU[PF]) party. Through relentless advocacy, Madhuku and the NCA facilitated greater citizen awareness and engagement, igniting a momentum for change and prompting renewed efforts to draft a constitution reflective of the people's aspirations. Furthermore, the NCA's endeavours set a significant precedent for civil society organisations to challenge the government on multiple fronts. This chapter critically examines the challenges in pursuing constitutional reform during the late 1990s and early 2000s, emphasising Madhuku's leadership within the NCA as the primary advocate for a new, "people-driven" constitution. It explores his motivations, activities, and their outcomes while also illuminating the state's responses, including arrests and physical violence. Drawing upon various sources, including newspapers, NCA reports, parliamentary debates, and civil society organisation records, this study highlights the substantial influence of Madhuku and the NCA on Zimbabwe's quest for constitutional reform during the turn of the millennium. By centring on Madhuku's role, this chapter offers a comprehensive analysis of a facet that has received limited scholarly attention, particularly from historians.

Tinashe Munyarari —

*Youth politics and liberation in southern Africa*

***Youth and ZANU-PF Socialist Politics in Post-Independent Zimbabwe: The Legacy of the Youth Brigade Movement, c.1980-1989***

This article explores the historical context of youth engagement in Zimbabwean politics during the inaugural decade of independence, focusing on the Youth Brigade Movement (YBM). The study investigates the emergence and operations of YBM to elucidate the roles of young individuals in the socialist political framework and hegemonic struggles of the Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). While ostensibly created to foster politically conscious youth outside party affiliation and execute socialist development goals, the Youth Brigades functioned as a parallel entity to the party's Youth League (YL), both engaging in state violence against opposition forces. Consequently, affiliation with either the youth brigades or ZANU PF YL resulted in similar activities, suggesting a dual membership for many. This article reveals a pattern of impunity facilitated by police collaboration with the brigades in political violence. It contends that YBM's operations established a detrimental precedent, fostering a lingering culture of violence persisting in contemporary Zimbabwe. Drawing on qualitative research and a robust body of literature on youth and political violence in Zimbabwe, the article seeks to enhance comprehension of the foundational factors that contributed to youth political violence that continues to bedevil the country today.

Chengetai Musikavanhu — Rhodes

*Agricultural histories of Zimbabwe*

***Government Input Schemes and Agriculture Production in Zimbabwe 1980-2000***

The paper analyses agricultural subsidization programs that were adopted by the Zimbabwean government following the attainment of independence in 1980. It discusses the nature of the input schemes that were adopted, how the programs were rolled out, who benefited and the impact that the subsidies had on agricultural production. The paper argues that agricultural subsidies are important in agriculture, and when well-crafted they impact positively on production, the welfare of farmers and contribute to national food security. The paper uses a qualitative research approach which allows for an in-depth analysis of data and come up with narratives based on facts. The research is primarily based on archival material and newspapers. It shall also make use of interviews carried out with subsidy beneficiaries from Chiweshe communal area. Secondary sources shall be consulted to triangulate findings from primary sources. The paper brings to light critical aspects of the crafting and implementation of subsidization schemes and how these contribute to the success or failure of subsidy programs to achieve their intended objectives.

Wesley Mwatwara — Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam/Walter Sisulu University

*Agricultural histories of Zimbabwe*

***Land reforms, land-grabbing and precarious livestock economies in Zimbabwe, c.2000 - 2024***

In 2024, mass land evictions in Zimbabwe's communal lands and resettlement areas reinvigorated debates on Zimbabwe's fast track land reform, and its attendant impact on society, politics and economy. Dominant scholarly perspectives have presented this revolution as either setting in motion wide-ranging interlocking economic, political, social and environmental crises or as presenting opportunities for land redistribution within Zimbabwe. Yet, as scholars like Ian Scoones have recently shown, this false binary has precluded nuanced analyses of the complicated nature of Zimbabwe development trajectory in recent years. Protracted disputes over land ownership, evictions, ever-changing land policies, and the increased role of finance capital (local and foreign alike) in the agriculture value chain have had complex impacts especially for those deriving their livelihoods directly from agro-based activities. However, very little, if any, research has inserted animals into these discussion leaving out questions about the fate of the livestock-based economies within Zimbabwe. What happened or is happening to animal-human relationships and how have 'peasant' relationships with livestock been affected by this instability, , among other things, in land ownership and tenure? In light of this, this study utilizes qualitative research methods from an animal history perspective to interrogate emerging human-animal relations in Zimbabwe since 2000.

Camalita Naicker — University of Cape Town

*Broadening conceptions of the political: Rethinking women's histories in South Africa*

***Rethinking women's participation in popular movements (1919 – 1950)***

This paper focuses on representations of women's membership of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, ICU (1919 – 1930) and shack movements in the 1940s, notably the Sofasonke, movement in Orlando, Soweto. In particular it seeks to understand particular contradictions within the existing literature. First, whilst organisations like the ICU and Sofasonke, are often represented as male-dominated movements, they were well patronised by women. Second, women's mass participation in these 'movements,' coincided with the categorisation of such movements as 'popular' rather than 'organised,' and during a period in which black women's membership of co-called organised politics, (nationalist organisations and secondary industry trade unions) was minimal. The paper therefore explores such contradictions by examining how women's economic subjectivities, shaped by colonial and apartheid policies, informed their points of entry and relationships into certain forms of political organisation. As such, the paper uses both primary and secondary sources to rethink the relationship between gender and popular political organisation. The paper argues that the masculinist framing of much of the historiography of the ICU and Sofasonke, has functioned to obscure how women's involvement might have been part of shaping the organisational practices of such movements.

Sibanengi Ncube — University of the Free State

*Smuggling and addiction in southern Africa*

***"There are far worse things a man can do than smoke": Tobacco politics and the framing of the smoking-lung cancer debate in Southern Rhodesia, 1950s-1970s***

The connection between lung cancer and smoking, which was firmly established in 1950, coincided with a flourishing tobacco growing industry in Southern Rhodesia. After more than four decades of booms and slumps following white settlement in the colony in 1890, the 1940s brought significant changes in the fortunes of Southern Rhodesia's tobacco industry. This occurred on the back of an external stimulus—the world shortage of raw materials accompanied by an acute post-war dollar shortage. In these circumstances, Britain was forced to limit her dollar expenditure by redirecting her import of raw materials – one of which was tobacco leaf – to her non-dollar empire. The Southern Rhodesia Tobacco Marketing Board capitalised on these developments by consummating a marketing agreement with the Tobacco Advisory Committee of the British Board of Trade in 1947. In terms of the agreement Southern Rhodesian tobacco growers got a guaranteed market for a significant portion of their tobacco. This had reverberations in the production and profitability of the colony's tobacco: output trebled and its value increased fourfold over the 1945-1958 period. This is the background against which the smoking-lung cancer connection, and by extension, the tobacco control movement began to gain significant traction. Using the framing and agenda setting theories, the proposed paper will look at Southern Rhodesia's response to the lung cancer-smoking debate. The paper will draw on reports from the wide circulating Rhodesia Herald newspaper, the Financial Gazette and a number of industry specific magazines and journals such as Tobacco Today, Rhodesia Tobacco Journal and the Farmer, to illuminate how the media in Southern Rhodesia framed the lung cancer-smoking debate from the 1950s to the 1970s. In doing so, it will flag the changes in emphasis over time to cast light on the political economy of the media in the context of a settler colony in which tobacco played a key economic role.

Perside Ndandu — University of Johannesburg

*Curing crisis? Medicinal consumption and treatment regimes in Africa II*

***Anahaemin, Penicillin and Marmite for "African anaemias"? Clinical trials in Kenya and beyond, 1940s-1950s***

Ideas about "tropical" health disorders and the physical weakening of African bodies were shaped by, and also influenced, haematological research in colonial Africa. In 1949, the Wellcome Trust's first scientific employee, British-born Henry Foy, and his Greek associate Athena Kondi began research in Kenya investigating blood disorders. This initiative was part of the pair's broader interest in anaemias, in South Africa and Macedonia, then later in Mozambique, Sudan, Seychelles, Mauritius, and India. Abnormalities detected in the blood sampled from Africans and South Asians with the use of simple field technologies, the reliance on the microscopic blood picture, and the debates surrounding its interpretation, classification, and disease identity, are missing elements in the historiography on colonial medicine. This has meant that the scientific making of "African blood" and an "African normal" in creating and defining not only anaemias across different environments, but also race, sex, and as problematically tribe and ethnicity, also bear investigation. In this paper, I examine Foy and Kondi's investigations of treatments for anaemias: mainly Anahaemin (a liver principle) and Penicillin (and antibiotic), but also Marmite (a yeast product). The research took place in a context of widespread official political and economic worries about nutrition and fitness among people living in Africa.

Samukelo Ndlovu — University of the Witwatersrand

*State-building in the shadow of colonialism and empire*

***Apartheid and Worldmaking after Empire: How race and racism reordered the twentieth century social organisation in Southern Africa***

In *Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois, W.E.B (1903) argues, "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line"<sup>1</sup>, suggesting that although decolonization had made some progress in revolutionising the international order, race and racism continued to rearrange inter and intra

relations in ways more profound than imagined. This paper concerns itself with this phenomenon. It proceeds to argue that, the system of Apartheid as that imagined in line with post-Empire worldmaking established in clear terms the language, law, and political economy of race and racism in inter and intra-national relations. By summoning Southern Africa as a historical unit of analysis, particularly in how race and racism reordered this region's twentieth-century social organisation. This article will further explore the intersections of race, migrancy, and labour as that which produced a unique set of citizenship and nationhood in this region, which itself is a testament to apartheid's worldmaking methods. In the end, returning to Du Bois, the article reflects on the continuities and spectres presented by the post of Apartheid and thus surmises that if the problem of the twentieth century was the color line, the problem of the twenty-first century is the civilisational breakdown that intersects with race and racism to produce the ongoing polycrisis.

Heather Ndlovu — National University of Science and Technology

*Debating heritage, memory and historiography in southern Africa*

***Privatisation of armed struggle heritage in Zimbabwe***

Access to the armed struggle archives in Zimbabwe has always been a challenge. The armed struggle heritage risks being a history without archives. Archives about the armed struggle are rarely found at the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ). The exceptions are the oral archive of the armed struggle, collected by NAZ to address the paucity of archival documents about the liberation archive. Political parties involved in the armed struggle keep their war of liberation archives in their party-political structures, as is the case with the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA). In some instances, the archives are migrated, as in the case of the Rhodesian Army archive, or confiscated by the ruling government, as exemplified by the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA) archive. This conceptual paper analyses this personalisation of the armed struggle archive through a literature review. The persistent theme that runs through this phenomenon is the deliberate controlled access to no access at all. Further to that is the confiscation, privatisation, sanitisation, and propagandisation of the armed struggle archive by those in reign. This paper recommends collaborative partnerships among the different stakeholders in custody of the privatised armed struggle heritage to safeguard and promote enhanced access to this heritage.

Sam Ndogo — University of Pretoria

*Thinking and debating 'liberation' in apartheid southern Africa*

***Albert Luthuli: Racial Reconciliation Paradigm Ahead of His Times***

Albert Luthuli, a prominent figure in South Africa's anti-apartheid movement and the first African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, developed a profound racial reconciliation paradigm that continues to inspire efforts toward social harmony. Luthuli's approach was rooted in nonviolent resistance, grounded in the belief that genuine reconciliation could only be achieved through understanding, empathy, and mutual respect among all racial groups. Central to his paradigm was the recognition of the inherent dignity and equality of all individuals, irrespective of race and embracing the best of all worlds to comprise a hybrid culture. Luthuli emphasized the importance of dialogue and engagement across racial divides, advocating for open communication and the acknowledgment of historical injustices as essential steps toward healing and reconciliation. His paradigm emphasized the necessity of transcending bitterness and hatred, advocating instead for forgiveness and reconciliation as transformative forces in building a just and inclusive society. Luthuli's legacy continues to resonate in contemporary discourse on racial reconciliation, serving as a guiding light for individuals and movements striving to overcome deep-seated divisions and injustices. His paradigm underscores the enduring relevance of compassion, understanding, and the pursuit of justice in fostering lasting reconciliation and peace in societies scarred by racial conflict and oppression.



Nkholezeni Sidney Netshakhuma — University of Cape Town

*The struggle and historical memory in South Africa*

***The liberation movement role on transformation of history of South Africa***

The 1960s in South Africa are generally regarded as a period of polycrisis in the historiography of the South African liberation struggle. This was a difficult time of experimentation and change, during which exiled liberation movements had to adjust to the dramatically altered conditions of struggle emerging in the post- Sharpeville context. We can nevertheless identify the outlines of a public memory of the liberation movements of South Africa by examining historical development and debate in public discourse which have emerged and re-emerged within the vast silent pool of possibilities. This presentation engages with issues relating to the processes of memory shaping and reshaping within South Africa. Political history records mediate the past, present and future and can be used to shape collective memory into official versions of the past. This process involves choices about what history need to be preserved and disseminated to promote change. The struggle to liberate South Africa from apartheid and colonialism during the second half of the twentieth century represented an important epoch and, as such, liberation movement history needs to be documented in whatever form for the benefit of posterity and for all, irrespective of class, as the struggle for democracy was a collective effort. There is great relevance and value of historical archives and its impact on national history gives credence to its relationship with the liberation struggle.

Sandile Ngidi —

*Doctors, Writers, and Traditional Leaders of KwaZulu-Natal I*

***Mazisi Kunene: History is About Writing Timeless Masterpieces***

Mazisi Kunene, famously known as a poet of epic Zulu poetry and shorter poems whose themes include aspects of Zulu history, anti-colonial struggles, Zulu and African cosmology, insists on literature whose endurance is not predicated on the events of the day, but rather, on those that define an age. He sees history as textual feats of the imagination whose impact and longevity are best expressed as symbolic traditions that are not restricted to the narrow events of a specific period. For him, writing of history begins with a total commitment to resisting oppression physically and mentally, thereby engendering lasting cultures of rebellion. Consequently, what finally emerges as history, is inscribed as heightened and memorable texts and symbols of affirming temporalities and timeless masterpieces.

Mphumeleli Ngidi — UKZN

*Tradition and change in 20th-century KwaZulu-Natal*

***Prince vs Prince: indirect rule and the contestations for the throne of the Zulu Kingdom, 1913 – 1971***

The defeat of the Zulu Kingdom by the British in July 1879 marked a turning point in the affairs and administration of traditional leadership. The post Anglo-Zulu war implicated that the independence exercised by the Zulu kingdom progressively vanished and was substituted with ‘dependency’ of the British and subsequently apartheid’s indirect rule. The colonisation of Zululand signalled a new shift not only on the administration of the kingdom but was also influential on the contestation battles between royal Princes vying for the throne. During the precolonial epoch, during the better part of the nineteenth century, civil war or force used to be the determining factor for a prince to ascend to the throne; a Prince versus Prince, brother versus brother battle ensued. The post-1879 colonial era reshaped these contestations. The Native Department was established to run the affairs of the indigenous populace, new laws were promulgated, government-oriented coronations of the Zulu kings became customary and the officials of the Kingdom, including the king, had to report and receive permission for ‘everything’ from the government. This paper is interested in discussing the Zulu princes’ contestations for the throne and the role played by the colonial governments on these between 1913 and 1971.

Shalot Nhete — University of the Free State  
*Histories of healthcare and hospitals in Zimbabwe*

***Legislation and Preventive healthcare in Southern Rhodesia from 1923 to 1963***

This paper traces the origins and development of preventive healthcare in Southern Rhodesia. It focuses on state-led preventive health programmes for Africans between 1923 and 1963. Acknowledging the existence of traditional African methods to prevent disease, this study departs from understanding the introduction of Western biomedicine as a curative tool and focuses on Western medicine as an important method used to improve the prevention of diseases in Africa through the established colonial systems. It also looks at the agency of the state in providing health services in the colony. This study uses health policy as a lens to understand the social, cultural, economic and political aspects that shaped the provision of health services in a colonial setting largely characterised by racism and profit-making motives. Using archival material and secondary sources it considers the legal tools that were used by the state to convey health policy to the citizens. This study argues that Southern Rhodesia's preventive health care policy was influenced by the racially induced economic motives and the Whites' fear of disease that shaped colonialism.

Tokelo Nhlapo — University of the Witwatersrand  
*Commemoration, Heritage and Higher Education*

***Contesting Monuments, Memory in Pursuit of Reconciliation: Narrative at the University of Free State***

Using phenomenology as a theoretical framework, this research explores the contestations at the University of Free State (UFS) concerning the lack of transformation, including debates on public memorialisation as a mirror to reflect on the relationship between truth and reconciliation. This paper critically explores the relationship between truth-telling as required by the TRC to reflect on the broader project of reconciliation in South Africa. Furthermore, it argues that given the selective remembering necessitated by the TRC, which individualised the indiscriminate discrimination of whole communities, the phenomenon of the #RhodesMustFall is unsurprising given that pasts become meaningful and usable only when they are activated by the contemporary desires of individuals and communities to have a meaning stake in the rainbow nation. Using the UFS Bloemfontein campus and Karrie residence (Dormitory) this paper explores the institutions' reconciliation project since 1992, referring to the Reitz incident in 2008/9 and the 2015 protests which included a racialised incident involving violence at a rugby match between black and white students and staff. It argues that the involvement of direct communities and the art in general is a redemptive way to commemorate South Africa's collective pasts.

Siyabonga Njica — Cambridge  
*Transnational liberation biographies*

***Bloke Modisane in Tanzania: Cold War Politics, TANU, and the Abortive Search for East Africa's Anti-Colonial History, 1963-1966***

In the early 1960s, South African exiled artist and intellectual Bloke Modisane travelled to Tanzania to commence research for an historical monograph on the anti-colonial German East Africa Maji Maji rebellion of 1905-1907 after being awarded a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship. By the time Modisane began his research on Maji Maji, the historiography of the movement was still in its infancy. Historians placed the origins of the rebellion as rooted in German oppression and largely relied on colonial documents to form an historical narrative. Modisane identified this gap in the historiography and attempted to address it by seeing the rebellion through the eyes of the East Africans whose interpretations had hitherto never been documented. His research covered an unprecedented 1,500 miles across more than a dozen districts, including the provincial towns of Dar es Salaam and Morogoro. This paper is not so much an examination of the data Modisane collected as of the process and (mis)adventure of his fieldwork in Tanzania at a time of heightened Cold War anxieties and revolutionary action in the region and across the African continent. It will reveal that although Modisane's research enjoyed support from the East Africans he interviewed, the Tanzanian Government was increasingly suspicious of his presence there. This concern was further

exacerbated by his affiliation with an American private organisation, a situation which led to protracted delays to his work and adversely prevented him from producing the kind of book he wanted to write. Modisane's time in Tanzania during this period raises interesting questions about the politics of knowledge production in the twentieth century, the writing of African history in the decolonisation era, and the limits and possibilities of transnational cultural solidarity.

Eugenio Njoloma — Mzuzu University

*Histories of Malawi and its region*

***Rethinking Hastings Kamuzu Banda's discriminatory practices against the people of northern Malawi***

This retrospective study challenges a host of scholarship, which normatively presents Malawi's first leader, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, as being responsible for the alienation of the northern Malawian people. It argues that the drawing of Hastings Banda onto the centre of discriminatory practices against these people is a consequence of the imperatives of a scholarship wave that sought to support the constructionists' view of ethnicity, which rejects its being as primordially given. The study uses archival material, focus group discussions, and interviews as sources of data to reject this theoretical angle, which interprets Hastings Banda's policies as constituting the means of bringing to life his Chewa cultural identity at the expense of a socioeconomically and intellectually progressive northern Malawian regional and cultural enclave. Hence, the study maintains that the consideration of Hastings Banda's discriminatory practices results from the need by the elite from northern Malawi to reclaim their glorious past. The study makes a valuable contribution to Malawi's ethnicity scholarship, particularly by offering a contrasted perspective from the one that often focuses on the manipulative power of the Malawian state and its leaders in perpetrating discrimination along ethnic and/or regional lines, particularly against the peoples of northern Malawi.

Bryson Nkhoma — Mzuzu University

*Histories of Malawi and its region*

***"My People are Well-Fed": The Political Economy of the Fight Against Malnutrition in Early Post-Colonial Malawi, 1964-1994***

This study examines state attempts to address the problem of malnutrition in Malawi from 1964 to 1994. Using oral, archival and documentary evidence, this paper demonstrates the extent to which political ambition undermined noble efforts to address social and medical challenges that affected most ordinary Africans during the early post-independence era. Despite evidence of rampant cases of starvation and malnutrition, the study argues that, Kamuzu Banda, the first president of the Malawi republic, crafted and sustained the political rhetoric that Malawians were 'well-fed and dressed' to portray a public image of his dynamic and wise leadership. Until the late 1980s, efforts to remind Banda's state of prevalence of abject poverty and hunger as the root cause of the malnutrition which contradicted the prevailing political narrative was met with fierce resistance and persecution. Like the colonial masters, Banda attributed malnutrition to ignorance rather than poverty, and therefore, directed his interventions predominantly towards nutrition education. However, these interventions made limited impact as nutrition education addressed the symptoms rather than the root causes of malnutrition.

Lotti Nkomo — Walter Sisulu University

*History and biography from Zimbabwe II*

***Hustlers, politics and society: Masango Matambanadzo and Zimbabwe's chronic crisis***

In much of Sub-Saharan Africa, a new class of political actors known as "hustlers" is emerging. Hustlers engage in "hustling," which can be defined as self-employment, hand-to-mouth livelihoods, ingenious entrepreneurship, and a "anything-goes" type of informal business. Hustling entails both small and large-scale political and economic opportunities, with or without connections in the top echelons of society. Using the figure of Masango Matambanadzo (who died in 2020), a politician who rose to prominence in the central Zimbabwean gold mining town of Kwekwe around the year 2000, the chapter investigates how the concept of hustler (and hustling) came to define local and national

political culture, an aspect that studies of contemporary African politics have yet to address. Matambanadzo, popularly known as “Blackman,” built his financial status and political name primarily by capturing lucrative artisanal and small-scale mining opportunities, which allowed him to control much of Kwekwe’s social and, as a result, political spaces. He is an example of a hustler, a political figure who has become increasingly prevalent in Zimbabwe’s post-2000 political environment. Typically young, they are individuals who leverage powerful political, governmental, and business connections to gain access to material, socio-political and other resources. Hustlers have been both loathed and admired by a society that is still trying to make sense of them, for their moral, social, and political demeanour, representations, and modus operandi. The paper argues that hustlers and hustling are political identities, subjective feelings, and exterior political practices in both old and new/alternative political spaces. The status of hustlers could be confused with the structure and dynamics of James Scott’s instrumental patronage politics, which it is not.

Phumla Nkosi — University of Cape Town/University of the Free State

*Smuggling and addiction in southern Africa*

***"The Dagga Problem"- combatting cannabis abuse using the law of supply and demand***

Efforts to combat and control dagga consumption, sale and cultivation can be traced from as early as the late 19th century in South Africa. Evidence points that different governments in South Africa, from the colonial to apartheid government have introduced legislation to deal with the dagga problem. Native South Africans who had a long-standing history of dagga have been greatly affected by government and police interference in their dagga businesses. Various strategies to reduce demand were implemented. Dagga plants were eradicated by uprooting and burning the plants, especially from the 1950s and 1960s. However, from 1972 onwards, a more “effective and efficient” strategy was introduced. This strategy was the aerial spraying of glyphosate herbicide on dagga plants. This became a popular strategy, because it made the work of police easier; however with this strategy a lot of concerns emerged as this was an experimental strategy with little research. Areas that were identified as the “hotspots” of dagga supply like Pondoland in the Eastern Cape and Bergville in Natal were among the affected by the glyphosate herbicide. This study will examine the implications of dagga policing and the environmental and social impacts of aerial dagga spraying of glyphosate herbicide in the Pondoland and Natal communities.

Yekta Noyan —

*Racism, refugees and xenophobia in southern Africa*

***Colonialism, German Experience and Reflections on Holocaust: Case Study on South Africa***

This paper focuses on German colonialism, its roots, course of action and pertinent repercussions. It initially investigates the nature of colonialism in general and raises questions on the development of the German colonial legacy in particular. It then compares British/South African and Italian/Libyan colonial legacies with German experience. This paper is historically important for two reasons. First, it asserts that there is not any causality between German colonialism and the Holocaust. It comes to this conclusion first by establishing that German methods such as forcible settlement of the innocent civilians in military administered concentration camps to suppress local resistance, vowing to exterminate indigenous populations, various forms of torments are not exclusive to the German colonial regime. Then it further suggests that fascist Italy had provided a more relevant example for Nazi Germany to adopt policies from when it comes to setting up concentration camps and annihilate innocent civilians. Subsequently, this study states that difference between random genocidal acts or total annihilation of the indigenous peoples of the colonial administrations in Africa seems to be determined by race and religious factors. If the government authority resorts to portraying the victims as inferior or sub-human, the level of atrocities reaches total annihilation point rather than staying at random genocidal acts threshold. Moreover, it is striking that Boer women’s complaints regarding the concentration camps also included a plea that black people were not to be given administrative positions in the camps. A special attention was given to this plea, asserting the race dimension in the matter once again. The issue of race has always been important in South Africa. This paper encounters various forms of racial experiences as examples are conveyed

above. Thus, it questions racial injustices and continuity in this matter and hopes to contribute to the positive change and harmony as South Africa overcomes its crises. Within this context, this paper fits in 29th SAHS 2024 Biennial Conference: History at The Precipice: Continuity, Change and Crises in Southern Africa.

Sibusisiwe Nxongo — University of Johannesburg

*Race, research and history writing in South Africa*

***They Were Researcher's Too! Black Women in Social Research in Apartheid South Africa***

The silencing of black women's social science research work in Apartheid South Africa resulted from the racial hierarchisation and gendered configuration of society by the state. This created an environment where Eurocentric and androcentric narratives, driven by various academic [and liberal] institutions, could thrive, and women's voices could not be heard (or were not listened to). This silencing has been further perpetuated in contemporary global feminist discourses, albeit scholars of Africa have been working vigorously to excavate black women's intellectual histories. It seems that this work is overshadowed by puissant narratives of black feminism from the global north, which cast the vigorous scholarship and theorisation of the South as ancillary. This study considers black women's research work – namely, Phyllis Ntantala, Harriet Ngubane and Laretta Ngcobo – in Apartheid South Africa as an essential site for feminist theory and political strategy making. It examines how black women in South Africa have carefully considered and constructed knowledge about their gendered, racial and class struggles and conceptualised (and written about) the life experiences and political activities of black women under Apartheid.

Josphine Nyabiko — Stellenbosch University

*Histories of women in Zimbabwe*

***Women, land rights and belonging in Communal areas of Zimbabwe: The case of Tanda, 1980-2022***

This study examines Tanda women's motives for participating in the Second Chimurenga and their roles in the war within the context of induced women oppression by both patriarchal societal systems and colonial patriarchs. It shows how Tanda's societal systems, colonial gender systems, and colonial policies collided and deepened women's oppression in Tanda. It outlines how Tanda's societal customs, traditions, practices beliefs, values, and norms shaped both women's motives to join the war and their roles in the Liberation Struggle, it breaks new ground by showing how the War gave Tanda women an opportunity to rise above feminine gender roles, and in the process challenged the traditional societal systems. It therefore challenged the view that women were relegated to domestic duties in war and did not engage in political tasks. As the case of Tanda demonstrates, the domestic duties gained political importance with war, by providing food, and shelter to the guerillas Tanda women engaged in politics for the first time. The study argues Tanda women's priority in the Liberation Struggle was women's emancipation. While people might have different motives, these motives also changed with circumstances as the war progressed, however, individual motives were less important than Tanda women's need for a transformed societal system that would promote gender equality and women's emancipation. The study also demonstrates that Tanda women faced a plethora of challenges during the war, chief among which were patriarchal norms and beliefs, false accusations, violence, and intimidation. Tanda women were not passive recipients of these challenges, they came up with different wartime survival strategies to negotiate these challenges. The study draws on the work of Cheryl Walker which provides interesting insights into the intersections of race, class, and gender and how they shaped and defined women's activism and political consciousness. Primary sources were mainly oral interviews with Tanda women, men, and traditional leaders, archival materials from the National Archives of Zimbabwe, newspaper articles, and secondary sources. Participants were mainly elderly women and men with vast knowledge about Tanda societal systems, and the experiences of the liberation struggle in this area.

Tinashe Nyamunda — University of Glasgow

*Economic Histories of Zimbabwe*

***The Costs of Relocation: Certificates of Sponsorship and Care Worker immigrants from Zimbabwe to the United Kingdom, 2016 - 2024***

The paper explores aspects of United Kingdom immigration politics and in relation to Zimbabwe's most recent care worker immigrants. With immigration estimated at a staggering 405,000 immigrants per annum, Zimbabwe was identified as the nation with the third largest number of around 60,000 in 2022 – 2023. It is third only to India and Nigeria, countries with populations much larger than its own. In a post – Brexit Britain, immigration has become a central political subject commanding domestic attention. On the other hand, an ‘unending’ political and economic crisis has left Zimbabweans with little option but to ‘vote with their feet’. Outside of regional destinations such as South Africa, the United Kingdom is the most sought-after destination, with many Zimbabwean migrants moving to take up work in the National Health Service, mostly in care work. Although the government sought to issue agencies with certificate of sponsorships, a complex economy has emerged out of these which scholars have paid scant attention to. This has informed various developments within both the UK and Zimbabwe, influencing the politics of access, visa granting and settlement in the United Kingdom. The panel examines various aspects of the care work industry that emerged out of these dynamics and the complexities surrounding certificates of sponsorship, visa applications, questions of settling and work as well as the political discourses this has raised in both the UK and Zimbabwe.

Patrick A. Nyathi — University of Zululand/University of the Witwatersrand

*Mining in South Africa: Past, present and future*

***Forging the Future: Coal Mining in Mtubatuba, Northern KwaZulu Natal and its Impact on the Local Community, Economy and Ecology, 1960s - 2020***

Mining development in rural South Africa has become an increasingly prevalent phenomenon in the recent past. This phenomenon intersects with longstanding traditions of land custodianship under traditional leadership, where authority over land administration is vested in traditional leaders. However, the process of trading off mining rights has often bypassed meaningful consultations with affected communities, leading to tensions and protests. This paper explores the history of coal mining and its impact on communities, economies, and the natural environment. It probes the historical development and contemporary effects of coal mining in Mtubatuba and examines how coal mining has shaped local dynamics, influencing socio-economic structures and the natural environment. This paper presents a historical analysis that sheds light on how coal mining in Mtubatuba has transformed local economies, shaped social hierarchies and ecological landscapes from the 1960s to 2020. It explores the historical roots of present-day challenges, including concerns over consultation processes, environmental degradation, and social justice. This is a qualitative study based on archival sources such as newspaper articles, minutes of meetings, stakeholders’ reports, media statements, as well as in-depth interviews with elders and environmental activists. Moreover, this study highlights the imperative of holistic resource management strategies that move beyond short-term economic gains to prioritize social equity and environmental sustainability. By placing into context current mining debates within a historical framework, this paper contributes to a deeper understanding of the enduring impacts of mining activities on rural communities and ecosystems. It advocates for sensible approaches that reconcile economic imperatives with long-term social and environmental well-being.

Gibson Nzimande — University of Johannesburg

*Curing crisis? Medicinal consumption and treatment regimes in Africa I*

***Women using nyaope in Johannesburg: Spaces and cultures of heroin consumption, provision and crisis in post-1994 South Africa***

After 1994, the opening of national borders coincided with the formation of new southern trafficking routes for heroin. The movement of “nyaope” into South Africa, and its consumption by “youth”, has been widely expressed in the language of crisis. Nyaope users themselves – especially women and

mothers – are often viewed as the problem, in deeply gendered ways. This is evidenced through the life histories of four women born in the 1990s, who resided in and around Joburg’s townships. As sisters, daughters, girlfriends, and mothers – and well as “izibungu“, “strikers“, and “spikers” – these women navigated a complex “nyaope world”. This paper explores some of the landscapes of that “nyaope world”, places of substance use and acquisition, of legal troubles and safe haven, of intimacy and personal danger.

Cinderella Ochu — University of Johannesburg

*Curing crisis? Medicinal consumption and treatment regimes in Africa I*

***“Womb healing”: Infertility and phytomedicine in 20th c Lagos***

In traditional African societies, bride price is paid for a woman’s reproductive capacity. The desire for children transcends the conventional satisfactions of parenthood, since children are crucial to secure lineages, inheritance rights, prestige, social security, and agricultural work. Historically, women who were unable to conceive faced ostracism or divorce. There was a common perception that infertile women were those with “immoral” personal histories – promiscuity, prostitution, and abortion. Thus, the physiological condition also brought social stigma, intensifying an urgency for “womb healing”. With the aid of plants, roots, and leaves, phytomedicine has been employed for centuries to treat sterility. Utilizing oral interview methodologies and archival materials, the study uncovers interventions of African traditional medicine for crises of reproductive health. I examine the lived experiences of Lagos women with cases of infertility, to consider how medicinal consumption contributed to meanings of health, restoration, and social survival.

Yobo Opare-Addo — University of the Witwatersrand

*State-building in the shadow of colonialism and empire*

***The Provisional National Defense Council and Tourism Development 1981-1992***

Ghana came under a military rule of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) from 1981 to 1992. Ghana’s political life was violent. For three years, during 1982-84, several attempts were made to dislodge the PNDC Government. At the same time protracted drought crumbled the economy subsequently tourism declined sharply. Despite the several attempts to dislodge the PNDC Government, political stability prevailed on the whole. Interest in tourism among African governments and for that matter the PNDC Government arose because of adverse developments in tangible exports and a corresponding decline in commodity export earnings. Moreover, tourism was perceived as a less costly export item. Consequently, the government embarked on export diversification in order to reap the foreign exchange that tourism could generate for social and infrastructural development of the country. This paper takes a critical look at the policies of the PNDC Government; the adoption and implementation of privatization, reformation of the Arts Council, the activities of the Ghana Tourism Board, the provision of tourism facilities and infrastructure and how these factors impacted on the tourism industry in Ghana. In the final analysis an assessment is made on the Government’s contribution towards tourism development.

Emma Orchardson — University of Warwick

*Political biography and autobiography in Southern Africa*

***A long walk to Johannesburg: Hastings Kamuzu Banda examined in autobiography***

In the late 1950s, during his incarceration in Gwelo Prison, Southern Rhodesia, Hastings Kamuzu Banda began to write his memoirs. Initially envisioning a three-part autobiography, Banda completed a draft of the first section – which spans several decades of his life – in the 1960s. Despite approaching publishers in the early years of his presidency, Banda’s memoirs were never released as a book, or in any other printed form. The draft manuscript is held within the H.K. Banda Archive at the University of Indiana, Bloomington, and is a severely underutilised resource. This paper revisits – or rather, introduces – this text as a historical source. Focusing particularly on the early sections detailing Banda’s childhood in colonial Nyasaland and his travels through southern Africa as a young man, it considers what these memoirs can contribute to studies of Banda through discussing his early social and political experiences, and later the act of writing autobiography itself. It suggests

that the themes and ideas presented within the text can enhance our understandings of both Banda as a political figure and the broader histories of regional migration into which his story fits.

Talitha Padayachy — Rhodes

*Apartheid abuses and historiographical debates*

***Forced Removals and the Narrative of Multiculturalism***

Forced removals have long occupied a unique space within the collective memory of the colonial and apartheid pasts. The forced removals under the Group Areas Act of 1950 radically transformed the urban landscape, materialised the separate development aspirations of the apartheid state and became an integral part of apartheid policy. In the decades after apartheid, both historical scholarship and collective memory characterise forced removals as disruptive to the thriving multicultural cosmopolitanism, sense of community, and comradeship that existed in sites like District Six or Sophiatown. The paper, based on my MA thesis, seeks to examine how the forced removals have been remembered as having entirely severed and uprooted the multiculturalism, diversity and coexistence of the community that emerged at South End (Gqeberha, formerly Port Elizabeth), and how this remembrance has been shaped by the South End Museum, academic scholarship and collective memory. Furthermore, it seeks to explore the little-known history of Malabar, the suburb created as an Indian group area in 1961 to counter the assumption that multiculturalism and coexistence fostered at South End ceased to exist after the forced removals.

Neil Parsons — Freelance

*Film, censorship and history*

***Black stars of early southern African films, 1899-1925: A biographical turn***

Between 1899 and 1925, people from Zimbabwe, South Africa, Lesotho, Eswatini, Botswana, and Zambia featured prominently in most of forty drama feature films made by African Film Productions Ltd at Killarney studios in Johannesburg and by other companies, on locations as far north as Tanzania. Peter Lobengula played the part of his reputed father on film only three years after Lobengula's death in 1896, and six other princes and chiefs represented their ancestors in subsequent movies. AFP publicity promoted two actors, (Archibald Zonzo) Goba and Umpikayiboni as big stars in a number of movies. Actors in starring roles such as Msoga Mwana, as the revolutionary clergyman in Prester John (1920), received high praise from film critics overseas. Other actors we only know by the names of characters they portrayed, notably the loving couples in two epic historical dramas and the leading ensemble players in all-black comedies. AFP film production ground to a halt in 1922-23 after Hollywood flooded the world with cheaply made dramas, but part of the blame lay with the movies that AFP made after 1919-20. They answered to rising white populism in the sub-continent by eschewing genuine African stories with black actors and African vistas.

Lazlo Passemiers — University of the Free State

*Transnational liberation biographies*

***Writing a Transnational Biography of Manelisi Ndibongo's Role in Southern Africa's Liberation Struggles***

Manelisi Ndibongo was a South African freedom fighter whose contribution to Southern Africa's liberation struggles has been confined to the historiographical margins. Ndibongo's fragmented story takes on several unusual twists and turns: from serving as a PAC Task Force leader in Cape Town to becoming a military advisor in the Angolan FNLA and briefly acting as a representative of the Transkei Government. This 'extraordinary' account of an 'ordinary' freedom fighter neither fits neatly in the narrative of nationalist liberation history nor the history of a specific liberation movement. My paper provides a historical overview of Ndibongo's political activities and analyses his motives for fighting for the liberation of Southern Africa. I centre my discussion of Ndibongo's political activities around writing transnational biographies in History. Ndibongo's story illustrates how the contribution of individual freedom fighters often transcended national boundaries and sometimes national interests. For Ndibongo, South Africa's independence was inextricably connected



to that of the broader Southern African region. It also highlights how individuals like Ndibongo were ‘free agents’ whose relationship and history with liberation movements were often tangential. This transnational biography of Ndibongo’s role in Southern Africa’s liberation history reveals how individuals shaped the region’s liberation struggles and how, in turn, these struggles shaped individuals.

Craig Paterson —

*Forests, Oceans and Protest: Reading Worlds of Resistance in the Long Nineteenth-Century*  
***Green Walls and Fynbos Islands: Reading a Forest Archive for Animal and Human Fugitives in the Southern Cape Colony, c. 1856-1922***

A conventional reading of the history of the Southern Cape Wilderness Area – encompassing the Outeniqua and Tsitsikamma mountain ranges, and the adjoining forests – describes the region as “anciently” or “sparsely” populated. Surrounding areas were occupied by various Khoe groups, but the forests and steep slopes were not considered hospitable. Nowadays, these forests are probably best known for their elephants: plain’s elephants who moved into the forests and took up residence there to escape the colonial hunter’s bullets. This paper emerged from the proposition that in the latter half of the 19th Century, some Khoe groups did the same and moved to the forests to avoid subjugation. The project began with an attempt to investigate that history. It aimed to examine how these groups engaged the forests and then were later subsumed into woodcutter communities. The colonial records on forestry and the woodcutter communities was found wanting, and other ways of uncovering traces of these communities were sought. Drawing from botany, archaeology and walking methodologies, the paper asks how, considering the paucity of documentary archives, we might begin to read the forest itself for traces of communities living in the forest away from colonial records and control.

Justin Pearce — Stellenbosch University

*Liberation armies in southern Africa*

***Soviet and Angolan veterans’ accounts of the Angolan Civil War: reconsidering the solidarity narratives***

Officials of Angola’s MPLA began travelling to the USSR for military and civilian training during the anticolonial struggle in the early 1960s, and continued to do so after independence, when Soviet trainers and military advisors in turn did tours of duty in Angola during the ongoing civil war. This paper is part of a recent turn in global Cold War history that questions official narratives of solidarity and examines the perceptions, concerns and motivations of individual participants, based on the authors’ interviews with Soviet and Angolan veterans. Where Angolans and Soviets most closely agreed on what underpinned their relationship was in shared normative ideas of modernity, progress and order (for example in the restructuring of the Angolan military), while their views on ideological questions were more disparate. Soviet officials who served in Angola in the 1970s were committed to socialist internationalism, but a younger generation who arrived in the 1980s often saw their work as simply part of a job. Angolan officers welcomed Soviet internationalism for the practical assistance it brought, while their own priorities were often nationalist rather than socialist. Nevertheless, many recognised a connection between the Soviet Union’s defeat of fascism and Angolans’ struggles against colonialism and apartheid.

Justin Pearce — Stellenbosch University

*Alternative Histories of and through Anti-Apartheid*

***The shadow of apartheid and the ideology of the Cold War-era MPLA***

Recent studies of Cold War-era Southern Africa have emphasised the contingent, even opportunistic character, of political affiliations and alliances. Drawing upon party statements, the records of political speeches and the author’s interviews with Angolan political and military elites, this paper demonstrates how the MPLA’s alignment against apartheid was central to the Angolan ruling party’s internal political appeals and helped give coherence to a fractious party. When the MPLA took control of the Angolan state in 1975, it had barely recovered from a series of crises in which divisions

along lines of race and class threatened the viability of the liberation movement; less than two years later, the Nito Alves uprising of 1977 reopened the same schisms. Before 2002 the MPLA government neither consolidated physical control over the national territory nor extended its hegemony over the whole of Angolan society. Until the close of the 1980s its physical security depended on military assistance from Cuba and from the Soviet Union. Like other newly independent states, the MPLA's appeals to legitimacy rested on its self-regard as the sole liberator of the nation, notwithstanding the fact that it was only one of three movements that had taken up arms against Portuguese colonialism. The assertion of its historically unique role necessitated denying the nationalist claims of UNITA, its main rival in the post-independence conflict. I argue therefore that emphasising its alignment against apartheid allowed the MPLA to claim a unique historical role in a several respects. First, the fact that UNITA had, for opportunistic rather than ideological reasons, sought the support of South Africa allowed the MPLA to speak of its struggle not as a civil war but as a war of foreign aggression. Second, awareness of the ideological consonance between the apartheid regime and the Estado Novo of Portuguese late colonialism made it possible for the MPLA to present the war after 1975 as the unfinished business of the liberation struggle. Third, in defining its role in opposition to apartheid, the MPLA was better able to assert its non-racial credentials and silence critiques of the social origins of the leadership.

Joel Pearson — University of the Witwatersrand

*"Beyond lazy legacies and casual continuities: corruption and accumulation from the Bantustans to the Provinces"*

***Three Axes of Rural Local Governance: a history of space, administration and extractivism in the Mogalakwena Local Municipality (1948-2000)***

This paper presents a historical study of the Mogalakwena Local Municipality in present-day Limpopo Province of South Africa to reveal three broad conjunctures of rural local governance in the region between 1948 and 2000. Drawing from extensive archival sources and oral history testimony, the paper argues that across these decades, the key sets of power relations which came to structure the shifting domain of rural local governance were enacted and concretised through specific and identifiable processes of spatial transformation, administrative government, and economic extractivism. While existing scholarship has elaborated on aspects of these three sets of processes, this paper insists on analysing all three together, in relation to each other, attentive to forms of both mutual constitution and contradiction, and cognisant of how these processes feed into political dynamics of varying scales – local, regional, and national. As such, the paper argues that these three sets of processes should be understood as axes of rural local governance. While dramatic new power relations have unfolded within and around the municipality since its creation in the year 2000, this paper concludes that these have continued to be materialised through intertwined spatial, administrative and extractivist processes which extend back into history. As such, it suggests a new systematic and historical approach for the study of local government institutions.

Sara Pugach — Cal State LA

*Exilic Experience Defining Anti-Apartheid*

***Inconsistent Solidarities? Comparing East German Anti-Apartheid Rhetoric to the Anti-Imperial Rhetoric of East German Solidarity with Cameroon in the 1950s and 1960s***

The paper examines solidarity in East Germany in the 1950s during the Cameroonian struggle for independence. The doctrine of anti-imperialism was indeed so deeply rooted in East German political identity that it became part of the country's constitution in 1974. In GDR, the anti-apartheid movement fell under the larger framework/context of this anti-imperialist platform. One of the largest – but little-known – East German anti-imperialist projects concerned the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon (UPC), a left-wing political party extremely popular in Cameroon during the 1950s. How did anti-apartheid rhetoric fit into the wider discourse on anti-imperial solidarity with or in states such as Cameroon? In some ways the East German languages of solidarity and anticolonial self-determination used to discuss anti-apartheid and anti-imperialism in the Cameroonian sphere were often similar. In the mid-1960s, the GDR turned away from the UPC and warmly acknowledged

its opponent, the pro-French Ahmadou Ahidjo, whose government had suppressed, tortured, and killed UPC members, reflecting the idea that if an African leader was in place, a country was automatically postcolonial. In my paper I will examine the differential discourses surrounding anti-imperial and anti-apartheid ideology, using Cameroon as my anti-imperial example, in an effort to understand the nuances of East German solidarity.

Sbonelo Radebe — University of Cape Town

*Doctors, Writers, and Traditional Leaders of KwaZulu-Natal I*

***Reflections, reexamination and reimagining home from exile in Ngubane's Ushaba: The Challenge to Blood River***

In 1969 Jordan Ngubane travelled to the US after spending seven years in Swaziland following his ban from South Africa in 1962. Now without a political home following another fallout he had with Alan Paton of the Liberal Party of South Africa, Ngubane began to focus chiefly on writing. After a few years in the US, he published his second book as an exile, *Ushaba: The Challenge to Blood River* in 1974. But *Ushaba* was an unusual work in literary forms; difficult to group within the Euro-Western forms of literary writing. In it, Ngubane was exorcising himself from all the influences of Europeanism in historical writing and exorcising himself from using the white men's methods of struggle. Therefore, he was searching for a method from Africa that could be utilized by Africans on their terms to deliver freedom for themselves. As a work written in exile, it had undertones of imagining home and writing about home from a place of homelessness. It was a reflection of an exile whose pens yearned for the return to his home country South Africa. Ngubane, a known activist in South African politics for almost forty years at the time, wrote *Ushaba* from a position of authority and appointed himself as 'Umlandi,' which made *Ushaba* an 'Umlando' genre. It endorsed Umteto wesintu in place of Umteto wesilungu as a method of struggle. This made it a decolonial devoid of all white man's teachings. In this paper, I try to examine *Ushaba* within a broader political spectrum of the time. I argue that *Ushaba* was Ngubane's political strategy that he developed, through reexamination and reflection on the South African political. Furthermore, *Ushaba* was Ngubane's way of reimagining and attempting to reconstruct a solution for freedom in South Africa.

Sasha Rai — University of the Witwatersrand

*Histories of gender and sexuality in South Africa and beyond*

***What We Do in the Shadows: The History and Culture of Kink in South Africa***

From the early utterances of vice and nefariousness in the colonial era to the politicisation of sexual freedom and expression during high apartheid, the history of kink in South Africa comes to be located at the center of legal frameworks, cultural expectations, political motivation and individual desire. In the colonial and apartheid eras, these acts were often deemed 'obscene' or 'immoral' and posed a threat to state authorities. By accessing and analysing newspaper records, legal records, and medical documents spanning the last century, discourses on sexuality and perversity, the apartheid censorship board and information department, as well as speaking with members of contemporary kink communities within South Africa, this project unravels what kink means within the South African context; how it was shaped, who accessed these spaces, and how the colonial, apartheid and new democratic governments influenced its development. At its central core, is the story of 'everyday' men and women who traversed and challenged the boundaries of societal norms, sexual expressions, agency and personal freedoms.

Neo Lekgotla laga Ramoupi — University of the Free State

*Transnational liberation biographies*

***Mama Africa: "Miriam Makeba: The Exiled Life in America and Africa." Gender in the Historiography of the Liberation Histories in South Africa***

Zenzile Miriam Makeba left South Africa in 1959 with *Come Back, Africa* ("Mayibuye iAfrika") musical and via London, settled in USA, New York city, where she represented the African National Congress (ANC)—and as a Pan-Africanist herself, spoke for all oppressed African majority in South Africa and in the Diaspora—at the United Nations' Special Committee on Apartheid in the 1960s and

1970s. All these international experiences were in the course of her life, and in the process, made her become activist for human rights and civil rights. But “Mama Africa”, as she became known affectionately globally, also lived in exile in many African countries at the invitation of African presidents, which made her a staunch Africanist and Pan-Africanist. There is a great deal of documentation about Makeba’s American exile life; but very little has been researched and documented about Makeba’s exiled years in Africa, years that strengthened her into being a staunch Africanist and Pan-Africanist. Makeba was the “influencer” on Americans culturally, to have pride in African fashion-dress-and-clothing that had African symbolism. The objective of this paper is to combine the “two exiles” – USA and Africa – to sculpt a complete song-ical “Makeba: The Exiled Life in America and Africa.”

Allison Ramsay — University of the West Indies

*Monuments and memory in southern Africa and beyond*

***From Rhodes Must Fall in South Africa to Take Down Nelson in Barbados: Heritage, Memory and Monuments***

Colonialism and resistance to colonial legacies has produced social, political and economic crises that have had major social ramifications in South Africa and beyond. In the twentieth century, protests against structures of inequality and racial discrimination erupted through movements in Africa and the African Diaspora such as the Black Power Movement, the Civil Rights Movement and the anti-apartheid movement. In the twenty-first century, social movements such as Rhodes Must Fall which originated in South Africa and the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States of America created a change that reverberated across the world relating to issues such as colonialism, injustice, systemic racism and decolonisation. During the Rhodes Must Fall and Black Lives Matter movements, monuments which are part of public art and landscapes in society became a major focal point of protest and discourse. Some monuments were toppled, defaced and removed, while some remained. This paper examines the debates and protests surrounding the place and space of controversial statues of colonial figures, British imperialist, businessman and politician Cecil Rhodes and, British naval officer Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson renowned for his role at the Battle of Trafalgar.

Refilwe Raphadu — University of Johannesburg

*Curing crisis? Medicinal consumption and treatment regimes in Africa II*

***WNLA’s Yellow Fever vaccine roll-outs, 1941-1960***

After WWII, and in a continuing climate of concern about endemic yellow fever in regions of Africa, techniques of containment and prevention were administered by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA), in precarious partnerships with the Chamber of Mines and the South African Union government. These included vaccine roll-outs for migrant labourers north of the border, mosquito research and control, quarantines and the general control of mobility. This paper is focussed on vaccines and their logistics and dilemmas of provision and distribution. It tracks vaccine production at the Rietfontein serum laboratory, problems of air transport and cold storage, and developing a bureaucratic system of vaccine certification and record-keeping for migrant gold mine labourers. Mine labourers were treated as vectors of the disease to SA. Management of speed and means of transport, and inoculation status, provide insight into early epidemic public health interventions.

Alexander Rusero — Stellenbosch University

*History and biography from Zimbabwe II*

***Exhuming Ndabaningi Sithole’s fossilised history – Mnangagwa’s political (own)goal***

The greatest undoing of patriotic history to the contours of Zimbabwe's liberation narrative has been a dual project of demonisation and fossilising the history of luminaries who parted ways with protagonists who later emerged victorious in the aftermath of the liberation struggle. The liberation project was in essence a dual investment of claiming history back from the erstwhile white colonialists whilst at the same time creating a monotheistic historical account of grandeur and glory. The founding president of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) a splinter group from the

Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and one of the two liberation movements that waged a protracted liberation struggle against the racist white settler regime, Ndabaningi Sithole, has not found a place in Zimbabwe's liberation historical contours despite his immense contribution to the emancipation of Zimbabwe. This paper is a modest attempt in the ongoing effort to rejuvenate Sithole's long-forgotten history by ZANU PF and its leader Emmerson Mnangagwa. For a man that was demonised and characterised as a liberation traitor, the revisionism of history by ZANU PF after four decades of attaining independence speaks volumes of the nefarious posture of politicians' chicanery in exhuming fossilised history for political expediency. Through an examination of selected biographies that demonise Sithole, this chapter exposes the duplicity of ZANU PF's pretence to be waking from a deep slumber of historical jeopardy on the eve of an election, by revising historical faults long buried. The chapter argues that countering this historical mischief can only be possible through the production of yet other biographies with alternative narratives.

Tembakazi Salayi — University of Pretoria

*The black press and writing in the vernacular*

***Rediscovering forgotten isiXhosa women writers: The visibility of Letitia Kakaza and Victoria Swaartbooi in the history of isiXhosa written literature***

The study gives insight into a period in our country that failed to recognize women in isiXhosa written literature. This was also the period Letitia Kakaza and Victoria Swaartbooi made history by being part of the first black women to publish a novel in isiXhosa. The history of isiXhosa written literature has largely concentrated on men's contributions to its development, with little mention of women's contributions. As a result, women were silenced and erased from public records. This paper makes visible the identities of Kakaza and Swaartbooi by providing their biographical information and background information of the different institutions that they were part of. The study explores how both writers interrogate language, identity, womanism, and education in their writing. As part of the study, a film has been created that explores the themes that are discussed in the paper. This paper and the accompanying film project, Ndokulandela, reimagine the histories and experiences of black women writers. The film incorporates both the past and present by including letters and manuscripts by both Kakaza and Swaartbooi as well as the current isiXhosa women writer's experiences. The paper also traces the literature written by the women and an analysis is conducted of their work. Based on the analysis of the three novels, Intyantyambo Yomzi (1913), UTandiwe wakwa Gcaleka (1914) and UMANDISA (1975), the paper examines the themes that Kakaza and Swaartbooi discussed as well as the political context of the early twentieth century. These books irradiate how both women viewed a woman's life during the time as well as the idea of womanism.

Anja Schade — University of Hildesheim

*Exilic Experience Defining Anti-Apartheid*

***GDR's solidarity with the Anti-Apartheid struggle and its assessment by former ANC-exiles***

Practicing international solidarity with anti-colonial and anti-imperialist liberation movements was part of the GDR's foreign policy and was manifested in its written constitution. Therefore, the support of South African anti-apartheid forces played a major role in the GDR's solidarity activities. Since the West, all above the political counterpart of East Germany – the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) – supported the white South African government as a bastion against communism – the GDR took the chance to present itself as the morally superior German state and didn't leave out any opportunity to discredit West Germany (like vice versa!). In 1976, for example, the GDR published a brochure highlighting the secret nuclear cooperation between South Africa and West Germany that the ANC had just revealed. <sup>1</sup> Because of that, scholars accused the GDR-government to instrumentalize its own solidarity work for gaining international acceptance and recognition as well as to legitimize its own existence as the second “better” Germany. Hence the value and importance of the GDR's support often was played down, declared as pure propaganda and delegitimized.<sup>2</sup> But amongst many South African activists, socialism in general was regarded a model for a future postapartheid South Africa and an attractive alternative to capitalism. It became even more attractive, as the support of socialist states like the GDR was seen as one of the most reliable pillars in

the struggle against Apartheid and highly appreciated. In particular, exiles who went to socialist countries like the GDR were keen to explore the “real life” there. In my presentation, I will briefly refer to examples of the GDR’s solidarity towards the anti-apartheid struggle and give an insight into how South African exiles experienced living in the GDR. Based on the evaluation of interviews and ego-documents of 45 former exiles<sup>3</sup>, I will focus on questions like: What did ANC-exiles expect before they arrived in the GDR? Have they been affected by the GDR’s policy in presenting itself as the “better” German state (and if yes: in what way?) and how did they deal and cope with every day life in the socialist East Germany? What about exiles with a religious background in a country that pushed religious influence to the margins? And last but not least: What’s left? How do former ANC-exiles assess their experiences made in the GDR and its solidarity today?

Robyn Schnell — University of Pretoria

*LGBTQ+ histories in southern Africa*

***Avoiding Aversion? Piecing the Past Together***

After the collapse of apartheid in 1994, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established with the primary purpose of bringing the gross human rights violations that took place under the apartheid regime to light. However, the TRC’s official report only provides one brief reference to one of the worst violations of human rights committed under the apartheid state, which has become known as the Aversion Project. This project subjected homosexual conscripts in the South African Defence Force (SADF) to methods of torture and “treatments” in an attempt to avert their sexuality. Despite 2024 marking thirty years since the formal end of apartheid, Dr Aubrey Levin, the psychiatrist behind the Aversion Project, has still not been brought to justice. Due to the mass destruction of official documents from apartheid’s bureaucratic branches and the restriction on accessing what primary documents still exist, the Aversion Project and Dr Aubrey Levin have remained largely hidden away from the broader South African historiography. When piecing together atrocities such as the Aversion Project, one must look to alternative archives and materials. This paper will depict how information on the Aversion Project can be constructed by weaving threads of information from a variety of sources, including primary documents, academic literature, fictional novels, social media platforms and documentary films, in an attempt to confront one of the darkest points in South Africa’s past, instead of avoiding it.

Unaludo Sechele —

*Families in crisis?*

***United or Broken Family: Of Labour migrant Returnees and the Family Unit in Botswana, c.1970 to the Present***

This study examines the impact of labour migration in Botswana, focusing on the return of husbands after extended periods of migration and its impact on the family unit. When an era ends, there is usually a great deal of uncertainty. When husbands who had been labour migrants returned home, there was a lot of excitement. They were finally going to get quality time with their wives and children. Although they had missed out on a lot throughout their decades of working in the mines, nothing could compare to the pleasure of being reunited with their loved ones. However, the issue remains: was this the case for all families? Did they live happily ever after? This research seeks to better understand the dynamics of family reunions following decades of labour migration. It investigates how families in patriarchal societies welcomed the return of the “head of the family” and whether this transition was easy for everyone. Were there any obstacles faced, and if so, how were they overcome? To address these aspects, the paper relies mostly on interviews with families that lived through these experiences. The study contributes not only to gender studies but also to the broader women’s histories in Botswana.

Shaun Jim Seema — University of the Witwatersrand

*Histories of translation, tradition and governance*

***Traditional Leadership as a direct and indirect institution in South Africa's rural development***

The desire to create and maintain uniformity in governance structures benefits the goal of avoiding financial costs that arise because of variation however does not avoid the social costs that arise from the absence of variation. South Africa's democratic dispensation has avoided confronting various forms of governance structures that best suit the management of a people for a governance structure that best suits the management of the economy. Providing a people with a governance structure that caters best to their needs and social beliefs will contribute to positive social development and produce a chain reaction in the social nature of the state. The purpose of this paper is to argue for the re-evaluation of the archived forms of governance negotiated in 1993 at the cost of uniformity. Academics have investigated the history of various forms of governance structures one predominantly found across the world to be traditional leadership, traditional in the sense of the word that means "customary" and in the sense of the word that means "ancestral". Revelations into the study of traditional leadership tell us about a governance structure that caters to a people and receives its legitimacy from the people. The people grant traditional leadership the legitimacy it requires to exist which is why even though the democratic dispensation has archived traditional leadership it has not killed this indomitable structure. The purpose of this paper is to argue for the re-evaluation of traditional leadership as a form of governance in rural South Africa where the democratic government has failed to permeate development.

Lebohang Seganoe — University of Johannesburg

*Curing crisis? Medicinal consumption and treatment regimes in Africa I*

***Lennon's medicines for babies in Soweto, 1970s-1990s***

In the cultures of maternal care in late twentieth century Soweto, mothers applied the use of Lennon's medicinal products for their infants, to promote fast and peaceful sleep, treat stomach ailments, constipation, colic, to aid strength and ensure spiritual protection. A line of "Dutch medicines" with its origins in the nineteenth century Cape, these products were integrated into urban black maternal practices and understandings, some of them "off-label". Certain Lennon's preparations were known to protect a baby in a doctor's office or clinic, where both viruses and spiritual dangers were present. Despite originally containing alcohol, these were trusted products to navigate new spaces and condition of infant care. I explore their consumption and applications according to formal and informal prescriptions, by physicians and female relatives. Ideas about child-rearing passed down from mother to daughter have changed with new consumer products, such as replacement feedings, nappies, breast pumps, and medicines. Product companies targeted black mothers in cosmopolitan areas, and women sought to modernise care. The circulation of Lennon's for baby care points to a syncretic and female culture of medicinal practice. I argue that their use may have deeper roots but with new meanings for mothers living in uncertain political times.

Lesego Sekhu — University of the Witwatersrand

*Histories of gender and sexuality in South Africa and beyond*

***The decline of democracy and its implications on gendered and sexual identities in Africa***

Democratic backsliding also known as either democratic erosion, democratic decline, or democratic regression is the process of regime change from democracy towards autocracy that makes the exercising of political will by the public inconsistent and often repressed. Reflecting on the recent parliamentary passing of the anti-LGBTQ+ bill, Human Sexual Rights and Family Bill, in Ghana that increases criminal penalties for same-sex conduct, the advocacy of LGBTQ+ rights and ultimately criminalising queer identities, I look at the progression of democratic backsliding and its implications/impact on human freedoms specifically for sexual and gender minority persons. Considered as one of the long-standing African democracies, Ghana's recent draconian bill brings about concern for both the country and more broadly the African region's systemised targeting of marginalised persons human rights and liberties. This paper will look at the recent trend of anti-gay

legislature across the African region that has resulted in physical bills in Uganda, Ghana, and the proposed draft 2023 Family Protection Bill in Kenya, alongside the wave of democratic backsliding in Africa. Some questions that will be addressed in this paper include, looking at the colonial legacies of anti-LGBTQ+ legislature in post-colonial Africa, the historical context of queer identities in African society and the contradictions of the gendered and racialised concept of “family foundations” often used to justify these laws.

Hanky Sereo — University of Eswatini

*Politics and governance in contemporary southern Africa*

***Vote Buying in Eswatini Elections, 2003-2023***

Eswatini, a small landlocked country in Southern Africa, has a history of absolute monarchy and limited political freedoms. Despite some progress towards democratization, elections in Eswatini have been marred by allegations of irregularities, including vote buying. The period from 2003 to 2023 saw several elections in Eswatini, with vote buying playing a significant role in shaping the outcomes. Vote buying is a persistent issue in many countries around the world, including Eswatini. Despite efforts to combat this practice, it continues to influence electoral outcomes and undermine the democratic process. This article will explore the prevalence of vote buying in Eswatini elections from 2003 to 2023, examining its impact on the political landscape and the challenges in addressing this issue. Vote buying in Eswatini elections takes various forms, including the distribution of cash, food, and other incentives to voters in exchange for their support. Aspiring Members of Parliament often target vulnerable populations, such as rural communities and low-income individuals, with promises of immediate benefits in return for their votes. This practice not only undermines the integrity of the electoral process but also perpetuates cycles of poverty and dependency. This article provides detailed insights into the prevalence, methods and impact of vote buying in Eswatini over two decades. It also contributes to the broader discussion on the challenges facing democratic processes in the country.

Karin Shapiro — Duke University

*Forging a Philosophy of Health: Lessons from South Africa*

***Film: Medical Exile: Lessons from South Africa***

This documentary examines a group of social medics who came to North Carolina from apartheid South Africa, bringing ideas that transformed social epidemiology and public health practices in the American South and beyond. During the 1940s/50s, the development of biomedicine and National Institute for Health funding led many in the US to argue that illness should be tackled at the individual, biological level. Fleeing South Africa, these emigres from rural KwaZulu-Natal brought an alternate framework, with a focus on the social, cultural, and environmental impacts on health. This approach found especially fertile ground during President Johnson’s War on Poverty. Many of their early ideas – about the social determinants of health, the engagement of lay health advisors, and community-based participatory research – have become today’s watchwords in epidemiology and community health.

Geraldine Sibanda — University of the Free State

*History and biography from Zimbabwe I*

***Technocrat, International Civil Servant, Liberation War Hero, and Politician - The Many Faces of Bernard Thomas Gibson Chidzero***

This paper examines the multifaceted role of Bernard Chidzero in the making of the Zimbabwean state. In detailing the development of the Zimbabwean state, literature has placed Chidzero at the centre of economic policy-making while also erroneously labelling him a technocrat - a supposedly apolitical person that joins the government on the sole basis of technical expertise and not political alignment. This paper challenges and rejects the oft-taunted label technocrat arguing that the label misrepresents and shrinks the role Chidzero played in building the Zimbabwean state and negates his role in shaping African economic thought. Beyond Zimbabwe, the paper, thus, details the role of Chidzero in shaping African economic thinking and how this thinking revealed itself in Zimbabwe's



policy-making processes. The chapter uses parliamentary debates, international institution reports, correspondence, budget and economic policy statements, and interviews to reveal and question Chidzero's economic and political ideologies, actions, and inactions. It demonstrates that as an intellectual, Chidzero championed just labour laws and racial equality in Southern Rhodesia and Central Africa. As an international civil servant within the UN system, he was instrumental in shaping economic thought during the permeation of the development discourse onto the continent. He rose to UNCTAD Vice President and is the only Zimbabwean in history to run for the office of UN Secretary-General. As a liberation war hero, he was an avid champion of equality before the law and supported guerrillas in the fight for the liberation of Zimbabwe since 1960. As a politician, he was a Member of Parliament since 1980 and a member of the ZANU-PF Politburo, actively participating in Zimbabwe's political terrain. And finally, as Minister, he steered the development of the postcolonial economy through its different phases until 1995. This paper, therefore, demonstrates that Chidzero's contribution to the making of the Zimbabwean state is beyond the economics he is often remembered for, while his contribution to economic thinking and development, is beyond the geographical borders of Zimbabwe.

Geraldine Jacqueline Sibanda — University of the Free State

*Economic Histories of Zimbabwe*

***'Chakachenjedza Ndochakatanga (Once Beaten Twice Shy)!: Zimbabwe and the Economics of Mistrust***

This essay details Zimbabwe's enduring monetary crisis by using the concept of trust in economics. It posits that mistrust between citizens and the state and the mistrust among citizens themselves significantly accounts for Zimbabwe's never-ending economic malaise. In the economy of mistrust, actors operate on the belief that monetary policy will unceremoniously change as has happened many times before – hence, the ChiShona idiom *chakachenjedza ndochakatanga*, which encourages one to stand guard, aptly describes the prevailing economic scenario. In making its arguments, the paper historicises monetary developments in Zimbabwe since its independence in 1980 to 2022. During the period under review, money became the primary commodity bought and sold on the local market, forcing every individual and entity to trade in money. Relying on monetary and fiscal policy statements, newspapers, statutory instruments and interviews, the essay concentrates on the overt actions of the state in creating and sustaining the economics of mistrust and how economic players navigated it. It reveals three aspects of Zimbabwe's monetary history yet veiled or absent in the literature. First, it demonstrates the politics of money and monetary institutions, arguing that the ruling ZANU-PF uses the monetary system as a tool for regime survival. Secondly, it describes the impact of monetary policy pronouncements on the day-to-day practicalities of navigating Zimbabwe's economic landscape. Finally, it questions aspects of economic orthodoxy, particularly the spirit and consequences of central bank independence and how the regulation has manifested in Zimbabwe's monetary system.

Thula Simpson — University of Pretoria

*Transnational histories of Africa*

***Armed Propaganda and People's War: Vietnam and South Africa in Transnational and Comparative Perspective***

This paper revisits the ANC's strategic review of 1978-79, which included a visit to Vietnam to imbibe the lessons of that country's successful revolution. The literature on South Africa's liberation struggle broadly agrees that the review represented a key watershed, but scholars differ on its precise significance. This paper draws on relevant material from the ANC's archives, including notes by Oliver Tambo of the briefings received. The paper will also look at the implementation of the recommendations of the review. It will show that rather than a smooth progression to ultimate victory, the ANC continued to grope for a successful pathway, in a trial-and-error process that required ongoing experimentation. The paper will show that when a popular front was built in South Africa in 1983, it emerged in a form quite different from that which the strategic review outlined. But this diversity of revolutionary forms united rather than estranged the two struggles,

given similar experimentation within the Vietnamese Revolution with multiple different approaches. It is from this multiplicity that the two epic insurgencies in South Africa and Vietnam offer us lessons about the global experience of war and revolution in the mid-to-late twentieth century.

Sishuwa Sishuwa — Stellenbosch University

*Politics and governance in contemporary southern Africa*

***Michael Sata, Party Branding, and the Politics of Historical Memory in Zambia c. 2001-2011***

The dramatic rise of the opposition Patriotic Front (PF), led by Michael Sata, was one of the main political developments in Zambia during the 2000s. Studies on this subject have attributed the PF's success to Sata's ability to employ a populist message in urban areas of Lusaka and the Copperbelt—built around the promise of job creation, lower taxes, and improved housing – and an ethnic mobilisation strategy in rural areas, centred on sentiments of marginalisation among Bemba-speaking communities. A common limitation of this literature is its failure to explain why Sata was more successful than others in deploying these strategies. Drawing on newspaper accounts, party documents and interviews with key political actors, I demonstrate that Sata was able to make these claims convincing through appeals to historical memory. Key in this regard was his past record. As Minister of Local Government and Housing in the 1990s, he built public housing units for Lusaka's burgeoning urban population, earning himself the moniker 'Man of Action'. As a senior figure in the Movement for Multiparty Democracy in the 1990s, he exploited ethnic-language identities to mobilise support for the party in several constituency-level elections in Bemba-speaking Northern Province, crafting a public image of himself as the 'Bemba leader'. In the 2000s, Sata's successive presidential bids were underpinned by constant references to this legacy. In so doing, he was able to push more credible populist and ethnic messages, which allowed him to develop a brand that he later implanted onto the PF. More broadly, I demonstrate the importance of the politics of historical memory in understanding successful electoral campaigns and how political actors distinguish themselves from their competitors in African democracies. While the literature on party branding in Latin America emphasises institutional structures, I show the importance of individual leadership in the African context.

Rob Skinner — University of Bristol

*International anti-apartheid histories: Britain, Canada and New Zealand*

***"There Must be No Interference with the Free Choice of the Consumer": markets, boycotts and anti-apartheid in Thatcher's Britain***

The anti-apartheid boycott of South African consumer goods was a foundational symbol and tactic of the solidarity movement that emerged in Britain in the late 1950s; by the late 1980s it was a feature of a social movement that, by some accounts, had persuaded over a quarter of British consumers to refuse to add 'the Fruits of Apartheid' to their shopping basket. Histories of the anti-apartheid movement have attested to the ubiquitous appeal of the consumer boycott (even when questioning its ultimate 'success'), but its wider historical significance remains underexplored. The consumer boycott connected politics to forms of everyday action and practice: it was predicated on the assumption that political choices are made in supermarkets. The boycott was contradictory: a function of an individual consumer's engagement in the market, an expression of their own moral choices and tastes, and simultaneously an act un-related to the practice of shopping and centred on the politics of anti-racism. This paper focuses on the interactions between consumers, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and retailers during the 1980s and makes some preliminary observations about their relevance to recent works exploring the contemporary history of neo-liberalism and the politics of consumption.

Mohau Martin Soldaat — University of Limpopo

*Youth politics and liberation in southern Africa*

***The origins and ideological orientation of Masupatsela a Walter Sisulu: an influence from the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)?***

The relationship between the Communist Party of South African (CPSA, South African Communist Party SACP henceforth) and the African National Congress (ANC) opened avenues for good relations between the ANC and eastern Communist Countries and the USSR. In the USSR, they believed in a holistic participation in politics of liberation and forging forward with the revolution. This means, they saw the need to include children between the ages of 5-16 in the political discourses and train them for the future by establishing Lenin Pioneer Movement in 1922. Following the example of Russia, many eastern countries established pioneer organisations in their respective countries viz. Yugoslav Pioneer Organisation of 1945, The Union of Youth for the Struggle of Poland in 1946. Similarly, the ANC in 1954 established the Masupatsela a Walter Sisulu with young people between the ages of 5 to 15 into politics of the country. This paper intends to engage the origins of Masupatsela a Walter Sisulu and its ideological orientations. Firstly the paper will analyze the influence of the communist bloc to the ANC in establishing the Masupatsela. Secondly, it will explore the aims and objectives of Masupatsela when they were established in 1954. Thirdly, it will scrutinize its aims against their activities between 1954 and 1956 respectively.

Lukas Spiropoulos — University of London

*European migrant communities in South Africa*

***NT: Greek immigration in southern Africa***

The history of Greek immigration in southern Africa is characterised by their liminality in a system primarily intended to engage in processes of racial classification and exclusion. For this reason these populations always sought to connect to the state in ways that emphasised their desirability, their respectability and, by extension, their whiteness. In the lead up to and during World War One this position was placed under threat as the state's attention was drawn to the community's connections to larger scale regional Balkan politics and the related Great Power competition. The resulting community conflicts and responses shaped immigration governance and community organisation for much of proceeding 20th century

Laurence Stewart — University of the Witwatersrand

*Death, burial and disaster in southern Africa*

***The Mapleton Railway Disaster of 1927: Developmentalism, Race and Migration***

This article explores the little-known history of the Mapleton train accident on 27 July 1927 as a means to illuminate the broader dynamics of developmentalism, migration and race during the period of the Pact Government (1924-1929). In this period state railways were expanding; rules and routes were changing and this was a central cause of the accident. The accident involved “Baca, Zulu and Pondo” migrant workers travelling from the Eastern Cape and Natal to the Rand mines and industries, who, on the freezing evening of 27 July 1927, were involved in the terrible accident and flung out of the carriage. Twenty-seven black passengers and four white train staff died. Yet, the treatment of victims was differentiated by race; black workers were transported to hospital in disused cattle trucks, with those killed buried in “one large grave”. In contrast, white victims were buried in individual ceremonies surrounded by family. The major political organisation at the time, the ICU, highlighted the injuries of passengers, unequal treatment of the workers and submitted evidence in government forum. Sources like newspapers and archival documents detail the dynamics of this accident, as does a forgotten memorial stone in Ekurhuleni.

Alexandra Stone — University of the Witwatersrand

*Curing crisis? Medicinal consumption and treatment regimes in Africa II*

***Prescribing places: pharmaceutical provision and consumption in the changing urban landscape of Johannesburg, 1894-1939***

This paper aims to construct a history of pharmacy in early Johannesburg, between 1894, when the first pharmaceutical society in the Transvaal was founded, and the beginning of the Second World War in 1939, which saw the rapid development and introduction of new and effective drugs such as sulphonamides and antibiotics. This period encompasses two wars and several epidemics, a series of crises with both public health and urban planning implications. Resulting changes in politics around the regulation of medicines and residential segregation may be seen as two sides of the same coin – each used as a means of articulating modernity and progress while imposing racial control. The prescription books from several Johannesburg pharmacies, spanning the 1890s through the 1930s, provide day-to-day accounts of how these regulations affected pharmaceutical consumption. By using these books as a proxy for consumer demand of pharmaceutical commodities, variability in pharmaceutical practice and consumption through time and across space may be identified. A demographic analysis of these records framed by the context of medical hybridity and pluralism on the Rand may highlight differences in pharmaceutical consumption in a cosmopolitan urban centre moving towards increasing racial segregation. Additionally, the physical and demographic growth of Johannesburg may be linked to the growth and diversity of pharmacy by using Charles Goad Fire Insurance maps of central Johannesburg for the years 1895, 1906, 1910 and 1938 and GIS software to track the spatial changes in pharmaceutical buildings through time, and comparing this to the growth of the city.

Arshad Suliman — University of Toronto

*International anti-apartheid histories: Britain, Canada and New Zealand*

***Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement led by Black Canadians against apartheid***

With the rise of the transnational Black Power, Black Nationalism, and African liberation movements in the twentieth century, Black Canadians began mobilising on local, national, and international scales against anti-Black racism. While scholars have increasingly adopted Black Internationalism to frame African diasporic mobilisation against forces of oppression, the historiography and literature on Black Internationalism has largely omitted Canadian historical actors. In this presentation, I consider the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement led by Black Canadians against apartheid and colonial occupation in Southern Africa from 1970 to 1992. Drawing on oral histories with Black Canadians and sources published by Black people in Canada, I argue that Black activism in Toronto was characterised by a recognition of the overlapping forces of oppression (whether in institutions or daily life) faced by persons of African descent – locally, nationally, and internationally. Furthermore, Black activists tended to be simultaneously active in several movements and campaigns addressing oppression – including education, anti-police brutality, and women’s movements. By detailing examples of Black Canadian mobilization in relation to local and global contexts, this presentation interrogates the erasures in the historical record that excludes Black Canadians from the larger narrative of Canadian history.

Peter Swanepoel — University of Johannesburg

*Curing crisis? Medicinal consumption and treatment regimes in Africa II*

***Speed to race: Cycling circuits and performance enhancing drugs in apartheid South Africa***

This paper examines consumption of performance-enhancing drugs (PEDs) in South African professional cycling during the 1970s-1980s. At the ‘peak’ era of sporting boycotts for the pariah apartheid state, what role did PEDs play in the lives, motivations and self-management of premier cycle race competitors? With a focus on the Rapport Toer (Tour), I will draw on interviews to explore narratives about the motivations for PED use in this context. Getting “on the juice” was a pursuit of speed and endurance, but I am also interested in how it related to conceptions of body-fitness and to (largely) “white” masculinities. I argue that PEDs may have contributed to a sense of control and

agency for many of these men, with team cycling itself a haven of individual and collective achievement within a repressive, militarising society.

Sandra Swart — Stellenbosch University

*The Lion's Pride: more-than-human history for a world in crisis I*

***Why History Matters in Conservation: Conflict and Culture in Human and Elephant Co-Existence***

How do we use History in the crisis of the sixth extinction? History – as I hope I will illustrate – can be significant in addressing current global biodiversity crises and may be particularly effective in revealing the shifting dynamics of conservation dilemmas and thereby help in shaping more effective responses. I show how such collaborative approaches can find common ground between conservation and animal sensitive histories, from Deep History, historical ecology and evolutionary history, to generate fresh initiatives from the ‘conservation humanities’. There are many ways that History can be deployed in conservation: it can fuse ecological, political, social and economic data into explanatory narratives of change over time. It can explore successful initiatives but also exposes the failures precipitated by unintended blowback from failed efforts. The long roots of (human) coping strategies may be learned from cultures with long oral traditions and vernacular traditions of traditional ecological knowledge. But I try something much bolder: I look at the history of animals themselves, their changing cultures and discuss how these might be reconstructed and how they might be useful in conservation efforts. Essentially, I contend that animals have history. And those histories matter to their futures.

Rebecca Swartz — University of the Free State

*Children, labour and emancipation in the Cape colony*

***Freedom, agency and childhood in the post-emancipation Cape colony***

This paper explores the meaning of children’s agency and freedom in the post-emancipation Cape colony. Drawing on a variety of records regarding children’s labour after the end of formal slavery, the paper argues that the subject of children’s lives and livelihoods was a significant concern for government officials, humanitarians and missionaries, as well as parents and children themselves in the period from 1820 – 1850. When enslaved people were freed in 1833, special provisions were made for all children under six to be immediately freed. At the same time, apprenticed European children were brought into the colony as labourers under the auspices of the Children’s Friend Society. The paper considers the context in which these children were looked to as sources of labour, and reflects on debates regarding whether children should have a say in their own occupations, including leisure time. It argues two things: first, that age is an important category of analysis for understanding the Cape during this period, and second, that a focus on young people can complicate and nuance historical discussions of agency.

Walker Swindell — Utrecht University

*Digging for History: Labour, Geology and the Environment in Colonial Southern Africa*

***From Diamonds to Dust: The Rise of the South African Empire, 1870-1960***

As Southern Africa faces a complex series of crises ranging from economic inequality to climate change it is increasingly important to understand the historical roots of the present moment. These challenges are the product of Southern Africa’s developmental path which historically has centred on mineral resource extraction through the growth of industrial mining. Previously scholars have understood this history through the lens of nation-based studies and have largely neglected the extent to which these developments were part of a broader regional phenomenon. We argue that between 1870 and 1960 the Southern African region from the Cape to Katanga comprised the South African Empire. This was an area of formal and informal influence exercised by South African based economic and political interests. This literature review outlines how historians have understood the history of South African economic, social and political influence throughout the subcontinent. In doing so we emphasise the symbiotic relationship between mining capital and political power as the driver of South African expansionism. This will shed new light on the origins of the challenges that the region faces.

Stefan Szewczuk — University of the Witwatersrand

*European migrant communities in South Africa*

***The Polish Children of Oudtshoorn, South Africa: Their untold lived experiences in Siberia***

Pursuant to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 23 August 1939 between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, Russia invaded Poland from the east on 17 September 1939. Russia annexed the territory known as the Kresy – the borderlands. As per the signed order of Stalin, the Russian NKVD deported 1,7million Polish citizens to the gulags of Siberia - many being children. With the annexation of the Kresy, deportees had no homes to return to. Five hundred Polish children found safety and refuge in Oudtshoorn in April 1943. These children went on to form the core of the Polish community in South Africa. A feature of the Oudtshoorn refugees is the untold story of coping with the trauma and harrowing life experiences of dislocation, rupture, loss and reconstitution and re-establishing lost history, heritage, memory and identity as a minority group in South Africa. Using the primary sources of international archived material, including material from the South African National Archives and the CP Nel Museum in Oudtshoorn, oral interviews and written memoirs, the untold lived experiences in Siberia of the Oudtshoorn children will be presented.

Elizabeth Thornberry — Johns Hopkins University

*Race, research and history writing in South Africa*

***Black Researchers, Legal Knowledge, and the Ethnological Project***

The forms of customary law enforced in 20th century South African courts were drawn in large part from state-sponsored anthropological research. This research depended in turn up on contributions of black African researchers. This paper examines the production of legal knowledge by the black Africans who collected anthropological accounts for the Department of Native Affairs under the direction of N.J. van Warmelo, and reconstructs visions of customary law articulated by these black researchers, all of whom had formal education. I am interested less in their specific claims about the content of particular traditions of customary law than in their understanding of how customary law should. As Sekibakiba Legkoathi has shown in the Northern Transvaal, their accounts of custom contained complex descriptions of social interaction that Van Warmelo ignored in his public writing. Here, I argue that black researchers who worked with Van Warmelo across South Africa grappled with the question of adapting customary law to a system modeled in significant part on the European common law tradition; and that their efforts might serve as a guide to post-apartheid efforts to embed customary law within the constitutional dispensation.

Robert J. Thornton — University of the Witwatersrand

*Premodern southern African societies*

***Political and social organisation in precolonial southern Africa: An Anthropological reassessment of the archaeological evidence***

Contemporary (2024) narratives of southern African precolonial history typically include several accepted propositions that (1) Bantu-speaking peoples, organised as "tribes" under chiefs, entered southern Africa (here: S. Africa, Eswatini, Lesotho, Botswana) from the north and encountered earlier populations of Khoi and San; (2) the former's economies were primarily agricultural, while the latter were "hunters and gatherers" with some domestic livestock; and (3) an "early" state(s) emerged, ca. 1000 BP, for instance at Mapungubwe. However, little evidence suggests a more northern original "homeland." Evidence of an Early State is also lacking, such as significant central places (capitols or "palaces"), regulated markets and market-places, a currency, socio-political hierarchies, or ideologies & "religions" that support them. We also know that all southern African languages are intricately connected and that all southern African people are genetically interrelated. In response, I propose that southern Africa constituted a large regional "society" composed of several kinds of long-term, relatively self-organising, stable, small, mobile, and "open" groupings that overlapped and interacted with each other. I point especially to cross-cutting schools of specialists in social tasks such as political mediators/organisers, craftspeople, healers, and food providers (herders, hunters, food-plant managers, ...), among others.

Janeke Thumbran — Rhodes

*Families in crisis?*

***The 'Developing' Subject: Re-reading the Theron Commission Report, 1960-1976***

Appointed in 1973, the Theron Commission set out to investigate the “progress of the (Coloured) population since 1960” in “the social sphere” and to identify “hindrances in the different fields which can be identified as being obstacles”. Despite the Report’s strong focus on the social, few studies of the Commission engage with these aspects. Instead, most focus on the recommendations and the subsequent implementation of the Tricameral Parliament in 1984. A rereading of the Report demonstrates how the apartheid state set out to develop ‘coloureds’ into ideal citizens: Christian, middle class, organized into nuclear families and politically conservative. This paper examines how the Commission Report evaluated the state’s project by focusing on the ‘coloured’ family as a unit of analysis and its division of the ‘coloured’ population into an “upper, middle and lower” group. The paper’s primary argument is that, while the Report revealed that there were several instrumental failures in the state’s project of development, the commissioners also advocated for a continuation of the project as examples of ideal citizens had emerged among the “upper group”. Re-reading the Theron Commission re-focuses the Report and calls for its consideration as a social document.

Liz Timbs —

*Doctors, Writers, and Traditional Leaders of KwaZulu-Natal II*

***“Your Humble, Obedient Servant”: The Life and Legacy of John Mavuma Nembula, 1861-1896***

Born in Amanzimtoti and educated at Adams Mission Station, Dr. John Mavuma Nembula excelled in his studies from an early age, earning the attention of American Board missionary Stephen Pixley who tasked the young student in assisting him with the first isiZulu translation of the Bible. Along with Pixley, Nembula traveled to the United States in 1881 where he studied penmanship at Oberlin College before earning his medical degree at Chicago Medical School in 1887 before returning to South Africa where he accepted a post as the district surgeon for Umsinga, running a multi-racial practice in Pomeroy. Serving in this capacity, Nembula earned notice for his innovative medical techniques and eventually moved to serve as the district surgeon for Mapumulo. Following his return to South Africa, Nembula applied for and received exemption from Native Law, using his position in the colonial government to aid his family members. At the same time, Nembula participated in the African Christian Union, an organization boasting the slogan “Africa for Africans,” representing a predecessor to Marcus Garvey’s United Negro Improvement Association. Though typically lauded for his status as the one of the first African licensed physicians in South Africa this accomplishment only represented one of the many facets of Nembula’s short but significant life. This new perspective on Nembula’s life history places this extraordinary figure in broader historical context far beyond the scope of his significant medical accomplishments.

Mzwanele Tshishonga — University of the Witwatersrand

*South African History and/in images*

***Ukuhlonipha as a photographic methodology: Bra Andrew Tshabangu’s refusal of documentary photography conventions***

This essay seeks to posit photography as a language that is not fixed but rather a tool with the ability to adapt to different dialects and vernaculars. It will further speak to how this adaptation introduces alternatives within the broader documentary photographic lexicon, and how these alternatives start to function as decolonial options in the representations of black life and black people. Particularly, it foregrounds Bra Andrew Tshabangu’s photographic essay: *Hostel Interiors* as a departure from normative documentary image conventions that situate blackness and black people only in particular limited ways. It will discuss how the notion of *ukuhlonipha* is employed by Bra Andrew extensively throughout his work as a strategic methodology to defy the artform’s conventions, but also how this approach allows for the great consideration and sensitivity that can be seen and heard throughout his images. This text links Bra Andrew’s visual language with sincerity to his vernacular way of being, as a refusal to adopt a language imposed by photographic

norms but to instead introduce a fervent vocabulary that actively challenges ways of seeing within the photographic sphere.

Keabaka Tsholo — University of the Free State

*Homelands, apartheid and transition in South Africa*

***Bantustans' Independence and International Recognition: Bophuthatswana's Advancement into a Nation-State, 1977-1992***

Given the various significant changes experienced, particularly in the twentieth-century, South Africa's position in international politics has attracted scholarly attention. The role played by Bophuthatswana in South Africa's asserting of her position in the international space has seldom attracted the attention of historians. Drawing on archival material and a close reading of secondary sources, this article explores the contribution of Bophuthatswana to South Africa's asserting of her position internationally. After World War II, South Africa was compelled by international pressure to abolish apartheid. Premised on the idea of restructured separate development, South Africa opted to modernise instead. One cornerstone consequence of this was the emergence of bantustans.

Bantustans were intended to function as autonomous African reserves that would appeal to the international community that South Africa abided by the changes around the world, including the wave of independence in Africa without really abolishing apartheid. In 1977 Bophuthatswana gained independence from apartheid South Africa and developed into an entity ambitious enough to seek international recognition. However, several international states did not recognise Bophuthatswana as a nation-state due to it being a product of apartheid system. Nonetheless, countries such as Israel developed non-state relations with Bophuthatswana. This article examines the reasons for Bophuthatswana seeking international recognition. The article explores the relationship that emerged between Bophuthatswana, on the one hand, and countries such as South Africa, Israel, on the other. The article's overarching aim is to demonstrate Bophuthatswana's tactics and strategies to position itself in the international spectrum. It does this by examining the various international political, social, and economical agreements Bophuthatswana engaged in.

Basetsana Tsuwane — North-West University

*Soil, insects and the environment in Africa*

***The Making of the African National Soil Conservation Association (ANSCA): 'Creating' a Conservation Conscious African Farmer***

This proposed research paper is intended to provide a historical outlook on soil conservation discourse in South Africa. The 1950s was an era where a considerable number of conservationists expressed growing concern about the erosion of soil, especially in black reserves. With the South African Nationalist government's previous attempts in the 1920s and 1930s to implement laws that would help combat soil erosion, the 1950s represented a time when a growing number of initiatives in the form of environmental groups, tried to combat soil erosion on a practical level. Out of the government's initiative to implement laws, various conservation groups were formed and attempted to address the issue of soil conservation in various parts of South Africa. The National Veld Trust, a white-dominated conservation organization, paved the way for a black soil conservation organization called the African National Soil Conservation Association (ANSCA). ANSCA envisioned itself as an independent black organization that would penetrate black communities in anticipation to educate them about soil conservation. This was done to eradicate soil erosion in those areas. Popular scholarly work on ANSCA highlights the central role Africans played in consolidating agricultural farming and conservation management to fight soil erosion. This paper looks at the extent to which ANSCA tried to achieve this by showing that a type of black conservation consciousness resulted from the creation of ANSCA. Although in the end the organization failed to sustain itself because of segregation in South Africa, the story of ANSCA provides an important, hitherto unacknowledged, perspective to the ways in which conservation is discoursed in contemporary South Africa.



Peter Uledi — Stellenbosch University

*Land, belonging and the environment in South Africa*

***“Until ... we find ways to give more land to the peasants, we are sitting on a time bomb.” Land Reform, Peasant Livelihoods and the Environment, c.1992 to 2005***

The 1980s up to 1992 were a period of ideological and policy crisis for the new black majority government in Zimbabwe. The result was pressure to adopt policies that would resettle peasants and maintain political stability. The result was the Land Acquisition Act (LAA) of 1992 and the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) of 2000. These were very much political and negligent of economic factors responsible for resettlement with setting up of rural development structures such as among other things environmental management and conservation. At least ostensibly adopted to expediate and equitably distribute land to the dissatisfied land hungry peasants, the LAA and the FTLRP were part of tumultuous period in Zimbabwe’s socio-economic history. The two reforms had some positive impacts on some peasant livelihoods, at least initially. For at least some peasant farmers, the Acts meant more land available for redistribution and resettlement. This paper investigates the impact of land reform and first examines whether these policy changes really succeeded in improving peasant standards of living. The paper also examines the impact of the policies on the environment in both communal and resettled areas. This paper argues that land redistribution did not benefit peasants on the long term. Both the LAA and the FTLRP briefly improved peasant livelihoods but proved a long-term disaster for environmental conservation and therefore was also a disaster for sustainable peasant farming.

Nicole Ulrich — Fort Hare

*Forests, Oceans and Protest: Reading Worlds of Resistance in the Long Nineteenth-Century*

***Writing Rebellion from the Transnational World of the Nineteenth-Century Cape of Good Hope***

This paper examines a memoir written by the American-born Joshua Penny, sailor and serial deserter, published in 1815. Such narratives were written partly to enthrall readers and exaggerate and fictionalise. But, contrary to the claims of P.E. Westra (who wrote the introduction to Penny’s pamphlet published in South Africa in 1982), these narratives also contain useful historical data, and shed light onto sailors’ lives and ideas. Penny’s tale has a clear political agenda – to object to the impressment of sailors by the imperial British Royal Navy. In so doing, his memoir reflects the popular discontent underpinning the ‘Age of Revolutions’ that reverberated across the Indian Ocean and Atlantic as well as the interplay of newly emerging, modern, national and class identities, which were, in Penny’s case, constructed transnationally. The focus of this paper is on Penny’s lengthy account of his desertion from the British navy at the Cape of Good Hope. His account speaks to the ways in which mobile rebels – sailors turned maroons – intersected with local traditions of protest. In particular, the paper outlines the way in which Penny drew on local knowledge, briefly joining the Khoe on the borderland, to evade capture and locates Penny’s memoir in broader practices in which written texts played a key part in subaltern protest in the colony.

Christi van der Westhuizen — Nelson Mandela University

*Racism, refugees and xenophobia in southern Africa*

***Populist xenophobia in South Africa: A continuation of the racial logic of apartheid?***

This paper examines a memoir written by the American-born Joshua Penny, sailor and serial deserter, published in 1815. Such narratives were written partly to enthrall readers and exaggerate and fictionalise. But, contrary to the claims of P.E. Westra (who wrote the introduction to Penny’s pamphlet published in South Africa in 1982), these narratives also contain useful historical data, and shed light onto sailors’ lives and ideas. Penny’s tale has a clear political agenda – to object to the impressment of sailors by the imperial British Royal Navy. In so doing, his memoir reflects the popular discontent underpinning the ‘Age of Revolutions’ that reverberated across the Indian Ocean and Atlantic as well as the interplay of newly emerging, modern, national and class identities, which were, in Penny’s case, constructed transnationally. The focus of this paper is on Penny’s lengthy account of his desertion from the British navy at the Cape of Good Hope. His account speaks to the ways in which mobile rebels – sailors turned maroons – intersected with local traditions of protest.

In particular, the paper outlines the way in which Penny drew on local knowledge, briefly joining the Khoe on the borderland, to evade capture and locates Penny's memoir in broader practices in which written texts played a key part in subaltern protest in the colony.

Elize van Eeden —

*Racism, refugees and xenophobia in southern Africa*

***Africanising history teaching and learning through regional and microspatial histories: The Vredefort Dome Region as example***

African scholarly debates engaged in the concepts of decolonising teaching and learning in Africanised educational contexts to a limited extent during the past 60 years. On the other hand, microspatial histories as an agency towards facilitating an Africanised educational thought can and should form part of this debate. By reconceptualising Africanisation as a consideration in education (no matter at what level) also will value, and become sensitised to, diverse scholarly and community voices closer to home. Equally so, some present-day realities, deriving from historical contextual complexities, requires decolonized action towards an educationally Africanised conversation. In this discussion the reconceptualising of "Africanise" will be deliberated on to facilitate an educationally revitalised approach. As a microspatial outlet thereof the histories of the Vredefort Dome Region in the Free State Province of South Africa will serve as a case study, and steppingstone towards creating embracive multi-angled African educational scholarship.

Bronwynn van Tonder — North-West University

*The South African war and its consequences*

***Social Darwinism and dawning nationalist sentiments among Afrikaners after the Anglo-Boer War: A historical-analytical view of the years 1902-1914***

The origins of 19th century Social Darwinism as a tendency in British Imperial thought, and its manifestation in early 20th century South Africa is the topic of this paper. As part of the scientific Enlightenment ideas of the time in Europe, Social Darwinism views (consciously and unconsciously) infused colonial management elsewhere, and also influenced South African politics and social relationships among many groups. In this discussion the focus is on Afrikaner nationalist sentiments being prominent. Whether post-war reconstruction policies in South Africa were justified through a Social Darwinism lens as reasoning – especially on linguistic, cultural, and economic thought – will form part of this debate.

Ilana van Wyk — Stellenbosch University

*Money and entrepreneurship in the colonial Cape*

***Cape property lotteries, the VOC money crisis, and international circuits of dis/trust***

In 1789, the VOC at the Cape of Good Hope promulgated an anti-lottery law that had nothing to do with gambling. The law tried to stop people living at the Cape from selling their property (both moveable and immovable) through public lotteries. As a financial instrument, lotteries allowed desperate individuals to extract specie from a local system in which it had long been in very short supply, largely because of the impact of American War of Independence on the VOC's access to raw metals and mints in the Netherlands and its former Eastern possessions. Indeed, by 1782, the VOC at the Cape had run out of specie and Governor van Plettenburg was forced to issue a paper currency. While this currency was at first backed by government promise to redeem it for specie, in 1793, the VOC issued paper money against mortgages on some of its own - and on individual burghers' properties. This unique situation where the value of the local currency was guaranteed by government and private property continued until the 1830s, with interesting consequences for the ways in which various governments and burghers conceived of forgeries, trust and a local currency.

Nikiwe Lucricia Veshe — Stellenbosch University

*Land, belonging and the environment in South Africa*

***'Belonging to the Land,' Strategic Essentialism, and Livelihoods Among the San People of South Africa***

The period in southern African history from 1910 to 1994 represent a time of drastic and complex socio-political transformations whereby the Cape Colony played a significant role as a frontier for social, cultural, and economic exchanges. Considering these complex socio-economic dispositions, this chapter investigates how they have contributed to the broader class struggles between the San and other early settler groups of the Kalahari. Furthermore, this chapter hopes to show that contemporary Bushmen identities should be understood as a continuous struggle of a people to survive this ever-changing frontier in an unfriendly environment, alongside historical racial and marginalizing policies. This was achieved through the discard and adoption (consciously or not) of certain lifeways. Furthermore, this chapter brings into conversation labour regimes discourse, particularly farm labour and recruitment into the South African Defence Force, as crucial, but under researched, aspect of the invention and perpetuation of the 'Bushmen myth' during the early- to mid-1900s. Essentially, the chapter makes the correlation between these early Kalahari settlement encounters and the post-land claim realities as a continuous trajectory. Conclusively, this will be a story of the San's involvement with and attachment to global politics and debates of land ownerships/rights, class, indigeneity, and survival during the mid-1990s. Therefore, the Kalahari is, and was, not an isolated dessert with pristine wilderness, but a frontier with which many different groups mingled and also settled while exploiting the region for its resources. As a result, some people were marginalised, the environment degraded, and contemporary social ills of the province should be understood as a historical aftermath of these class struggles.

Stephen Volz — Kenyon College

*The black press and writing in the vernacular*

***Koranta ea Becoana and the Pursuit of Multi-Ethnic Liberalism in South Africa***

My paper explores changes and continuities in the lives and perspectives of black South Africans during the formative years between the South African War in 1899-1902 and the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. In support of the eventual triumph of democracy, scholars have tended to focus on evidence of nascent African nationalism in the English writings of black South Africans during the early twentieth century, but "Koranta ea Becoana" (Newspaper of the Tswana) and other vernacular sources indicate that Africans at that time were equally concerned with celebrating and preserving their various cultural and political traditions, advocating a vision of British liberalism that would not oblige them to choose between becoming either "black Englishmen" or disenfranchised "Natives." With the imposition of the Natives Land Act and other discriminatory legislation in South Africa after 1910, they would have little opportunity to resolve the tensions within that vision, but for a moment Sol Plaatje and others promoted their indigenous cultures as integral, vital elements of South African society rather than as impediments to its progress.

Themبisa Waetjen — University of Johannesburg

*Curing crisis? Medicinal consumption and treatment regimes in Africa I*

***Women using nyaope in Johannesburg: Spaces and cultures of heroin consumption, provision and crisis in post-1994 South Africa***

After 1994, the opening of national borders coincided with the formation of new southern trafficking routes for heroin. The movement of "nyaope" into South Africa, and its consumption by "youth", has been widely expressed in the language of crisis. Nyaope users themselves – especially women and mothers – are often viewed as the problem, in deeply gendered ways. This is evidenced through the life histories of four women born in the 1990s, who resided in and around Joburg's townships. As sisters, daughters, girlfriends, and mothers – and well as "izibungu", "strikers", and "spikers" – these women navigated a complex "nyaope world". This paper explores some of the landscapes of that "nyaope world", places of substance use and acquisition, of legal troubles and safe haven, of intimacy and personal danger.

Handri Walters — Stellenbosch University

*Science as Ideology: Health Sciences and the White Body in the Apartheid State*

***The emergence of an Afrikaans-medium medical school at Stellenbosch, 1948-1976*** This paper engages the establishment of Stellenbosch University's medical school as an extension of the Afrikaner nationalist project between 1948 and 1976. The movement to establish an Afrikaans-medium medical school at Stellenbosch University gained significant momentum after the National Party came to power in 1948. Despite the Brebner Commission's findings in 1950, which explicitly rejected the idea of another medical school in the Cape, the government informed Stellenbosch University in 1951 that the establishment of an Afrikaans-medium medical school had been approved. Under the leadership of Afrikaner nationalists such as H.B. Thom, the rector of the University, and Francie van Zijl, the first appointed dean of the medical school, Stellenbosch University welcomed its first cohort of students to its newly established medical school in 1956. The subsequent construction of a new campus and teaching hospital at Tygerberg over the course of the next two decades is treated here as the expression of Afrikaner advancement and modernity as informed by apartheid ideology.

Johan Wassermann — University of Pretoria

*The South African war and its consequences*

***Africans and the Boer migration to Argentina – a revisionist revisit***

Following the South African War (1899-1902), several hundred Boers migrated from especially the Cape Colony to Argentina. They formed part of the process of whitening Argentinian society, which the Argentinian government aggressively pursued at the time. The Boers, as their descendants still preferred to be referred to, settled in the Patagonia region around Sarmiento and Comodoro Rivadavia. Migrating with the Boers were several Africans. Afrikaner historiography callously and falsely dismisses them by claiming they had all died off during the first years of settlement. This paper challenges this argument by revisiting primary and secondary sources on both sides of the Atlantic to recover the history of Africans who migrated with the Boers to Argentina. In so doing, we laid bare a much more complex trans-Atlantic world of migration involving Boers and Africans. Although small in number, the African migrants actively inhabited a complex Argentinian world, including being labourers to the Boers, cohabiting in intimate relationships, and integrating into Argentina society as collaborators and intermediaries while challenging the omnipresent yoke of racism. In the process, we challenge the neat historiographical narratives of the whitening of Argentina through migration and the existing Afrikaner historiography on the trans-Atlantic Boer migration.

Tara Weinberg —

*Broadening conceptions of the political: Rethinking women's histories in South Africa*

***Land and God: Women's church groups organizing against forced removals in the 1980s***

Over the course of the twentieth century, black women in rural parts of South Africa played pivotal roles in developing ideas about property ownership. However, women's contribution to struggles over land and the development of property laws has often been overlooked in scholarly and popular literature. In rural areas, women's church groups (popularly known by the isiXhosa term manyanos) facilitated spaces for women to debate and transform property issues. Two sites in the Transvaal where black South Africans had bought land through land-buying syndicates in the early 20th century, offer insight into the intersection between church groups and organising around land claims. In Mogopa, Christian women's prayer unions were one of the key platforms from which women sought and won positions on local land committees in the 1980s that had previously been the purview of men. In Driefontein and Daggakraal, where there was a strong underground African National Congress (ANC) presence, there was more distance between manyanos and political organizing. While manyanos served as important spaces for spiritual, emotional and financial support, as well as caring for sick people, many church women drew a distinction between their work and that of women ANC cadres. Nevertheless, through the combination of underground

organizing, land committees and manyanos, women played a leading role in organizing resistance against forced removals and strategizing to win back their land.

Debbie Whelan — University of Lincoln/Durban University of Technology

*Water and infrastructure in South Africa*

***Damming (the) evidence: infrastructure development, forced removals and frustrated claims on land***

South Africa is not unique in that, like many other countries, numerous instances of land dispossession through infrastructure development exist. Whilst the removal imperative is obvious and for the articulate, substantiated, the action lives on for many as active displacement, and becomes embedded in oral history. In many instances, infrastructural removals are the kernel of land claims in KwaZulu-Natal and the evidence is provided through orality. Using the development of the seminal Nagle Dam on the Umgeni system, this paper considers the intersection of the archival evidence of restitution and the continued agitation for access to land, focusing on the oral 'bleed' based on collected and constructed memory and perceptions of dispossession in order to substantiate ownership. The paper concludes that we need to consider this memory 'bleed' as a vital part of contemporary historiography, and importantly, also need to understand its contribution to national perceptions of not only understanding the established and legal binary of 'truth', but uncritically embrace alternative contributions to understanding our world.

Christian Williams — University of the Free State

*Exilic Experience Defining Anti-Apartheid*

***Faith and Liberation in Tanzania: An Historical Ethnography of Salatiel Ailonga's Bible***

In the spring of 1972, Salatiel Ailonga, a forty-year-old Namibian exile, was assigned to intern for several months at a Lutheran mission station in Iringa, Tanzania. There he was placed in the former servants' quarters of a house where Anita Smeds, a Finnish missionary had been stationed. On the Sunday after Salatiel's arrival, he knocked on Anita's door and asked: 'Are you the person whose name is in this book?' After confirming that she was, the two of them pieced together how the book, a Bible which Anita had given to SWAPO President Sam Nujoma in 1963, had entered Salatiel's hands. Over the next year, as Anita and Salatiel's relationship transformed from acquaintance to romance and betrothal, their conversation often returned to the journey of this Bible that had passed so serendipitously from one to the other. This paper will consider the significance of that Bible – and the Bible – for Salatiel Ailonga and others in his exile-missionary networks in Tanzania from 1963 to 1973. The paper begins by presenting how Salatiel and other Namibians lived in Dar es Salaam during the mid-1960s, highlighting the significance of Cold War conflicts within SWAPO and a Bible study led by an American Lutheran pastor for shaping Salatiel's views. From there, the chapter considers the environment in which Salatiel studied theology at Makumira Seminary near Arusha during the late 1960s and early 1970s and the political theology that he began to articulate there. Finally, the chapter concludes with an account of Salatiel and Anita's early relationship, highlighting the centrality of the Ailongas' Bible and other Christian symbols in defining their courtship and the dense entanglement of Namibian exile and Lutheran missionary networks at their wedding. As I argue, while reading the Bible in Tanzania, Salatiel articulated a prophetic Christianity focused on how 'the world of Christ' must orient itself to prepare humanity for a post-colonial, post-apartheid future. In so doing, he not only echoed liberation theologies formulated elsewhere at this time, but also began to problematize some expressions of these ideas, distinguishing between approaches to liberation that sacralise nationalisms to those that transcend national and other group identities through devotion to Christ. Such themes overlap with recent scholarship on transnational anti-colonial activism in revolutionary Dar es Salaam and Tanzania even as they address gaps in a literature that has barely considered religious dimensions of that time and place.

Luvuyo Wotshela — University of Fort Hare

*Beyond lazy legacies and casual continuities: corruption and accumulation from the Bantustans to the Provinces*

***Long-term struggles for land and related services: egalitarian local authority in the Eastern Cape's Border-Kei region from the mid-1980s to 2010***

For many within Bantustans during the epoch of late apartheid, the struggle for egalitarian local authority, and provision of services, innately linked to those for residential and other land needs. Such occurrences were particularly evident in the Ciskei, which largely emerged as a receptacle for countless relocated African families, and whose land and amenities was controlled, and then dispensed through state-created tribal authorities. Those contrived power brokers served at the base of government hierarchy but were equally influential in linking services to loyalists of the Bantustan system whilst fostering its social and political patronage networks. Naturally, the system impelled reaction and contestation in the form of robust civic movements from those the Bantustan policy sought to incorporate by early 1980s. Equally, such civic movements widened by the late 1980s to include even those already within the Ciskei Bantustan, but initially alienated from land and services allotted by tribal authorities. By then this movement had become key to rural and urban representative voices and was no longer restricted to the Ciskei. It marked a Border-Kei region of the current Eastern Cape Province, which from the early 1990s coalesced around the Ciskei, the western parts of the Transkei and the enfolded former white farming districts with their towns. How then did the calibrated local authority system after 1994 typify various formations of this area against persistent land demands and services, as well as reorganising chiefly authorities (now referred to as traditional authority)? To what extent did governance and distribution of services continue being routed for benefaction? This paper provides an historical outline of the campaign for egalitarian local authority, and ultimately shows the early complexities of an integrated municipality in 2000 in that hitherto segregated Border-Kei region of South Africa's Eastern Cape.

Nicola Yon —

*Economic Histories of Zimbabwe*

***Social Protection, Inequality, and unemployment in Zimbabwe, 2000-2015***

Given the raising levels of inequality and unemployment in the global south the role of social protection in addressing these problems has received greater attention in recent years. Social protection has been seen as a panacea to inequality and having the ability to reduce the impact of unemployment especially on vulnerable populations. A perspective that gained even more attention in light of the COVID-19 pandemic. Despite this a large section of the Zimbabwean population largely consisting of women continues to access social protection in the peripheries of the country's social protection system. Using a social protection lens to explore the aspects of inequality and unemployment in Zimbabwe this paper seeks to examine these two problems during the post-colonial period. There is significant value in putting pressing contemporary issues into historical perspective. A historical view enables us to critique patterns of social protection over time and offers important insights into contemporary debates. Exploring elements of continuity, change and crises in line with the conference's theme this paper provides a deeper understanding of how Zimbabweans access to social protection has been reshaped over the decades. Using a combination of relevant secondary sources, newspapers and government reports this paper hopes to contribute to the ongoing debates on social protection as a panacea to inequality and unemployment.

Daria Zelenova — Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences

*Liberation armies in southern Africa*

***Soviet and Angolan veterans' accounts of the Angolan Civil War: reconsidering the solidarity narratives***

Officials of Angola's MPLA began travelling to the USSR for military and civilian training during the anticolonial struggle in the early 1960s, and continued to do so after independence, when Soviet trainers and military advisors in turn did tours of duty in Angola during the ongoing civil war. This paper is part of a recent turn in global Cold War history that questions official narratives of solidarity

and examines the perceptions, concerns and motivations of individual participants, based on the authors' interviews with Soviet and Angolan veterans. Where Angolans and Soviets most closely agreed on what underpinned their relationship was in shared normative ideas of modernity, progress and order (for example in the restructuring of the Angolan military), while their views on ideological questions were more disparate. Soviet officials who served in Angola in the 1970s were committed to socialist internationalism, but a younger generation who arrived in the 1980s often saw their work as simply part of a job. Angolan officers welcomed Soviet internationalism for the practical assistance it brought, while their own priorities were often nationalist rather than socialist. Nevertheless, many recognised a connection between the Soviet Union's defeat of fascism and Angolans' struggles against colonialism and apartheid.

Tendai Zihove — Makerere University

*Monuments and memory in southern Africa and beyond*

***Different meanings, different values. The preservation of Providential Pass in Masvingo, Zimbabwe***

This paper explores the different values and meanings that the Providential Pass has to the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ); small scale miners and the Ministry of Roads. The Providential Pass is a historic monument which was erected during the colonial period. The pass is viewed as a monument with a historic value by NMMZ; as a lay-bye by the Ministry of Roads and as a repository of precious minerals by small scale miners. The preservation of the monument is of importance or of no importance depending on how the monument is valued. This study seeks to understand how different meanings attached to the Providential Pass determines the way it is conserved. In order to gain more knowledge on this, archival research and semi-structured interviews were utilized. The research is essential as it reflects different purposes a monument can have and the impact this may have on the preservation of monuments.