

Chapter Six

Unveiling and Dedicating the Monuments

“Every one admits that commemorations have their uses; producing national identities in celebration.” Lyn Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration*

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the occasion of unveiling and dedication of the traditional leader’s statues by analysing the addresses of the Premier of Limpopo province Sello Moloto as a manifestation of the multidimensionality of commemorative speeches and rituals. Images of the past and recollected knowledge of the (events) past are conveyed and sustained within ritual performance of commemorative speeches. Commemorative political speeches are seen as essential in bringing collective norms and values to a wider audience. Therefore, Limpopo Premier Sello Moloto’s speeches delivered at the occasions of the unveilings and dedication of the monuments will be analysed. The other vehicle, that is inscription, has been dealt with in the previous chapter. However, other vehicles, such as rituals and celebrations during the days of unveiling and dedication will also be explored. Most importantly, this chapter will start by taking note of various theories on this phenomenon and reflecting on the timing of the commemorations.

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6.2 Timing of the commemorations

Pennebaker et al. (1997: 14) reflect on groups of individuals and entire societies collectively looking back at specific times. Immediately after achieving democracy in 1994, the South African government led by the ANC began to look back and openly discuss and acknowledge

the relevance of past events to their own (black) personal development and that of the country at large. Grobler (2008: 174) noted that when the new ANC-led government took over, they congratulated themselves, claiming that they had led the struggle to overthrow white supremacy and had brought freedom to the peoples of South Africa; they needed a new foundation myth which would give due credit to black South Africans. At work, in the observation of Pennebaker et al. (1997: 14), were at least three interrelated processes that accounted for people being able to look back. The first concerns the idea that people have a critical period in life in which national events are most likely to affect their identity, which is called 'The Critical Period Hypothesis'. The second, 'The Generational Resource Hypothesis', which overlaps with the first, and is also most relevant to this study, concerns a specific generation argument, that monuments are built when people have the power to create them (Panhorst 1988: 9). The third hypothesis, 'The Psychological Distance Hypothesis', explains the role of time gradually removing the pain of recalling negative events (Pennebaker et al. 1997: 16).

The Generational Resource Hypothesis emphasises that events are commemorated when people have the economic resources and social and political power as well as the means to do so. If, for instance a war was to erupt, members of a society must immediately cope with the event rather than worry about building monuments. Months and years sometimes go by before people can stand back and commemorate the event. In the case of Limpopo province and black-led South Africa in general, it took more than a century for blacks to commemorate their dead warrior traditional leaders. During the last century of white rule in South Africa, blacks did not have the economic or political clout to establish monuments. The government led by the black dominated ANC since 1994 is now able to openly acknowledge the black past by building monuments, as a way of looking back and progressively validating their black lives and their contribution to South Africa.

Concurring with above view, Michael Kammen (as cited by Shackel 2003: 13) further contends that the increasing interest in local events has produced depoliticised commemorations. While Kammen reads de-politicisation in the commemoration of local events, Harvey Kaye (as cited by Shackel 2003: 13) on the contrary, sees highly politicised forms of commemoration. In his attempt to take Pennebaker's 'The Generational Resource Hypothesis' a step further, Kaye added that, those who can commemorate the past are those who have the money and political power to publicly remember a particular past, is more of a step toward reinforcing hegemony even if by a new dominant group. The governing class secures its political and social standing in the community through consensus building. Kaye's criticism thus, takes one of the most influential

works on public memory a step forward and argues that power, rather than consensus, constructs public memory (Kaye 1994, as cited in Shackel 2003: 13).

Contributing to the discussion, Peter Stachel (2008: 69) believes that control over indications and symbols in the public area, is of crucial importance for power and ruling. "Public area" refers concretely to its topographic meaning: areas, in which social and political life takes place and where political indications are "written" (Stachel 2008: 69). Further, Stachel saw monuments and ensembles of monuments, national encoded heroes' squares, and street names as paradigmatic examples of 'memory through architecture' (Stachel 2008: 69): they can be defined as consciously produced indications in the public arena, in which a meaningful structure, a narration connected to the identity-politics of a group, is written. These narratives can be analysed as intentional visualisations of desired and/or ordered collective identity or a collective memory; in the sense that collective memory is understood as a form and medium of identity politics (Stachel 2008: 69).

Stachel further believes that memory is related to the past; however, in its functional aspects, it is always a product and expression of the present. To become collectively effective, a memory-narrative must be visualised in everyday life to become an element of social communication. Whoever has the power to define the collective memory of a society, shows that they are the norm-setting power and vice versa, whoever is the norm-setting power, tries to prove this fact through public illustration of their definition of power over the leading memorial-narrative and their visualisations in the public space, which is not only a carrier of indications, but also a surface for forming a political public (Stachel 2008: 69).

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6.3 Unveiling and dedication of Warrior Traditional Leaders' Monuments as political ritual

Certain prescribed practices of commemoration consecrated the places of Wars of Resistance against Colonialism and Imperialism memory (Brown 2004: 41). The dedication of monuments in Limpopo province is one of a series of ceremonies of remembrance of the Wars of Resistance, along with Heritage Day. The rituals, however, differed significantly in their structures and key participants, providing instruments for negotiating several different meanings in the remembrance of the various conflicts. Coombes (2003: 150-151) argues that monuments are

animated and reanimated through performance or rituals and that the visibility of a monument is 'entirely contingent upon the debates concerning the re-interpretation of history that take place at moments of social and political transition' (Coombes 2003: 150-151).

This section is concerned with the role played by the ritual of unveiling and dedication in the politics of Limpopo province's commemorative monuments of the traditional leaders of the 'Wars of Resistance against Colonialism and Imperialism'. This study concedes, like Mackenzie (1967: 212), that this is a relatively uncharted and unexplored area, infested with theoretical difficulties and ideologically controversial issues, into which this contribution is merely an exploratory foray. The very first difficulty is in determining or extracting a working definition of the word "ritual" from the disputes of social anthropologists. There is considerable dispute among anthropologists about how the term ritual is to be identified and interpreted. Edmund Leach wrote:

Even among those who have specialized in this field, there is the widest possible disagreement as to how the word ritual should be used and how the performance of ritual should be understood (Leach 1968, as cited in Lukes 1975: 291).

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For the purposes of this study, however, the author had to settle for the proposed definition adopted by Lukes and most writers who consider ritual to be rule-governed, in the sense of being both patterned and usually involving normative pressure on participants. The proposed definition of ritual therefore is:

Rule-governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which they hold to be of special significance (Connerton 1989: 44; Lukes 1975: 291).

The above definition was drawn from exceedingly condensed discussions. Sperber (as cited in Lukes 1975: 291) understood ritual as an activity to be symbolic where the means 'appear clearly disproportionate to the end, explicit or implicit, whether this end be that of knowledge, communication or production'. In response, Beatie (1966: 60-74) asks, but what then, does the symbolic nature of ritual consist of? It seems unduly loose to see it simply as the 'expressive, even dramatic' aspect of acts which have 'meanings' and involve 'mental associations' or, quite generally, as the 'aesthetic' and 'communicative aspect of behaviour', that is, an 'aspect of almost any kind of action', that which "says" something about the individuals involved in the action (Beatie

1966: 60-74). In this view, all activities would be rituals. Ultimately, Lukes suggests that Radcliffe-Brown's approach in characterising referents of ritual symbolism be adopted. Referents of ritual symbolism have a special significance or social value within the relevant social group. The ritual itself serves to reinforce such a significance and value. Such referents are objects, relationships, and roles situations, ideas, which have a special place in the life of the group and towards which, at certain times through the mediation of ritual, the attention of its participants is drawn, at different levels of consciousness and with varying emotional charge (Radcliffe-Brown 1952, as cited in Lukes 1975: 291).

Furthermore, there are several acute methodological problems involved in the study of ritual, chief among them being how to establish whether one interpretation of its symbolism is more valid than another. The observer cannot simply accept the actor's interpretations, the 'rationalizations (sic) of the devout' (Leach 1968, as cited in Lukes 1975: 291); indeed, these themselves must be interpreted. On the other hand, the observer cannot be completely uncontrolled in his interpretations. The observer's task is to interpret the ritual within its context: objects of thought and feeling which are the referents of the symbolism and their special significance within the given social context, are matters that must be empirically established. Thus, reference to comparative accounts is both indispensable and non-definitive, and this poses real problems for verification and falsification in the interpretation of ritual. The most one can hope for in this instance is to achieve interpretations which can be compared with one another for plausibility and tested in the light of new data. An attempt will be made to achieve this in the following analysis of the Limpopo Premier Sello Moloto's speeches. It is thus, important to establish whether indeed Moloto's speeches were patterned and if there were signs of normative pressure on him in line with the definition of the word ritual..

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6.4 Premier Moloto's commemorative speeches as epideictic addresses

There is probably an element of truth in normative pressures of rituals on participants. Usually, politicians do not deliver speeches as individuals, rather as representatives of political parties, governments, or nations. In these conditions, they are limited as political actors as to what they can do and say, and how. Commemorative addresses are a case in point and this chapter will refer

to addresses which the Limpopo Premier Sello Moloto delivered at the occasions of the unveiling of statues of Sekhukhune in 2004; Makhado in 2005; and Malebogo in 2006. Unfortunately, the address made at the unveiling of Hosi Nghunghunhane's statue on 8 December 2005 in Giyani could not be accessed even after a thorough search and many requests from relevant bodies and authorities. It is not even included in the published complimentary copy of the collection of the Premier's Speeches.¹⁸ However, after looking at the three speeches, it is believed it would not have differed in any significant way from the three speeches obtained.

The chapter will also demonstrate that these addresses represent a clear example of multidimensionality of political communication. A method of discourse analysis to Sello Moloto's addresses will be applied. Discourse analysis is focused on language and speech in their context. Linguistic structures are not studied independently, but related to their institutional, political, ideological, or personal functions in the communicative situation. Social functions thus, determine the form of discourse. On the other hand, discourse influences society by shaping or reshaping institutions, or by reproducing ideologies. This chapter also aims to demonstrate how the method of discourse analysis sheds light on the functioning of political communication. The application of this method may render the surface material of Sello Moloto's addresses more informative as a basis for the understanding of the meaning of the monuments under discussion. The chapter will illustrate that these commemorative addresses are representative of a characteristic genre of the "epideictic address", a genre that combines the goal of reaching persuasion with the offer of verbal means that are used to establish consensus regarding norms and values in society (Ensink 1996: 205-232; Schaffner 1996: 201-204).

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6.4.1 Background to Premier Moloto's addresses

Chapter Two delved on the conceptualisation and the appropriation of funds toward the project to commemorate "Warrior Traditional Leaders who fought the Wars of Resistance against Colonialism and Imperialism". This project was to be achieved through the sculpting and erecting of statues in the Limpopo province. The unveiling and dedication of these statues warranted

¹⁸ The researcher received a complimentary copy of the Premier's published collection of speeches from the Premier himself on the date of the interview on 1 October 2009, Polokwane.

an official celebration at which occasions the Premier would have to make a speech. The main commemorative or political issue that the premier had to reflect on was the role played by traditional leaders then, and the role such institutions could still play in the present day in the face of diversity, however, he also had to balance that with other issues of the present that would be acceptable to the audience.

6.4.2 Finding an acceptable perspective

The act of commemorating calls for a perspective from which to look at the commemorated event. Such an event should ideally be linked to the present national, human, or political situation in general, without burdening or contaminating this link too much with specifics, particularly party interests. This calls for reference to a generally accepted set of themes, presuppositions, and values, such as freedom and justice (Kopperschmidt, as cited by Ensink and Sauer 1995: 39). Reference to such values serves as a means of reaffirming them, thus providing the community with a sense of coherence and consensus (Kopperschmidt, as cited by Ensink and Sauer 1995: 39). After all, nations or societies are communities 'because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson 1991: 16).

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It is important at this stage, to identify the issues that the Premier had to raise in composing his address. These issues were not listed in any order: the character of each of the selected traditional leaders; the justification for their selection; the role of traditional leadership; the identification of nation builders; the perceptions on heritage; the payment of tribute; and the acknowledgement of diversity and government commitment. These issues were not necessarily of equal importance. At the core of the occasion was the character of the selected traditional leaders and their role as nation builders. The other issues, however, were quite real to the task at hand. In the following analysis, it will be illuminated how Moloto orientated himself toward these issues. The text of the Premier's address in each case shows "traces" of this multiple orientation, but most importantly, its patterning.

An understanding of and full realisation of the message of the Warrior Traditional Leaders' Monuments cannot depend or rely on the inscription alone as discussed in the previous chapter.

The importance of context and its relationship with the image and inscription is also exemplified in the commemorative speeches of the provincial leader Premier Sello Moloto at the occasions of unveiling and dedication of the monuments including the decision to select only one leader from each of the different African polities in the Limpopo province. The following are the Premier's speeches:

6.4.3 The speeches:

6.4.3.1 Unveiling of *Kgošikgolo Sekhukhune's statue* 04 September 2004

Ritual opening: exchange of greetings, and occasion

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1. Programme Director, Kgošikgolo Sekhukhune, Members of Executive Council here present, Honourable Traditional Leaders, MPs and MPLs who have graced this occasion, Mayors of District and Local Municipalities, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.
2. Today marks an important event in the distinguished history of the Sekhukhune people, and indeed of the entire Limpopo province as we celebrate and unveil the statue of the great warrior King Sekhukhune I.
3. Few weeks ago, we commemorated his death. He passed away on the 13th of August 1882.
4. Sekhukhune I dominated the political and military scene in the former Transvaal colony for more than half a century. His famous military victory at Thaba Mosega over 14 000 strong Boer army, armed with sophisticated rifles and cannons was recorded in international publications and history books. Our archives are full of his heroic tales.
5. Between 1877 and 1879 Sekhukhune inflicted three successive defeats on the armies of the British colonists until he was subdued by a sheer weight of numbers and weaponry pitted against him and his brave warriors.
6. His leadership and wisdom was (sic) an inspiration to many who came after him. They followed his example of resistance against colonialism, racism, discrimination, and the system of separate development.

7. The great Sefako Makgatho emulated the example of Sekhukhune I amongst others, when he became the President General of the African National Congress in 1917 and continued the struggle for liberation and freedom for all South Africans.
8. He was following in the footsteps of the generation of warrior kings like Shaka, Bambatha, Hintsisa, Makhado, Malebogo, and Ngungunhane who fiercely fought colonialists in defence of the heritage. They fought for our freedom even before the formation of political parties. They were in the forefront fighting to free us from those who descended on the African shores to disposes (sic) of our land.
9. They too must be honoured for what they were, heroes and heroines of the liberation struggle.
10. In honouring them we will be reaffirming our being, our own identity as Africans, confirming the significance of traditional leadership institution and, more importantly, preserving our own heritage.

Programme Director

11. We would like to once more announce here today that the provincial government is hard at work to ensure that Tjate is soon declared a national heritage site. We believe this tourist attraction will add more value to the economy of Sekhukhune. It will also provide us with an opportunity to showcase this rich heritage to the people of the world.
12. Heritage is the most important ingredient for success of our people and should therefore be located at the centre of development.
13. The institution of traditional leadership has become an indispensable element of the democratic system, particularly in Limpopo. To a large degree you represent generations of culture and traditions, and to this day you give voice to the ideals and aspirations of the communities that you represent.
14. In this province and elsewhere in the country, we need the quality of traditional leadership that is dedicated to the economic development and social upliftment of the communities it serves. The government requires social partnership with traditional leaders in its efforts to build a better life for all.
15. We have just entered the second phase of our hard-won freedom and democracy. Traditional leadership has an important role to play in this phase of our struggle. It is an institution that emerged from the roots of our history and should therefore speak for the lives and souls of our people. In pursuit of the African Renaissance, traditional leadership should be seen in the

forefront in defence and regeneration of our morals, norms, values, culture, and tradition.

Programme Director

16. The continued participation of traditional leaders in municipalities is beginning to add more value to our cause of bringing government close to the people. As opposed to those who spread the wrong message that their participation in these structures diminishes the powers and status of traditional leaders, we see it providing an essential linkage that helps strengthen and consolidate our democratic system of cooperative governance.
17. It is important therefore Programme Director, that traditional leadership continues to join hands with the democratic government structures in pursuit of a common goal.
18. The President has identified Sekhukhune as one of the nodal points for the implementation of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Initiative. In this regard, we call upon traditional leaders to support this initiative so that our people could become beneficiaries.

Ladies and gentlemen

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19. The befitting tribute we could pay to Sekhukhune I, is to work side by side in our battle against poverty, illiteracy, hunger, and disease.
20. We also trust that you will take it upon yourselves, particularly members of this community, to look after this monument of our struggle. You should protect it from vandals who may want to deprive you of your own heritage.
21. Pula! (Moloto 2004: 40)

6.4.3.2 Unveiling of *Khosikhulu* Makhado's statue

8 September 2005

1. Programme Director, Thovhele Khosi Vho Toni Ramabulana Mphephu, Members of the Executive Council, MPs and MPLs, Honourable Mayors and Executive Mayor, Councillors from various municipalities, Traditional Leaders and Healers here present, representatives of the South African Heritage Resources Agency, representatives of national departments and

- parastatals, ladies and gentlemen.
2. Today marks an important event in the distinguished history of the VhaVenda people, and indeed of the entire Limpopo province as we celebrate and unveil the statue of the great warrior King Tshilwavhusiku Makhado Ramabulana.
 3. It must be remembered that, in our State of the Province Address, we committed ourselves to honour our historical warrior kings such as Makhado, and Nghunghunyane during the course of this year as we have already done with King Sekhukhune I. It must also be mentioned that government is committed to honour other leaders, like Malebogo and Mokopane in the same way. We have clearly indicated that, this is being done to assert and reclaim the pride of our people and their heritage as a free nation. The official opening of King Makhado statue, here at the city of Makhado, should be seen as the realisation and fulfilment of this pledge that we have made to the people of Limpopo.
 4. King Makhado was a glorious leader who fought colonial battles against the imperialists who wanted to take his land and subjugate his people to oppression. The history of the struggle against colonialism is marked with Makhado's heroic contribution. He is counted amongst other great warrior kings, such as Sekhukhune, and Nghunghunyane, who like Makhado fought fearlessly to restore dignity and self-worth to their people.
 5. Oral history tells us that, Makhado was born between 1830 and 1840, and was the son of Khosi Mphephu Ramabulana. He worked as a labourer on white owned farms and also, importantly, as a tracker of Elephant hunters. He was such a good assistant and gun carrier that the hunters taught him how to use a gun which he became good at. The young Makhado earned their trust to such an extent that they gave him and his men guns to hunt on their own. Many of these guns never returned and were later to be used against their attacking enemies, particularly the Boers. When his brother Davhana fled after the death of Ramabulana in 1864, Makhado succeeded him as king. During his reign, troubles with the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) government surfaced when he refused census among his people, while he also refused to pay ZAR taxes. The Boers, just like in all instances, regarded this as a defiance of their authority.
 6. The Voortrekkers had established their settlement next to the VhaVenda chiefdom, naming it Schoemansdal, and this set out a scene for direct confrontation. By 1867, the Boers had assembled a formidable force under the command of Paul Kruger. A fierce war ensued in which the Boers eventually retreated, abandoning Schoemansdal. The Boers retreated to Marabastad in the vicinity of the present-day Polokwane. The humiliating retreat of the Boers in 1867 became a significant victory which was to later inspire other wars of resistance in southern Africa.

7. The great leadership of Makhado and his wisdom was an inspiration to many who came after him. They followed his example of resistance against colonialism, racism, discrimination, and the system of separate development. Our protracted struggle for freedom and democracy was also inspired by the great example that Makhado set in 1867. Makhado was a traditional leader who believed in the liberation of his people. The institution of traditional leadership can learn a great deal from Makhado's contribution, leadership, and vision.
8. In this province and elsewhere in the country, we need the quality of traditional leadership that is as dedicated to the cause of their people as Makhado was. Traditional leaders are today challenged by economic development and social upliftment of their communities. The government requires social partnership with traditional leaders in its efforts to build a better life for all.
9. The continued participation of traditional leaders in municipalities is beginning to add more value to our cause of bringing government services closer to the people. During these oncoming local government elections, we would like to encourage traditional leaders to occupy a leadership role in leading their people to register to vote. We believe that the strength of local government depends on their undivided support.
10. The befitting tribute we could pay to Makhado is to work side by side in our battle against unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, hunger, and disease.
11. We also trust that the municipality and members of the community will take it upon themselves, to look after this monument of our struggle and protect it from vandals who may want to deprive us of our own heritage.
12. Let Makhado's name be used to unite our people.
13. Ndaa. Nala dza vhathu!! (Moloto 2005)

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6.4.3.3 Unveiling of *Kgoši* Malebogo's statue

24 September 2006

1. Programme director, Kgoši Malebogo, Executive Mayor of Capricorn District Municipality, Mayor of Blouberg Municipality Cllr D.R Kubjana, MEC for Sport, Arts and Culture Mr Joe

Maswanganyi, Traditional Leaders of our province, MPs, and MPLs, veterans and stalwarts of our liberation struggle, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

2. The first President of Botswana Sir Seretse Khama once remarked that: *“A nation without a past is a lost nation. And people without a past are a people without a soul.”*
3. Nothing can best capture the importance of heritage month than these words which locate heritage in the centre of our nation’s soul and pride. Underpinning this occasion is an understanding that Heritage month has profound meaning both to government and our nation, as the very act of celebrating this month means that our nation has resolved and is committed to the preservation and declaration of that which has value and significance to our people. These range from our collections of various kinds of artefacts, restoration and care of sites which have religious, political, cultural, scientific, archaeological, or environmental significance, including the celebration of our living heritage in the form of praise poetry, song, folktale, dance, and literature.
4. The richness and diversity of our cultural tapestry should therefore become the source of strength and not a divisive tool. Our cultural diversity must help us to play a major role in the renewal of Africa and in uniting all her people. In this regard, we must ensure that Heritage month enable us to pull together all our various strengths and resources for nation building and national reconciliation.
5. There are many sites of historical significance in our province that only deserve to be graded to the status of heritage sites. High amongst these include, Tjate in Sekhukhune, Soutini in Baleni (Mopani), Fundudzi Lake, and Dzata in the Vhembe District. These sites are bequeathed from our ancestors and are equally deserving to be called national symbols.
6. Our government is committed to doing everything possible to facilitate the optimum conditions in which these sites can be developed and marketed for the benefit of local communities and for tourism purposes.
7. The protection and conservation of heritage should not only be the exclusive domain of government but all of us need to get involved in this effort. Our municipalities and communities, particularly Traditional Leaders and Healers must be in the forefront of identifying and promoting new heritage sites found in their localities. This will assist in accentuating the best from our past and help in stimulating local economic development where people live. Community involvement in heritage matters will also help to protect our monuments from neglect and possible vandalism as we have recently witnessed in Makhado and Sekhukhune where the statues of our leaders were desecrated by unknown people.

Programme Director

1. In unveiling the statue of this great leader of the BaHananwa people, one is reminded about the many protracted battles Malebogo and his people had to endure in their journey to liberate themselves. The legacy of this great chief of BaHananwa continues to inspire us even today in our pursuit for justice, freedom, and a better life for all.
2. Today, Kgoši Malebogo's name has become a rallying point and an embodiment of noble anticolonial battles of the BaHananwa people. Malebogo is counted amongst the many nation-builders of our country, such as Nghunghunyane, Shaka, Bhambata, Sekhukhune, Makhado, Mokopane and many others who shed blood for our own liberation.
3. This is indeed a proud moment for the province and the BaHananwa people in joining fellow South Africans in finally honouring the memory and spirit of Kgoši Malebogo and those who fought side-by-side with him. The statue we are unveiling today serves as a token of our appreciation for the role played by him and the BaHananwa people in the liberation of South Africa and Africa in general. The monument we have unveiled today will serve as a heritage site and a source of honour for the people of Limpopo and South Africa in general. Our Traditional Leaders in particular, can draw lessons and inspiration from Malebogo's courage and bravery. We expect them to show true leadership by partnering with their municipalities in leading their people out of the trappings of joblessness, crime, illiteracy, and poverty. This monument will forever remain a reminder of the defeat of the stranglehold of apartheid and colonial conquest on our people. It should therefore be looked after at all times so that our children can learn their indigenous history and further appreciate their cultures.
4. There is no better tribute we could ever pay Kgoši Malebogo than to continue working side by side in our battle against unemployment, poverty, crime, illiteracy, hunger, and disease.

I thank you (Moloto 2006)

6.4.4 Analysis of Premier Sello Moloto's addresses

Discourse analysis methods offer at least two stages. The first stage is a description of the text. Three levels of the text are usually analysed: the structure; the grammar; and the vocabulary. This study, however, will be analysing neither the grammar nor the vocabulary used by Premier Moloto; however, the structure will be considered. The second stage of discourse analysis methods is interpretative. The characteristics found in the descriptive stage are interpreted to find functional relations with the situation in which the text has been uttered, in order to explain these characteristics.

In the descriptive phase, questions are systematically asked and answered concerning structure. Since it is possible to ask almost infinitely numerous questions concerning this aspect of a text—which would yield a very long, but at the same time rather pointless analysis—this section will be limited to only those questions which seem most relevant to the text at hand. Selection has been made of those questions which yield insight into the way Premier Sello Moloto realised his goal by means of discourse characteristics. Hence, for the structure of Premier Moloto's address, focus is placed on two interrelated aspects.

The first aspect concerns the interactional relationship. Moloto's addresses concerned the role played by traditional leadership in the past and how they can continue to play a role in the present. Hence, the question must be asked in which way he addressed this concern and which position he takes as representative of government towards traditional leaders. The second aspect concerns thematic development. The central theme of address is "Warrior Traditional Leaders who fought the Wars of Resistance against Colonialism and Imperialism". Questions then relate to how does Moloto refer to this theme, which aspects of the warrior traditional leaders are focused on, and which connections link these aspects?

In the interpretative stage, questions asked relate to how the results of the descriptive stage may be related to and explained within the framework of the tasks Premier Moloto faced.

Description: Multidimensionality in Premier Sello Moloto speeches

In the analysis of the structure of Premier Moloto's addresses, the focus is on the development of the interactional relationships, and on the development of its themes. Both are shown in Table 1. In

the column *Structural function*, the main lines of Moloto's addresses may be read with references in the identified paragraphs under each speech made: **ritual opening**: exchange of greetings to hosts – *paragraph 1* in all the speeches; description of **purpose of occasion** – *paragraph 2* in the case of Sekhukhune and Makhado and *paragraphs 2-3 and 8* in the case of Malebogo, since at this occasion two aspects were being celebrated, that is, Heritage Day and the unveiling of the statue; **character** of honoured leader – *paragraph 6* for Sekhukhune, *paragraphs 5 and 7* for Makhado, and *paragraph 10* for Malebogo; **justification for the selection** of the honoured traditional leader – *paragraph 4 and 5* for Sekhukhune, *paragraph 4-6* for Makhado, and *paragraph 10* for Malebogo; **role of current traditional leadership** – *paragraphs 13-15 and 18* for Sekhukhune, *paragraphs 8-9* for both Makhado and Malebogo; **perceptions on heritage** – *paragraphs 11-12* for Sekhukhune and *paragraph 5* for Malebogo; recognition of traditional leaders as **nation builders** – *paragraph 7-10* for Sekhukhune, *paragraph 4* for Makhado, and *paragraph 9* for Malebogo; paying **tribute to the leaders** – *paragraph 19* for Sekhukhune, *paragraph 10 and 12* for Makhado, and *paragraph 11* for Malebogo; acknowledging **cultural diversity** – *paragraph 4* for Malebogo; **Government commitment** – *paragraph 18* for Sekhukhune, *paragraph 3* for Makhado, and *paragraph 6* for Malebogo; warning against **vandalism of monuments** – *paragraph 20* for Sekhukhune, *paragraph 11* for Makhado, and *paragraph 7* for Malebogo.

Structural function	Speech at unveiling of Sekhukhune Statue, Tjate 04 September 2004	Speech at unveiling of Makhado Statue, Makhado 08 September 2005	Speech on Heritage Day and unveiling of Malebogo Statue, Ben Seraki Sport Centre 24 September 2006
1. Ritual opening: exchange of greetings	Par. 1	Par. 1	Par. 1
2. Purpose of occasion	Par. 2	Par. 2	Par. 2-3; 8
3. Character of honoured leader	Par. 6	Par. 5 & 7	Par. 10
4. Justification for selection	Par. 4-5	Par. 4-6	Par. 10
5. Role of current traditional leadership	Par. 13-15; 18	Par. 8-9	Par. 8-9
6. Perceptions on heritage	Par. 11-12		Par. 5
7. Recognition as nation builders	Par. 7-10	Par. 4	Par. 9
8. Tribute	Par. 19	Par. 10 & 12	Par. 11
9. Acknowledging cultural diversity			Par. 4
10. Government commitment	Par. 18	Par. 3	Par. 6
11. Warning against vandals	Par. 20	Par. 11	Par. 7

Table 1: Interactional structure of Moloto's addresses, and reference to the issues under each of the speeches at unveilings of statues of Sekhukhune, Makhado, and Malebogo

6.4.4.1 Discussion

This section of the work has analysed Premier Sello Moloto's commemorative addresses as an instance of the multidimensionality of political messages. It is important to note that Moloto's speeches were made one year apart from each other. The Sekhukhune speech was made in September 2004, the Makhado speech in September 2005, and the Malebogo speech a year later in September 2006. It is noticeable that in some instances, however, the speeches were an exact replication of the previous speech word for word which confirms the collectivity of events within the theme.

This also demonstrates that Premier Moloto felt successful in approaching the issues he had to raise, hence there was no need to change a winning speech, if not a total laziness to come up with a new speech. Thus, he mastered the dominant commemorative issues to be addressed. Perhaps this was also an illustration of the fact that the problems facing people at Sekhukhune were appropriated as exactly the same as, or similar challenges to those facing Makhado's and Malebogo's people respectively, which was obviously the case since this is one province. The following are examples of exact excerpts taken from the Premier's speeches that he repeated. Even the sequencing is the same.

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6.4.4.2 Excerpts from the speeches

Excerpt of speech at unveiling of Sekhukhune statue: 4 September 2004 at Tjate

Today marks an important event in the distinguished history of the **Sekhukhune people**, and indeed of the entire Limpopo province as we celebrate and unveil the statue of the great warrior King **Sekhukhune I**. (par. 2)

The befitting tribute we could pay to **Sekhukhune I**, is to work side by side in our battle against poverty, illiteracy, hunger, and disease. (par. 19)

We also trust that you will take it upon yourselves, particularly members of this

community, to look after this monument of our struggle. You should protect it from vandals who may want to deprive you of your own heritage. (par. 20)

Excerpt of speech at unveiling of Makhado statue: 08 September 2005 in Louis Trichardt

Today marks an important event in the distinguished history of the **VhaVenda people**, and indeed of the entire Limpopo province as we celebrate and unveil the statue of the great warrior King **Tshilwavirusiku Makhado Ramabulana**. (par. 2)

The befitting tribute we could pay to **Makhado** is to work side by side in our battle against unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, hunger, and disease. (par. 14)

We also trust that the municipality and members of the community will take it upon themselves, to look after this monument of our struggle and protect it from vandals who may want to deprive us of our own heritage. (par. 15)

Excerpt of speech at unveiling of Malebogo statue: 24 September 2006 at Ben Seraki Stadium, Blouberg

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There is no better tribute we could ever pay **Kgoši Malebogo** than to continue working side by side in our battle against unemployment, poverty, crime, illiteracy, hunger, and disease. (par. 12)

It is important to note, in particular with reference to paragraphs 2 in the case of both the Sekhukhune and Makhado speeches and paragraph 8 of the Malebogo speech, that the premier acknowledged that the ethnic groups are distinguished, however, that they are distinguished groups of the entire Limpopo province. This reiterates the suggestion that the objective was also to persuade the people of Limpopo province to perceive themselves as united in belonging, that is, one community despite their historical differences. Thus, it may be constituted that after careful consideration of the history and character of the province, it may be postulated that the ethnic groups within the province did not necessarily have a history of closer relations and cooperation. Being aware of this situation and perhaps desperate to bring about unity and change in their towns and cities, the provincial leaders recognised the power of monuments and other vehicles,

such as names to move people, and have since 2004 embarked on the mission to erect statues of prominent traditional leaders (and to adopt new names) with which most people are familiar. It is, therefore, no coincidence that amongst those honoured traditional leaders are Kgošikgolo Sekhukhune I of BaPedi, Hosinkulu Ngungunhane of (Tsonga) Shangaan, Khosikhulu Makhado of VhaVenda, Kgoši Malebogo of the BaHananwa, Kgoši Mokopane of the Amandebele, and Kgoši Makgoba of Batlhalerwa. This argument also concedes that in the absence of any empirical evidence on the handling or addressing of the traditional leaders, a philosophical approach is therefore necessary. One is therefore of the opinion that the uniform address could simply be a formalisation out of respect for the traditional leaders' positions as leaders.

The communities that were selected are at least some of the major prominent ethnic groups apart from the whites that comprise Limpopo province and this has been an intentionally planned project. This, the Premier also confirmed when he announced in his speech at the unveiling of the Makhado statue:

Let Makhado's name be used to unite our people. (Paragraph 12)

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By warning against vandals in paragraph 20 (Sekhukhune), paragraph 11 (Makhado), and paragraph 7 (Malebogo), Premier Moloto was demonstrating the significance of the monument in terms of its meaning. Meaning production can be activated through a real or perceived threat to or a violation of the integrity of the monument—be it through vandalism, alteration, removal, or destruction. Such acts of violation will not only increase public visibility, but may make the monument more meaningful and significant to a community as a site of highly charged political acts (Marschall 2009: 167-168).

To substantiate the above claims, it is important at this juncture to recall the definition of ritual proposed above: namely, "rule-governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which, they hold to be of special significance". This study is hereby aligned with Luke's positive suggestion that political ritual should be seen as reinforcing, recreating, and organising "représentations collectives" (to use Durkheim's term), that the symbolism of political ritual represents, *inter alia*, models or political paradigms of society and how it functions. In this sense, such rituals play, as Durkheim argued, a cognitive role, rendering intelligible society and social relationships, serving to organise people and their knowledge of the past and present, as well as their capacity to imagine the future which the Premier's speeches seemed to achieve. Lukes (1975) thus believes that rituals provide a cognitive dimension which

is a more illuminating way of interpreting rituals. Hence, institutionalised activities, such as the unveiling and dedication of Warrior Traditional Leaders' Monuments seen as rituals, can serve to reinforce and perpetuate dominant and official models of social structure and social change, of the Limpopo province. Official ceremonies such as these draw people's attention, and invoke their loyalties towards a certain powerfully-evoked representation of the social and political order (Lukes 1975: 291).

6.5 Commemorative ceremonies

Commemorative ceremonies are of cardinal importance for communal memory. Through their formalism and performativity, they can transmit and articulate memory non-verbally, encoded in set postures, gestures, and movements, sending a simple and clear message. On feast days, as the members of a group commemorate the past, their thoughts are centred upon their common beliefs, their common traditions, the memory of their great ancestors, the collective ideal of which they are incarnation; in a word, upon social things. As people, through memorised culturally specific postures, gestures, and practices in the highly emotionally charged co-presence of others, enact their image of the past, their mutual bonds and feelings of belonging are reinforced (Misztal 2003: 126-127). For Durkheim (as cited by Misztal 2003: 127), by boosting peoples' feeling of belonging, these ceremonies reduce their egoistic orientation, which 'has no moral value'.

In actual practice, the services of an events management team were employed to oversee each unveiling ceremony. Those tasks included the duty to organise ceremonies at unveilings; to map out the roles of each participant, to prepare the venue, provide accessibility, and estimate costs incurred. Among the sub-committees one at least always found the following: logistics; transport; entertainment; marketing and publicity; catering; accommodation; disaster management; and exhibitions and monument or memorial symbol cleansing and healing. The DSAC was always tasked with the responsibility of mobilising the masses working together with the relevant local district municipality. Organisers were thus involved in a host of activities in preparation for the day's activities. Invitations were extended to invitees and cultural groups, such as traditional dance groups to the venue.

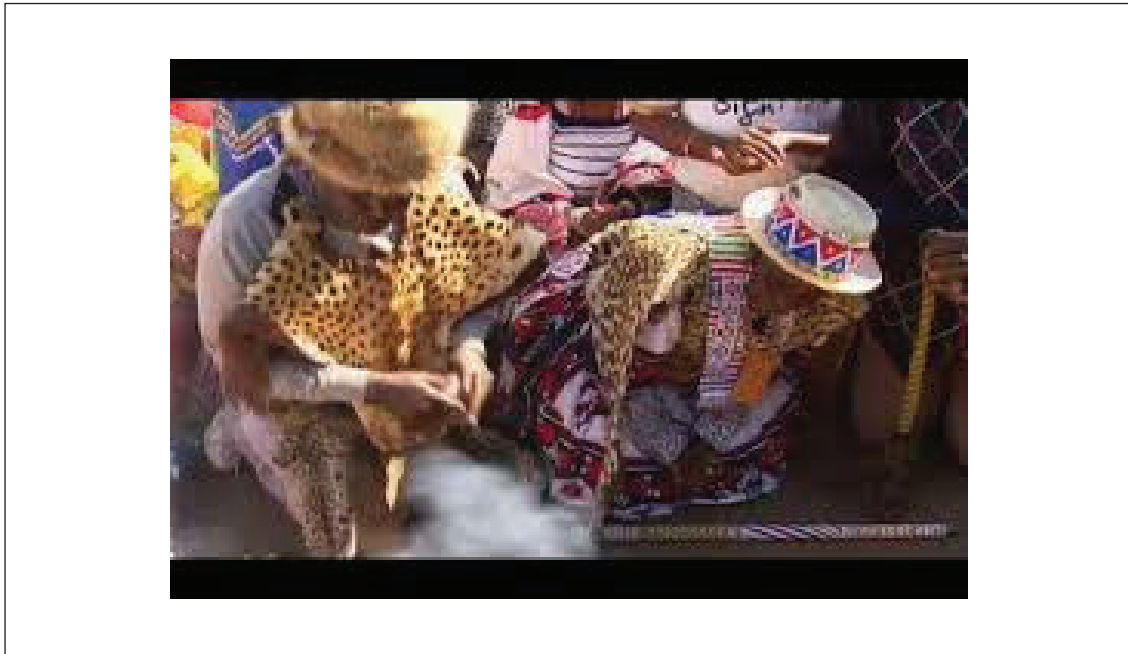
Traditional leadership was always represented and was, therefore, a permanent feature of these celebrations. Where necessary, transport and accommodation were also organised, including

busses to ferry communities from further outlying areas. Several goods and services always had to be procured, for example, a stage with sound, tents, and chairs for the event. Quotations for catering during the event were sourced. All costs and logistical arrangements were put in place including marketing and promotional materials, such as posters and banners that carried the message of the eventful day. Posters and banners were always designed with the DSAC logo. Strict security measures were always put in place to ensure the safety of the dignitaries and the VIP guests. Mobile broadcasting units were arranged with relevant departments including, for example, SABC TV or radio, to market and broadcast the events.

Activities during the day of unveiling were always kick-started with a cleansing ceremony. The cleansing ceremony became a permanent feature of these occasions. During this ritual, led by both traditional leaders and healers, an animal, be it goat or sheep, was usually slaughtered and the blood and beer offered to appease the ancestors. The cleansing ceremony is an attempt to keep the ancestors' content. The end-product is to propitiate the ancestors *ante factum* rather than *ex post facto*; hence the cleansing was always conducted early in the morning on the day of the ceremony. The ritual attempts to appease and satisfy the ancestors to keep them from interfering with the lives of their descendants. It is believed that ancestor spirits and the living people exist at opposite poles; that they have different desires and to keep the ancestors from thwarting the desires of the living, the living must satisfy the desires of the ancestors. Most importantly, however, the indigenous Africans believe that if they do not give thanks to the ancestors, they will bring sickness and even death upon themselves (Mönnig 1967: 60-61).

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It is important to note that the events always took place in the month of September, which is heritage month in South Africa. Every year during the month of September, South Africa becomes colourful with traditional attire that citizens wear in celebration of their culture and heritage. This is most evident on Heritage Day, 24 September.



Photograph 26: Performing the cleansing ceremony (Masemola 2008: 2)

It was not compulsory to stage events in Heritage Month. Thus, for example, the event celebrating the unveiling of the *Ubuntu* Memoriam Monument (Chapter Four) for the warrior traditional leaders held at Musina, was on 3 October 2008. It nevertheless attracted officials from government departments, the private sector, traditional leaders, and members of the public from throughout the Limpopo province. The presence of traditional leaders was never surprising, since heritage seems to form the anchor part and parcel of traditional leadership. The occasion was marked by traditional dances. There were approximately twenty local groups that availed themselves to perform and two groups from Zimbabwe. As always, Musina was very hot, yet the heat did not deter the groups from performing at their best. After the formal programme, the celebrations continued with local artists entertaining the crowds (Maphiri and Shibambo 2008: 1).

At another heritage festival celebration held at Tjate on 26 September 2008, thousands of people from the greater Sekhukhune district converged at Ntsoaneng village, greater Tubatse Municipality to celebrate heritage as well as remember and honour the warrior father of the BaPedi, Kgošikgolo Sekhukhune I. Addressing the crowd, the acting paramount chief of the

BaPedi Kgoši K.K. Sekhukhune spoke of his great grandfather as a warrior who fought against colonialism and forced removals of the BaPedi people from their land by the unjust system of apartheid (Masemola 2008: 2). The connection of Sekhukhune and apartheid calls for some qualification. Sekhukhune was murdered in August 1882, by his own brother. Apartheid as an official system of government was instituted in 1948. Thus, Sekhukhune could not have fought it. While this is correct, in the memory of most traditional leaders, apartheid was launched long before it was formalised and it will, therefore, always be associated with colonial and liberation struggles of later periods. The dispossession of land from, and ousting of communities from their original spaces to reserves long before 1948, is but just one example. Whereas officially, colonial struggles and liberation struggles were not one and the same struggle, traditional leaders found continuity and connection between the struggles fought by their forefathers during the second half of the nineteenth century and those fought during the official apartheid years. Indeed, many of the descendants of the warrior traditional leaders, both biological descendants and spiritual descendants, believe the two struggles to be a single campaign of long duration; that the two struggles merge in their memory into one struggle for freedom which they finally won. Kgoši K.K. Sekhukhune, thus, outlined in his speech that the celebration would be meaningless if the values and the principles that led his great grandfather to gallantly fight the system are compromised.

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The legend that he was, Kgošikgolo Sekhukhune I fought to protect the wealth of the great land that Sekhukhune is. He is fondly described as someone who was firmly grounded because of his respect for the African value systems, culture, norms, and principles (Masemola 2008: 2).

Reiterating on the significance of performing a ritual, Kgoši K.K. Sekhukhune emphasised that it was going to be unjust for the event to begin without an early morning ritual of thanking the ancestors. In his closing words, he encouraged young people not to neglect their culture and view it as irrelevant. The day's events were concluded with a music festival led by the legendary Hugh Masekela and Culture Spears from the neighbouring Botswana (Masemola 2008: 2).

Concluding the events with a music festival was a crucial part of the project. Recently, scholars (Momcilovic 2008; Roberts 2012a, 2012b: 1-9; Stokes 1999: 141-156; Thornton 1990: 87-95) consider music as potent a symbol of national or local identity as traditional representations, for example, national and regional insignia, food, drink, and sport. In his research, Van der Hoeven (2014) noted that songs often elicit emotions from the past; many people connect music with

specific memories from their lives. At a session on “Popular music and cultural heritage”, held in 2012 at the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, selected papers (Brandellero and Janssen 2014; Khabra 2012; Roberts and Cohen 2012; Reitsamer 2012) related to a series of questions concerning the relation between popular music, identity formation, and cultural heritage conceptualisations which emerge in the social practices of individuals and groups. Brandellero and Janssen (2014: 224-240) concluded that popular music heritage is present in national and local public sector heritage institutions and practices in several ways, ranging from the preservation and exhibition of the material culture of heritage in museums and archives to a variety of “bottom-up” initiatives, delineating a rich landscape of emblematic places, valued for their attachment to certain musicians or music scenes. Gurdeep Khabra (2012) specifically noted that active popular music contributes to shaping the collective memory and identity of communities, particularly in the United Kingdom. In South Africa, almost all the national day celebrations are concluded with some form of music. This shows that music has a role to play in the negotiation of cultural identity, both in local and national contexts. It also demonstrates that music has a contribution to make to the narratives of cultural identity and the representations of cultural memories as well as the promotion thereof. These additional symbolic and musical elements were also aimed at creating a set of sensory experiences and impressions designed to back up official rhetoric and to attract a wider audience through related reports (Rausch 2007: 75).
